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In This Issue

This issue contains four articles and a review essay. Two of the articles are reinterpretations: the first of the Salem witchcraft trials and the second of the concept of banditry. The other two analyze less studied subjects: women's experiences in post-World War II Germany and the impact of the little-understood economic crisis of 1968 in the United States. The review essay assesses histories of Spain by historians in the United States since the mid-nineteenth century. A full array of book reviews completes the issue.

Articles

David Harley revisits the Salem witchcraft trials to argue that they can be understood anew by uncovering the semiotic system employed at the time. Though the trials have been studied more intensively than any other early modern witchcraft cases, Harley contends that most previous analyses have obscured the system of signs and symbols through which participants understood the experience. He suggests that the Salem cases and their aftermath be considered as a contest for meaning that centered on the distinction between the popular concept of bewitchment, understood by intellectuals of the time as demonic obsession through the agency of a witch, and the theologians' concept of demonic possession. The crucial difference between the concepts of obsession and possession lay in the guilt ascribed to the afflicted and the credence given to their utterances. In a transatlantic analysis of the issues, Harley argues that previous readings of the cases have misunderstood the Salem trials because they have failed to address the problem of the incommensurability of semiotic systems. He insists that a sensitive narrative of past events requires that full weight be given to the concepts employed by the participants. Harley's argument becomes a cautionary tale that warns all historians to avoid the quick translation of past concepts into modern terms. In this case, doing so risks misunderstanding the dynamics of contested diagnoses.

Samuel Brunk explores the concept of banditry in a study of the Zapatista peasant rebellion that formed one strand of the Mexican Revolution (1910–1920). He rejects Eric Hobsbawm's classic "social bandit" model because it portrays the methods and goals of social bandits as largely indistinguishable from those of guerrillas engaged in revolutionary activities. Instead, Brunk uses recent research concerned with peasant consciousness and broader forms of resistance than those

identified by Hobsbawm to reexamine the concept of banditry. Though he acknowledges that government charges of Zapatista banditry were exaggerated, Brunk claims that members of the movement did indeed indulge in banditry and that their banditry was often directed at peasant villages. Equally revealing, he found that Mexican bandits at times acted against the orders of Zapata himself and thus contends that banditry in the era ought to be considered a form of resistance in the case of those Zapatistas who for various reasons did not accept all of Zapata's agenda. By uncovering such aspects of the revolutionary experience, Brunk presents banditry as a particularly useful means for studying the complexity of a mass movement like Zapatismo. Brunk concludes his study by suggesting that resistance need not always have a class dimension; it ought to be conceptualized in such a way that historians can take into account the multiple motives within mass movements.

Elizabeth Heineman recovers important elements of the experiences of German women between 1942 and 1948. She chronicles how in the late 1940s and the 1950s, memories of what had been typically female experiences with wartime victimization, rubble removal, and fraternization with the former enemy lost their gender specificity. The experiences were universalized as they entered the "popular memory" of a larger West German culture and even the "official memory" of the West German state. She argues that the revised memories helped to articulate a more complicated national identity that seemed necessary in the multiple contexts of the Cold War, economic revival, and efforts to wrest political and cultural sovereignty from the Western Allies, especially the United States. Nationalized versions of women's experiences also drew attention away from questions of wartime guilt and complicity in the crimes of the Nazi regime. Heineman contends that the appropriation of women's history for the identity of the West German nation reinforced women's subordinate position: they did not profit from aspects of their experiences considered positive, yet they paid penalties for those labeled negative. She ends her tale by suggesting that the reclamation of women's history in the 1980s should be considered as part of an attempt to forge a West German feminist identity. That project challenged a West German national identity built in part on a degendered telling of women's wartime and postwar experiences. Heineman's argument demonstrates the importance of gender in discussions of the relationship between collective memory and national identity, and it illustrates the value of studying the interplay among various forms of collective memory such as counter-memory, popular memory, and official memory.

Robert M. Collins recounts the economic crisis of early 1968 to argue that it was one of the most significant episodes of that turbulent time in the United States. He explains that the significance of the crisis has been obscured because of the esoteric issues involved and the allure of more dramatic events. Nevertheless, Collins documents the grave danger the crisis posed for the country. It erupted from the intermingling of three festering problems: a longstanding balance-of-payments difficulty that exposed fundamental instability and change in the international economy; economic pressure and consequent dislocations induced by the Vietnam War, especially by its financing; and the vulnerability of the dollar to international

pressure under existing commitments to redeem dollars for gold. Collins narrates the satisfactory short-run resolution of the crisis, while contending that the episode must also be considered an unmistakable sign that U.S. postwar economic hegemony was coming to an end. He suggests that the waning of the short-lived American Century had real and immediate consequences: the crisis and its resolution imposed a discipline of stringency on the Lyndon Johnson administration that contributed significantly to the capping of U.S. military escalation in Vietnam and Great Society initiatives at home. Collins's story of the crisis demonstrates the importance of political economy to our understanding of the past.

Review Article

Richard L. Kagan surveys the work of U.S. historians of Spain to argue that they have been heavily influenced by a paradigm of Spanish decline first elaborated in the early nineteenth century by Boston historian William Hickling Prescott. Preoccupied with the subject of Spanish decadence and decline, Prescott devised a view of Spain that combined traditional "Black Legend" themes of Spanish backwardness and brutality with assumptions of "American exceptionalism." Kagan argues that Prescott's juxtaposition of a progressive America with a decadent Spain—a formulation he labels "Prescott's Paradigm"—structured the way in which succeeding generations of American scholars wrote Spanish history. He develops that point by analyzing nineteenth and twentieth-century American historical writing about Spain and concludes with an assessment of current trends in the field. In Kagan's view, Prescott's paradigm is still with us, although he sees signs of change as historians begin to explore aspects of Spanish history only tangentially connected with the topic of decline. Nevertheless, he claims that the paradigm will not disappear until American historians abandon their traditional fascination with the decline of Spain's empire and replace it with an inquiry focused on the factors that contributed to its longevity.



Etching from Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680), *Saducismus Triumphatus: or, Full and Plain Evidence Concerning Witches and Apparitions, in Two Parts* (London, 1681–82), frontispiece to part 2.

Explaining Salem: Calvinist Psychology and the Diagnosis of Possession

DAVID HARLEY

Every now and then, an *Invisible Horse* would be brought unto her by those whom she only called, *them*, and, *Her Company*: upon the Approach of Which, her eyes would be still closed up; for (said she) *They say, I am a Tell-Tale, and therefore they will not let me see them*. Upon this would she give a Spring as one mounting an *Horse*, and Settling her self in a *Riding-Posture*, she would in her Chair be agitated as one sometimes *Amble-ing*, sometimes *Trotting*, and sometimes *Galloping* very furiously.

Cotton Mather, 1689

"Demonic possession" has not been an acceptable explanation for historians of the Salem outbreak of witchcraft.

Edwin Powers, 1966¹

IN ENGLAND, ACCUSATIONS OF WITCHCRAFT involving extreme psychological symptoms were rare, by comparison with those concerning physical illness.² They loom large in the historiography because some cases were publicized and disputed at the time.³ Such cases rarely extended beyond a single family and one or two accused. Therefore, the events that began at Salem Village, Massachusetts Colony, in the

I am grateful for the comments of many friends, especially Willem de Blécourt, Hal Cook, Margaret Pelling, Roy Porter, and Anne Stewart. I would also like to thank Alan Palmer, who first encouraged me to compare England and America, and acknowledge the influence of Sir Keith Thomas and Charles Webster.

¹ Cotton Mather, *Memorable Providences Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions* (Boston, 1689), sect. 22, p. 25; Edwin Powers, *Crime and Punishment in Early Massachusetts, 1620–1692: A Documentary History* (Boston, 1966), 629 n. 31.

² Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England: A Regional and Comparative Study* (London, 1970), 183; David Harley, "Mental Illness, Magical Medicine and the Devil in Northern England, 1650–1700," in *The Medical Revolution of the Seventeenth Century*, Roger French and Andrew Wear, eds. (Cambridge, 1989), 129–31. Such cases were rarer in Europe than is sometimes suggested: see Robin Briggs, *Communities of Belief: Cultural and Social Tensions in Early Modern France* (Oxford, 1989), 66–105; but compare H. C. Erik Midelfort, "Sin, Melancholy, Obsession: Insanity and Culture in 16th Century Germany," in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century*, Steven L. Kaplan, ed. (Berlin, 1984), 113–45; Midelfort, "The Devil and the German People: Reflections on the Popularity of Demon Possession in Sixteenth-Century Germany," in *Religion and Culture in the Renaissance and Reformation*, Steven Ozment, ed. (Kirkville, Mo., 1989), 99–119.

³ Keith V. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London, 1971), 569–88; D. P. Walker, *Unclean Spirits: Possession and Exorcism in France and England in the Late Sixteenth and Early*

1690s, leading to accusations in several towns and the series of trials at Salem, are unique in the annals of Anglo-American law. Failing to follow the patterns of interaction seen in ordinary witchcraft cases, they were difficult to explain at the time and have puzzled historians ever since.

Historians of New England have fruitfully studied the local context of witchcraft accusations, but there has been less attention to the English religious background or the intellectual context, comparisons usually being drawn between the Salem events and European demonic outbreaks or African possession cults.⁴ The European term, "possession," has been applied by anthropologists to phenomena in diverse cultures. When their work is used by historians, the original meaning tends to be obscured. Before drawing cross-cultural comparisons, historians should establish the difference between demonic possession and the effects of witchcraft in English Calvinist thought. It is also necessary to distinguish rigorously between the psychological explanations employed by participants and those used by the historian.⁵

The distinction between witchcraft and possession has received surprisingly little attention in recent New England historiography. Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, writing in the 1970s, were principally concerned with the detailed reconstruction of the trials of 1692 and the local conflicts to which they gave expression. Because they used pre-trial depositions, which do not refer to "possession," they employed the terms "bewitchment" and "affliction."⁶ Apart from Kenneth Silverman, few historians of New England who were not specialists in the history of witchcraft made a distinction between possession and the effects of witchcraft.⁷ John Demos did, in the course of a detailed account of a borderline case. He also noted that the behavior of the possessed girl was "in many respects typical for teenaged girls under the influence of witchcraft." Nevertheless, he did not explore this similarity, as his interest in her affliction was as a case history of the "powerful

Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1981); *Witchcraft and Hysteria in Elizabethan London: Edward Jorden and the Mary Glover Case*, Michael MacDonald, ed. (London, 1991).

⁴ Joseph Klaits, *Servants of Satan: The Age of the Witch Hunts* (Bloomington, Ind., 1985), 119–27; Richard Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England* (Cambridge, 1992), 106–19. Comparisons might usefully be drawn with English witch crazes in the 1640s, which also took place at a time of political uncertainty and millenarian expectations.

⁵ For recent developments in anthropology, see Janice Boddy, "Spirit Possession Revisited: Beyond Instrumentality," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23 (1994): 407–34. Following seventeenth-century usage, the term "psychology" is here used to embrace both mind and soul. Of necessity, the method employed is predominantly narrative, but my approach is indebted to social constructivist traditions in ethnography and the history of science. My own "folk psychology" is symbolic interactionist rather than psychoanalytic.

⁶ Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft* (Cambridge, Mass., 1974); *The Salem Witchcraft Papers: Verbatim Transcripts of the Legal Documents of the Salem Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692*, Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, eds., 3 vols. (New York, 1977); compare Larry Gragg, *The Salem Witch Crisis* (New York, 1992); Gragg, *A Quest for Security: The Life of Samuel Parris, 1653–1720* (Westport, Conn., 1990), 105–51.

⁷ David T. Konig, *Law and Society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629–1692* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 151, 177; David Levin, *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord's Remembrancer, 1663–1703* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 195–97; Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather* (New York, 1984), 89–91, 103.

regressive pull towards the 'pre-oedipal mother'" experienced by adolescent girls. The concept of possession is hardly mentioned elsewhere in his work.⁸

Richard Weisman defined "affliction" as the name of a set consisting of all instances of an individual's thoughts and actions being controlled by preternatural forces. He defined two subsets, "possession" and "bewitchment." In possession, control was exercised directly by "Satan or his representatives." In bewitchment, demonic power was mediated by witchcraft. Weisman noticed a marked difference between popular and theological responses to these afflictions, every known instance of possession involving "at least an attempt by the victim or the victim's family to attribute responsibility to witchcraft."⁹ This definition of "affliction" is rather narrow, failing to include what Rev. Samuel Willard called "the usual afflictions which God brings upon any in way of penalty."¹⁰ However, the distinction between possession and bewitchment is important, although Weisman made little use of it as a heuristic tool in his analysis of the conflict between theological and popular explanations. Carol Karlsen's influential work *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman* focused on the implications of witchcraft beliefs and accusations for New England women. She rejected Weisman's distinction in order to draw attention to the seventy-eight convulsed accusers as a group of young women distinct from ordinary witchcraft accusers and to compare their experience with instances of spirit possession in other cultures.¹¹ The refusal to employ the distinction led Karlsen to argue that the afflicted accusers at Salem "described themselves as possessed by witches" and to impose this terminology on other cases.¹²

The works of these scholars possess many virtues, providing a clearer view of the social dynamics of New England witchcraft cases than is available for almost any series of trials elsewhere. Nevertheless, the intention here is to show that the

⁸ John P. Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England* (New York, 1982), 97–131, 158, 162, 199; compare David D. Hall, "Witchcraft and the Limits of Interpretation," *New England Quarterly*, 68 (1985): 268–69. For a programmatic statement, see John Demos, "Underlying Themes in the Witchcraft of Seventeenth-Century New England," *AHR*, 75 (June 1970): 1311–26.

⁹ Richard Weisman, *Witchcraft, Magic, and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts* (Amherst, Mass., 1984), 62, 66; compare Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 24; Richard P. Gildrie, "Visions of Evil: Popular Culture, Puritanism and the Massachusetts Witchcraft Crisis of 1692," *Journal of American Culture*, 8 (1985): 17–33.

¹⁰ Samuel Willard, *Useful Instructions for a Professing People in Times of Great Security and Degeneracy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1673), 25. Two convicted witches referred to their sufferings as afflictions: see Robert Calef, *More Wonders of the Invisible World* (London, 1700), 104–06, rpt. in *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases, 1648–1706*, George Lincoln Burr, ed. (New York, 1914), 362–66; Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, 2: 490, 689–90; compare 2: 441, 443. See also Michael Wigglesworth, *Meat out of the Eater: or, Meditations Concerning the Necessity, End, and Usefulness of Afflictions unto Gods Children* (Cambridge, Mass., 1670); Cotton Mather, *Batteries upon the Kingdom of the Devil* (London, 1695), 117–41; Cotton Mather, *Meat out of the Eater: or, Funeral-discourses Occasioned by the Death of Several Relatives* (Boston, 1703), 32–68; Increase Mather, *The Doctrine of Divine Providence Opened and Applied* (Boston, 1684).

¹¹ Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York, 1987), 222–51, 335 n. 4; compare Lyle Koehler, *A Search for Power: The "Weaker Sex" in Seventeenth-Century New England* (Urbana, Ill., 1980), 383–417. For Karlsen's influence, see Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*, 106–19; *Witch-hunting in Seventeenth-Century New England: A Documentary History, 1638–1692*, David D. Hall, ed. (Boston, 1991).

¹² Karlsen, *Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 10–12, 24, 25, 27, 33–35, 222; compare Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*, 95, 108, 111, 119, 212. Neither author acknowledges redefining the cases. Hall, in *Witch-hunting*, puts "possession" in quotation marks.

distinction between the effects of witchcraft and possession was important in several cases before 1692 and that it played a crucial role in the collapse of the Salem trials and subsequent explanations. The absence of the debate about possession from accounts of the Salem events arises partly from an epistemological problem at the heart of most histories of witchcraft that makes it difficult for historians to hear the explanations offered at the time. The analysis presented here is intended not as an accusation of error, which might imply the possibility of an objectively true account, but rather as an argument for a shift in perspective so as to include the conflict over diagnosis.

IN ENGLAND AS IN MOST OF ITS COLONIES, Calvinism was the dominant religious ideology during the period of the witch trials.¹³ Since Calvinists focused more closely on the reading of God's providence than other Christians did, this was the context for their discussion of Satan's powers.¹⁴ The Devil was simply one of the many second causes used by God. For the godly, the correct response to any affliction was to search for God's purpose and to repent, before seeking removal of the affliction through the use of the appropriate means. In severe afflictions, Calvinists resorted to prayer and fasting, to beseech God to lift his afflictive hand.¹⁵ Although public fasts were ordered during national crises, the use of spiritual exercises to combat demonic afflictions was highly controversial in England, as a result of the propaganda of extreme Elizabethan Puritans such as John Darrel. Their use without license was forbidden in such cases by the 1604 canon law: "nor without such License to attempt upon any pretence whatsoever, either of Possession or Obsession, by fasting and prayer to cast out any devill or devils, under paine of the imputation of Imposture, or Couzenage, and Deposition from the Ministerie."¹⁶ Since no licenses were issued, beneficed clergymen could not use such methods publicly except during the English Civil War and Interregnum.

The early modern Devil acted in three ways. Usually, he simply tempted mankind, but he could also employ the two extreme afflictions mentioned in the

¹³ Calvinists did not control the central government under Charles I or Charles II, of course, although there continued to be some Calvinist bishops and Privy Councillors. Those colonies where Calvinism was not dominant seem to have been relatively free from the formal prosecution of witches.

¹⁴ Stuart Clark, "Protestant Demonology: Sin, Superstition, and Society (c. 1520–c. 1630)," in *Early Modern Witchcraft: Centres and Peripheries*, Bengt Ankarloo and Gustav Henningsen, eds. (Oxford, 1989), 45–81. On the relationship of New England Puritans to orthodox Calvinism, see David D. Hall, *The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972); Hall, "On Common Ground: The Coherence of American Puritan Studies," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 44 (1987): 193–229.

¹⁵ Andrew Wear, "Puritan Perceptions of Illness in Seventeenth-Century England," in *Patients and Practitioners: Lay Perceptions of Medicine in Pre-industrial Society*, Roy Porter, ed. (Cambridge, 1985), 55–99; David Harley, "Spiritual Physic, Providence and English Medicine, 1560–1640," in *Medicine and the Reformation*, Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham, eds. (London, 1993), 101–17. For the social context and personal use of such behavior in New England, see David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York, 1989), 117–65, 213–38.

¹⁶ Article 72 of *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (London, 1604), sig. M4r–v; MacDonald, *Witchcraft and Hysteria*, vii–lxiv; Patrick Collinson, "The Jacobean Religious Settlement: The Hampton Court Conference," in *Before the Civil War*, H. Tomlinson, ed. (Basingstoke, 1983), 27–51. Most participants at the conference were orthodox Calvinists, differing over ecclesiastical organization and the pace of reform. This canon was drafted as an anti-Puritan measure by Bishop Richard Bancroft.

Canon of 1604, possession and obsession.¹⁷ According to the leading Congregationalist, Nathaniel Holmes, those who were entirely wicked might suffer possession by the Devil, during which both body and soul would be horribly afflicted. Less hopeless sinners might suffer obsession, in which the Devil was granted power only over the body. This form of affliction, often brought on through the agency of a witch, could drive sinners to suicide. Thirdly, there was the more common problem of temptation, in which the Devil presented sinful images to the imagination.¹⁸ This hierarchy of afflictions was known in outline to even the paupers accused in witchcraft cases, who occasionally claimed that their accusers were the guilty ones, being possessed rather than bewitched.¹⁹

The diagnosis of possession was almost always made by the learned and imposed on the popular conception of witchcraft. A witchcraft victim was popularly seen as entirely innocent, the remedy being to identify and accuse the witch, in order to have recourse to counter-magic or the law. In almost every known possession case, there are traces of a witchcraft accusation, however short-lived. The diagnosis of possession represented a defeat for the interpretation sought by the afflicted.²⁰ An especially clear example of the conflict between these two demonic psychologies, and between them and naturalistic explanations, can be seen in the Lancashire case of the "Surey Demoniac" in 1689–1690, an account of which was planned as an appendix to books by English Puritan clergyman Richard Baxter or Increase Mather, the Boston Puritan pastor and president of Harvard. The pamphlets focus on the bitter argument between Congregationalists and Anglicans, but it is just possible to detect the desire of the afflicted boy in the case to attribute causation to "Obsession in and with Combination." Whereas the nonconformists, led by Thomas Jollie, attributed the fits and voices to a demonic pact, the Tory Anglican Zachary Taylor blamed disease or fraud. Bewitchment was excluded in the political contest between possession and naturalistic causation.²¹

Since direct obsession by the Devil was rarely invoked, there were four available explanations for extreme psychological symptoms. These were divided both on an axis of natural versus demonic causation and on an axis of guilt versus innocence. Bewitchment, or obsession through a witch, involved a relatively innocent sufferer,

¹⁷ Michel de Certeau, *La possession de Loudun* (Paris, 1990), 60–61, 136–40; David Gentilcore, *From Bishop to Witch: The System of the Sacred in Early Modern Terra d'Otranto* (Manchester, 1992), 113–16. Christian Renoux of the Ecole Française de Rome is studying this distinction in French cases.

¹⁸ Nathaniel Ho[l]mes, *Plain Dealing, or the Cause and Cure of the Present Evils of the Times* (London, 1652), 78–81. Dr. Holmes, a Congregationalist who had been educated at Oxford and episcopally ordained, preached this sermon before the Lord Mayor of London. After the Restoration, learned nonconformists maintained this tripartite system: see Richard Gilpin, *Daemonologia Sacra: or, A Treatise of Satans Temptations* (London, 1677).

¹⁹ Public Record Office, London: ASSI 45/5/3/132–5: preliminary depositions in the case of William and Mary Wade, July 12 and 16, 1656.

²⁰ D. P. Walker noted the difficulty of finding a possession case in which no witchcraft accusation was made but did not differentiate between the two conditions: Walker, *Unclean Spirits*, 1–17. An unusual case near Berwick in the late 1640s involved angelic visitations and witchcraft: [Mary Moore], *Wonderfull News from the North* (London, 1650).

²¹ Harley, "Mental Illness," 131–40. For links between Thomas Jollie and New England, see Francis J. Bremer, "Increase Mather's Friends: The Trans-Atlantic Congregational Network of the Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 94 (1984): 59–96. For the identification of the Mathers with Jollie, see Obadiah Gill, et al., *Some Few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book, Against the Government and Ministry of New-England, Written, by One Robert Calef* (Boston, 1701), 43–45; Cotton Mather, *Parentator: Memoirs of . . . Dr. Increase Mather* (Boston, 1724), 167–69.

as did natural disease—although, in the view of the godly, God was sending the affliction for some good reason. In cases of possession or fraud, however, the person exhibiting the symptoms was guilty. A witchcraft accuser who exhibited extreme psychological symptoms was always vulnerable to having a rediagnosis imposed, unless he or she held relatively high social status or had a reputation for piety.²²

TO CLARIFY THE SIGNIFICANCE of the distinction between direct possession and indirect obsession in New England, it will be helpful to examine the ways in which diagnoses were reached. The crucial difference between the conditions concerned the welfare of the soul of the afflicted person. Distinguishing between the two states was essential if a prosecution was to be brought for the capital crime of witchcraft. Writing to Increase Mather in 1684 about the saving of a pious young woman's soul, Rev. James Fitch of Norwich described her being

most violently assaulted & vexed with Diabolicall sugestions, in a most blasphemous maner, especially in the time of religious duties, so that her Phancy, cogitation, & memory were hurried & captivated by the Evill one, so that I thought she was [as] neer to a being possessed, as could be, & yet escape.²³

By contrast, the parents of Hannah Perley reported that, when she accused Elizabeth How of causing her affliction, she stressed that she was only bewitched, asserting that "*Tho How could Afflict and Torment her Body, yet she could not Hurt her Soul.*" Hannah seems to have been quite clear about the crux of the distinction.²⁴

A case in 1662 came close to the boundary between bewitchment and possession. Ann Cole of Hartford, Connecticut, was "a person esteemed pious," so her allegations were taken seriously, despite her strange symptoms. Accusations against a Dutch woman failed to convince, though made by a voice using "the Dutch tone in the pronunciation of English," probably because she was a kinswoman of the powerful administrator Peter Stuyvesant. Another accusation, against "a lewd, ignorant, considerably aged woman" and her husband, was more successful. According to Increase Mather's later account, Ann Cole was restored to health as soon as the witches were executed or had fled.²⁵ Despite her fits, the demonic

²² Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago, 1994), 65–125. Mary Glover of London possessed both these attributes and was able to maintain her accusation against a charwoman, despite exhibiting symptoms that were diagnosed as hysterical by physicians who supported Bishop Bancroft: see MacDonald, *Witchcraft and Hysteria*.

²³ *The Mather Papers, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th ser., 7 (1868): 475–76, J. Fitch to I. Mather, July 1, 1684. Fitch may be omitting a witchcraft accusation from his brief account: see Demos, *Entertaining Satan*, 58. The revulsion from worship was a typical sign of possession or being a witch.

²⁴ Cotton Mather, *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, 1693), 131 (Burr, *Narratives*, 240; Hall, *Witch-hunting*, 310); compare Karlsen, *Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 133. Two ministers claimed that the accusation came from the girl's family: Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, 2: 439, 442–43.

²⁵ *Mather Papers*, 466–69, J. Whiting to I. Mather, December 4, 1682 (Hall, *Witch-hunting*, 148–51); Increase Mather, *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (Boston, 1684), 135–39.

voices, and the failure of some accusations, there appears to have been no suggestion that Ann Cole was possessed.

New England at this time had no tradition of demonic possession. In 1669, Thomas Walley noted, "*Many are possessed with an Evil spirit,*" but only as one of a group of medical metaphors for the prevailing sins of the colonies.²⁶ New England preachers of the first generation were more interested in God's afflictive hand than the Devil, treating the internal menace of sin rather than Satan as God's opposite.²⁷ Yet the full-scale possession that would take place in Groton, Massachusetts, in 1671 showed them just how active the Devil was among the rising generation.

When her fits began, at the end of October 1671, domestic servant Elizabeth Knapp pressed for a bewitchment diagnosis. Having reported visions and exhibited strangely violent symptoms, "she seemed to impeach one of the neighb[o]rs." Her master, Rev. Samuel Willard of Groton, was unsympathetic, judging the accused to be "of sincere uprightness before God." Under pressure, Elizabeth confessed that she had been tempted by the Devil but denied having covenanted with him. A physician judged her disease mainly natural and prescribed treatment accordingly. Her fits receded, but her spiritual condition showed no sign of amendment. Rev. Willard expressed concern at her lack of repentance and feared that she had not fully confessed.²⁸

When Elizabeth Knapp's fits broke out again, the physician diagnosed a diabolical origin for her affliction and "refused further to administer, advised to extraordinary fasting." She increasingly exhibited signs of demonic possession, although she continued to deny making a pact. She briefly resumed her accusations of witchcraft but failed to persuade. Willard extracted an admission that she had indeed covenanted with the Devil. For the following month, Elizabeth Knapp vacillated between exhibiting signs of possession and asserting that her demonic affliction was not so severe. The onlookers eventually reached a firm diagnosis of demonic possession: "It had bin a question before, whither shee might p[ro]perly bee called a Demoniacke, or p[er]son possessed of the Devil, but it was then put out of Question." She again denied making a pact and "declared that though the devill had power of her body, shee hoped hee should not of her soule." Willard's narrative is detailed enough to reveal the contest for definition that took place between the minister and his servant.²⁹

²⁶ Thomas Walley, *Balm in Gilead to Heal Sions Wounds* (Cambridge, Mass., 1670), 9; David Harley, "Medical Metaphors in English Moral Theology, 1560–1660," *Journal of the History of Medicine*, 48 (1993): 396–435. Before emigrating, Thomas Hooker had been entrusted for several years with a severe case of religious melancholy, verging on possession: [John Hart], *Trodden Down Strength, by the God of Strength, or Mrs Drake Revived* (London, 1647), 116–29. This was the "missing period" of his life that historians such as Janice Knight have noticed.

²⁷ Charles Chauncey, *The Plain Doctrin of the Justification of a Sinner in the Sight of God* (London, 1659), 61–64, 257; Emory Elliott, *Power and the Pulpit in Puritan New England* (Princeton, N.J., 1975), 198–99; Andrew Delbanco, *The Puritan Ordeal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 215–52. For a contrary view, see Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*, 85–106.

²⁸ Willard was "a Wise, Tender and Faithful Physician" of the soul rather than the body: see Ebenezer Pemberton, *A Funeral Sermon on the Death of . . . the Reverend Mr. Samuel Willard* (Boston, 1707), 72.

²⁹ Samuel Willard, "A briefe account of a strange & unusuall Providence of God, befallen to Elizabeth Knap of Groton," in *Mather Papers*, 555–70 (Hall, *Witch-hunting*, 198–212); I. Mather, *Illustrious Providences*, 140–41; Seymour van Dyken, *Samuel Willard, 1640–1707: Preacher of Orthodoxy in an Era of Change* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1972), 30–31. Unlike Demos, Edgar J. McManus, *Law and*

Perhaps as a result of this case, Willard was critical of those who accused a witch without considering God's purpose in permitting demonic afflictions: "There is a great deal of enquiry made about the Devils agency, and raising of Spirits against such as we are ready to think may be his subservient actors in this case, but how many are there that look no further."³⁰ All afflictions needed to be sanctified by looking to their first cause and repenting: "we shall bear our afflictions the better, when we know and confess that our iniquities have procured them." Whether the affliction was "some *Melancholly* that needs *Physick*, or some molestation of the Devil . . . these are but subordinate causes."³¹ Private fasting and prayer was the normal response of the godly to temptation and affliction.³² It was therefore entirely natural for them to employ fasting and prayer for dispossession, especially since it had Christ's endorsement. Only sincere repentance and prayer would induce God to lift his afflicting hand, in demonic afflictions as in any other.

Cotton Mather, Increase's son and his assistant at Second Church, Boston, was involved in a famous case that began in Boston during the summer of 1688. Following an argument with Mary Glover, "an ignorant and scandalous old woman," young Martha Goodwin went into fits "beyond those that attend an epilepsy, or a catalepsy," and she was joined by her sister and two brothers. It was clear that this was no ordinary disease, and one of the physicians "found himself so affronted by the Distempers of the children, that he concluded nothing but an hellish *Witchcraft* could be the Original of these Maladies." Both physic and prayer proved fruitless, but the children experienced some relief as soon as two suspects were arrested: "Wee cannot but think the devill has an hand in it by some instrum[en]t." Mary Glover was executed, but three children still displayed extraordinary symptoms, "*such* as gave more sensible Demonstrations of an *Enchantment* growing very far towards a *POSSESSION* by *Evil spirits*." There were further suspicions of witchcraft; there were dispossessions and relapses. After prayers by five ministers, the most afflicted child experienced some relief but was then "visited with *two dayes* of as Extraordinary Obsessions, as any we had been the Spectators of."³³ A witch having been executed, an obsession diagnosis was essential in order to avoid impugning the court.

Although not unhappy to see the witch arrested, the children's pious father set their affliction in the context of God's providence, but the children seem to have been intent mainly on securing convictions. Mather suppressed the suspects' names, but he adhered to the witchcraft diagnosis made prior to his involvement, the execution and the family's piety inhibiting any reassessment. In his book, *Memo-*

Liberty in Early New England: Criminal Justice and Due Process, 1620-1692 (Amherst, Mass., 1993), 144-45, sees the possession diagnosis as leading to the collapse of the witchcraft accusation, rather than vice versa.

³⁰ Willard, *Useful Instructions*, 31; compare Samuel Willard, "All Plots against God and His People Detected and Defeated," in *The Child's Portion* (Boston, 1684), 220; Willard, *The Christians Exercise by Satans Temptations* (Boston, 1701), 4.

³¹ Samuel Willard, *Mercy Magnified on a Penitent Prodigal* (Boston, 1684), 269; Willard, *The Truly Blessed Man* (Boston, 1700), 185.

³² Cotton Mather, *The Retired Christian: or, The Duty of Secret Prayer* (Boston, 1703), 40-44. Mather's diary contains many examples of spiritual exercises.

³³ *Mather Papers*, 367-68, J. Moodey to I. Mather, October 2, 1688; C. Mather, *Memorable Providences*, 1, 3, 12, 29-33 (Burr, *Narratives*, 99, 101, 107, 117-19; Hall, *Witch-hunting*, 266-75).

nable *Providences*, written against growing materialism in the colony, Cotton Mather added other narratives of witchcraft and the story of a Dutch boy's possession. He expected readers to be able to distinguish, despite "the near Affinity between *Witchcraft & Possession*." The Dutch boy was guilty of relations with the Devil, but the Goodwin children were innocent victims.³⁴

The cases of Ann Cole, Elizabeth Knapp, and the Goodwin children are known in such detail because they were collected and published by the Mathers as contributions to the public project to create "a Collection of special Providences of God towards his New-England people." Clergyman Thomas Shepard, Jr., and Increase Mather had complained that the project had been shamefully neglected. In May 1681, the colony's ministers drew up detailed proposals that expressed their growing concern about the power of Satan. Among the topics to be treated were "Prodigious Witchcrafts, Diabolical Possessions, Remarkable Judgements upon noted Sinners." Increase Mather coordinated the project. Some ministers, such as John Pike, found nothing preternatural to record, but Mather sought accounts of witchcraft and possession from his colleagues.³⁵

Demonic phenomena are also dealt with in several of the chapters of Increase Mather's *Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences*, published in 1684. When he considers possession, Mather admits the problem of diagnosis: "Sometimes indeed it is very hard to discern between natural Diseases and Satanical Possessions." Relying on "sundry Authors," he lists six signs of possession: revealing secrets, speaking in a language or on topics unknown to the afflicted, superhuman strength, speaking without using tongue or lips, an inflexible body, sudden inflation and deflation of the belly.³⁶

According to Mather, "There are [some] that acknowledge the existence of Spirits, and that the Bodies of men are sometimes really possessed thereby; who nevertheless will not believe there are any such woful creatures *in rerum naturâ*, as Witches, or persons confoederate with the Devil." He has in mind Johann Weyer, a Protestant physician in the Low Countries, "otherwise a judicious Author," and those who followed his criticisms of superstition and traditional demonology. Mather has no such doubts. He does, however, warn against superstitious methods of establishing witches' guilt, such as "spectral evidence" (on which he cites the Knapp case) and ordeal by water.³⁷ He also warns against the dangers of magical medicine, counter-magic, and divination.³⁸

Unlike some of the authorities he cites, Increase Mather does not fully distinguish between obsession and possession. For him, possession is known by its signs. In consequence, he runs into difficulties regarding those who display

³⁴ C. Mather, *Memorable Providences*, 63 (Burr, *Narratives*, 136). The narrative fails to emphasize that Mather was not called in until after the prosecution, so he was later mistakenly accused of instigating the case against Mary Glover.

³⁵ Thomas Shepard, *Eye-Salve* (Cambridge, Mass., 1673), 15–17; Increase Mather, *A Call from Heaven, to the Present and Succeeding Generations* (Boston, 1679), 70–72; I. Mather, *Illustrious Providences*, sig. A7r–8v; A. H. Quint, "Journal of the Rev. John Pike," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 14 (1875): 117–52.

³⁶ I. Mather, *Illustrious Providences*, 169–71.

³⁷ I. Mather, *Illustrious Providences*, 174–75, 179–80, 269–70, 280–87. Demonic possession, real and pretended, features prominently in Johann Weyer, *De praestigiis daemonum* (Basel, 1563).

³⁸ I. Mather, *Illustrious Providences*, 248–88.

extraordinary symptoms: "whether the afflicted persons were only possessed, or bewitched, or both, may be disputed." He accepts the diagnosis of Elizabeth Knapp as possessed rather than bewitched but considers Ann Cole's case more problematic. Since he regards the confession of the witch in her case as totally convincing, he has to see Ann Cole as bewitched. On the other hand, her symptoms suggested possession, not only because of her fits but also because "the tone of her Discourse would sometimes be after a Language unknown to her."³⁹ Mather's equivocation over the case of Ann Cole left ajar the door through which afflicted accusers were to troop in such numbers. His book was certainly well known in the Goodwin household, to the father and perhaps the children, too.

Cotton Mather had also considered several of the central issues before they arose at Salem. He was firmly opposed to the naturalistic explanations being promoted in England: "We see those things done, that it is impossible any *Disease*, or any *Deceit* should procure." He also asserted that confessing witches were often entirely sane, in the opinion of physicians. Like his father, he warned against the danger of popular magical practices, which he saw as increasingly widespread, as doorways for the Devil. He was also concerned that there was a danger of malicious accusations in witchcraft cases, and he followed his father in stressing that spectral evidence was completely unreliable.⁴⁰

Whereas in Restoration England, anti-Calvinist physicians sought to explain demonic phenomena largely in terms of disease or fraud, there was little opposition to Calvinist demonology in New England.⁴¹ The most vociferous opponents were the Quakers, who compared their own persecution to the prosecution of witches. The Mathers bandied suggestions that Quakers were "some of them undoubtedly possessed with Evil and Infernal Spirits" with George Keith, who retaliated by pointing to the godly Ann Cole, "really bodily possessed with the Devil." Cotton Mather ignored this mischievous redefinition because he was unable to deny that possession might occur in a godly household.⁴²

WHEN THE AFFLICTIONS BEGAN in Salem Village, the initial group of four girls was watched by one of the fathers, Rev. Samuel Parris, for some weeks, with a possession diagnosis looking likely but not certain. The girls had been dabbling in

³⁹ I. Mather, *Illustrious Providences*, 196–201. This turn of phrase has misled historians into thinking she spoke Dutch.

⁴⁰ Cotton Mather, "A Discourse on Witchcraft," in *Memorable Providences* (separate pagination), 8, 25–29. See also F. M. Caulkins, "Memoir of the Rev. William Adams," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 4th ser., 1 (1852): 17–18; Jon Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage, 1600–1760," *AHR*, 84 (April 1979): 317–46; Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*, *passim*.

⁴¹ The works of the ex-radical John Webster and the Anglican Thomas Willis were known in New England: I. Mather, *Illustrious Providences*, 174–75, 230–34; Increase Mather, *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits Personating Men . . .* (Boston, 1693), 35; *The Library of the Late Reverend and Learned Mr. Samuel Lee* (Boston, 1693), 6.

⁴² I. Mather, *Illustrious Providences*, 347; George Keith, *The Presbyterian and Independent Visible Churches in New-England and elsewhere Brought to the Test* (Philadelphia, 1689), 222–23; C. Mather, appendix to *Memorable Providences* (separate pagination), 6–7; see also Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Commerce and Culture: The Maritime Communities of Colonial Massachusetts 1690–1750* (New York, 1984), 96–142; Carla G. Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts* (Cambridge, 1991), 123–24, 129, 148–49.

fortune telling, which could have made an entry for the Devil. Perhaps unwilling to see his daughter as possessed, Parris looked for a medical explanation. Medical and demonic explanations were not mutually exclusive, however. Parris wrote in his church records, "When these calamities first began . . . the affliction was several weeks before such hellish operation as witchcraft was suspected."⁴³ One of the physicians decided that the four children were not suffering under a natural disease but "an Evil Hand," a somewhat ambiguous diagnosis. "This the neighbors quickly took up, and concluded they were bewitched."⁴⁴

Parris seems to have hesitated to accept the popular view. Neighboring ministers and gentlemen "enquired diligently into the Sufferings of the Afflicted" and suspected that "the hand of Satan was in them." Their advice was to be patient and wait on Providence "and to be much in prayer for the discovery of what was yet secret." Parris engaged in prayer and fasting. At this stage, there were suggestions of witchcraft but no confessions.⁴⁵ As the afflicted group grew, and was joined by confessing witches, the behavior of the afflicted became increasingly contradictory. Although there were some "antecedant personal quarrels" to explain the witches' attacks, several improbable accusations were made against prominent local inhabitants.⁴⁶

Rev. Deodat Lawson, a participating minister, in his *Brief and True Narrative*, provided a list of "things more than ordinary about the afflicted persons" during the Salem events. Some characteristics, such as their being constantly tempted to "sign the Devil's book" (in a parody of church membership) but refusing to do so, indicate how close the afflicted accusers were to a diagnosis of possession and how concerned they were to maintain their innocence. Lawson was convinced that witchcraft was involved, but a sermon that he preached at Salem Village in March 1692 indicated some potential instabilities in the diagnosis. Satan could act not only through the mediation of a witch but also directly, by suggestions, illusions, and "Sometimes by *Entring into, and Possessing the Soul of the Man.*" Although Lawson believed that the full-scale possessions of New Testament times were rarely to be seen, "Yet there are certainly some *Lower Operations of Satan* (whereof there are *sundry Examples* among us) which the Bodies of Men and Women are liable unto."⁴⁷ Lawson provided no method for distinguishing the alleged witchcraft at Salem from the operation of the Devil through illusion and possession, although he was worried about spectral evidence, false accusations, and counter-magic.⁴⁸

The problem of "spectral evidence," in which the accuser's visions of the accused

⁴³ Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 23–24.

⁴⁴ John Hale, *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft* (Boston, 1702), 23 (Burr, *Narratives*, 413). This remark has been variously interpreted: Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 2; Weisman, *Witchcraft, Magic and Religion*, 117; Gragg, *Quest for Security*, 106; Powers, *Crime and Punishment*, 468; Karlsen, *Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 35–36.

⁴⁵ Hale, *Modest Enquiry*, 25–26 (Burr, *Narratives*, 414–15); Bernard Rosenthal, *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692* (Cambridge, 1993), 10–31.

⁴⁶ Hale, *Modest Enquiry*, 37 (Burr, *Narratives*, 422).

⁴⁷ Deodat Lawson, *A Brief and True Narrative of some Remarkable Passages Relating to sundry Persons Afflicted by Witchcraft* (Boston, 1692), rpt. in full in Burr, *Narratives*, 152–64; Lawson, *Christ's Fidelity the only Shield against Satans Malignity* (Boston, 1693), 17–18, 22–25.

⁴⁸ Lawson, *Christ's Fidelity*, 48–49, 54–55, 63–67. Parris was more confident about spectral evidence: see Gragg, *Quest for Security*, 122–24.

were taken as proof, seems to have troubled most of the ministers.⁴⁹ At the end of May 1692, before the first trial, Cotton Mather wrote to a member of the court that he distrusted spectral evidence because he felt that specters might assume the shape of “persons who haue too much indulged themselves in Malignant, Envious, malicious Ebullitions” but who were not witches. He also worried about the reliability of confessions, though he did not question the status of the convulsed accusers.⁵⁰ On June 15, the Boston clergy issued a statement, probably drafted by Cotton Mather. They supported the prosecutions but condemned the use of spectral evidence and the ordeals of touch and sight, without mentioning the possibility of possession.⁵¹

Two weeks later, during the trial of Susanna Martin, the court heard her prior statement that the accusing group was not bewitched but was under the direct control of the Devil.⁵² This countercharge did not save her from execution, but the possibility that a mass possession was being witnessed seems to have entered public discussion during the summer. On August 1, the clergy meeting held at Harvard to condemn spectral evidence referred to the afflicted not as bewitched but as “*under Diabolical Molestations*.”⁵³

Four days later, the accused George Burroughs defended himself by reading at his trial for witchcraft a paper denying the possibility of demonic obsession through the agency of a witch. Witches had no power “*to Torment other people at a distance*.” According to Cotton Mather, the argument was “*Transcribed out of Ady*.” In 1656, the English critic of witch trials, Thomas Ady, had opposed the tenets of demonologists largely on scriptural grounds, although he also dismissed demonic voices as frauds and specters as the product of diseased imaginations. He insisted that the Devil afflicted mankind as permitted by God, not at the command of witches, and he condemned the ascription of misfortunes to witches instead of God’s providence.⁵⁴ It is not clear what else Burroughs said, but another of the accused, Margaret Jacobs, referred to the afflicted accusers as “the possessed persons.”⁵⁵ Robert Pike of Salisbury, in northeast Massachusetts, a member of the governing elite, wrote to one of the judges on August 9 to express his severe disquiet about the evidence. He addressed the possibility of fraud, which some people were suggesting, but decided that the afflicted and the confessing witches

⁴⁹ The opposing position, that God would not permit demonic specters to represent the innocent, had the authority of King James VI, *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh, 1597), 79–80. In the popular view, the accused themselves appeared in wraith-like form. In England, the Essex witch-hunters avoided using spectral evidence “because such apparitions may proceed from the phantasie”: John Stearne, *A Confirmation and Discovery of Witchcraft* (London, 1648), 39. Specters are rarely mentioned in English depositions.

⁵⁰ *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, Kenneth Silverman, ed. (Baton Rouge, La., 1971), 36–37, Cotton Mather to John Richards, May 31, 1692.

⁵¹ I. Mather, *Cases of Conscience*, sig. G4r–v. Robert Calef regarded this as a singularly irrelevant declaration since it called for prosecutions to continue: Calef, *More Wonders*, 152–53.

⁵² Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Witchcraft Papers*, 3: 551–52; C. Mather, *Wonders*, 115–16 (Burr, *Narratives*, 229–30; Hall, *Witch-hunting*, 301–02).

⁵³ I. Mather, *Cases of Conscience*, 32.

⁵⁴ C. Mather, *Wonders*, 104 (Burr, *Narratives*, 222; Hall, *Witch-hunting*, 296); Thomas Ady, *A Candle in the Dark* (London, 1656), 6–8, 35, 77–79, 104, 114–16, 119, 164–66, 169. Ady was probably a physician at Wethersfield in Essex.

⁵⁵ Calef, *More Wonders*, 105–06; Burr, *Narratives*, 364–66.

were under the control of Satan. Either way, their evidence was completely unreliable.⁵⁶

Cotton Mather still supported the trials, despite his belief that “the devil may impudently impose his communion upon some that care not for his company.” On August 19, he publicly endorsed the execution of Burroughs and four others.⁵⁷ Early in September, he assured Lieutenant-Governor Israel Stoughton that he intended “to rectify further the opinions of men, as well about the nature of our distress as about the justice of your proceedings.”⁵⁸ Others were confronting the possibility of possession.

In a pseudonymous dialogue published in Philadelphia, Samuel Willard addressed the controversy and came out strongly against the trials. He was highly critical of the lax legal standards applied, of the use of extorted confessions, and also of spectral evidence: “What Credit is legally to be given to a thing which an Humane Person swears, meerly upon the Devils Information?” Indeed, Willard did not believe that the afflicted could testify at all: “there may be that which will render them incompetent. As, suppose them to be possessed persons.” The Salem group displayed plenty of signs that “must either prove them Witches or possessed; and I charitably believe the latter of them.” Their extraordinary sight, predictions, and discovering of secrets “cannot be without either some possession, or some unlawful commerce with the Devil.”⁵⁹ Accusations against the godly, including himself, may have precipitated Willard’s rediagnosis, but his intervention was carefully considered and consistent with his handling of Elizabeth Knapp’s case. In demolishing the status of the Salem accusers, he was clearly supporting one side of a debate among magistrates and ministers.

Increase Mather delivered his opinion on the vexed questions of evidence and possession to a meeting of ministers at Cambridge on October 3. Samuel Willard’s preface to the published version of Mather’s *Cases of Conscience* circumspectly alludes to some of the key problems. The “letting loose of evil Angels among us” is God’s punishment, but the resulting conflicts are a success for the Devil. Direct demonic activity was a central issue: “That the Devil can (by Divine permission) and often doth vex men in Body and Estate, without the Instrumentality of Witches, is undeniable.” Since divine omnipotence could not be bound by human rules, not every guilty witch would be caught, and such supposed proofs as spectral evidence and the ordeal by touch might be severely unreliable.⁶⁰

Mather does not question the reality of the spectral visions, but he insists that Satan can assume the shape of a righteous person. Clearly, “to be represented by

⁵⁶ James S. Pike, *The New Puritan* (New York, 1879), 149–58.

⁵⁷ Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 42, C. Mather to J. Foster, August 17, 1692; Rosenthal, *Salem Story*, 107–50.

⁵⁸ Silverman, *Selected Letters of Cotton Mather*, 44, C. Mather to W. Stoughton, September 2, 1692. This refers to the inclusion of material on the recent Swedish outbreak, in which afflicted children had accused adults: C. Mather, *Wonders*, 147–51; E. William Monter, “Scandinavian Witchcraft in Anglo-American Perspective,” in Ankarloo and Henningsen, *Early Modern European Witchcraft*, 425–34.

⁵⁹ [Samuel Willard], *Some Miscellany Observations on our present Debates respecting Witchcrafts, in a Dialogue* (Philadelphia, 1692), 6–9; van Dyken, *Samuel Willard*, 183–85. It is assumed that Willard’s views are voiced by “B[oston]” rather than “S[alem].” His authorship was well known: see Calef, *More Wonders*, 38–39.

⁶⁰ I. Mather, *Cases of Conscience*, sig. A2r–3v.

Satan as a Tormentor of Bewitched or Possessed Persons, is a sore affliction to a good man." Such a misfortune would be intended by God to humble the person for some sin. Had not Elizabeth Knapp been deceived by the Devil into making a false accusation against a pious woman? Perhaps with Willard in mind, Mather remarks that "the Devils have of late, accused some Eminent Persons."⁶¹

After discussing the demonic origin of the effects attributed to the touch and sight of the afflicted, Mather reaches the crucial point: "*It is possible that the Persons in Question may be Possessed with Cacodaemons.*" Perhaps in reply to Burroughs's defense, he asserts that witches *can* cause possession, as "Histories and Experience do abundantly testify," although his evidence is rather sketchy. He is clear, however, that "no Credit ought to be given to what *Daemons* in such, as are by them Obsessed, shall say." Whatever the cause, the afflicted are "energumens," acted upon and moved by demons. Against those who held that the afflicted were merely bewitched, Mather argues that those who know secrets or contort their bodies in an extraordinary manner are undoubtedly possessed. Those who fall into fits of which they have no recollection or are tormented by demons are undoubtedly obsessed. "If all these things concur in the persons concerning whom the Question is, we may conclude them to be *Daemoniacs*. And if so, no *Juror* can with a safe Conscience look on the Testimony of such, as sufficient to take away the Life of any man."⁶²

All that remains is voluntary confession by a sane suspect and the sworn testimony of two credible eyewitnesses. This severely damages the prosecution case at Salem. Mather believes that witches should be punished but does not approve of basing conviction on inadequate evidence, because it plays into the hands of the Devil, allowing him to use the possessed to destroy the innocent.⁶³ By using the terms "obsessed" and "possessed" almost indiscriminately, Mather is able to bypass the question of causation. If the afflicted display the relevant symptoms, says Mather, they are possessed, and their evidence is as inadmissible as that of a madman, regardless of whether a witch is involved. His purpose is to preserve the reality of witchcraft while ruling out the use of spectral evidence.

A letter by liberal Calvinist layman Thomas Brattle that circulated during October adopted a position similar in some respects to that of Willard, to whose congregation Brattle belonged, although there are also traces in it of the Cartesianism fashionable at Harvard. Brattle offers many criticisms of the judicial proceedings, but among them are several that aim to redefine the two central groups of witnesses, the afflicted and the confessing witches. Both are under the influence of the Devil, who "imposes upon their brains, and deludes their fancye and imagination." The state of the afflicted is exactly parallel to that of Elizabeth Knapp. Some of the confessing group are "distracted, crazed women," and some

⁶¹ I. Mather, *Cases of Conscience*, 10–11, 15–17, 33–34.

⁶² I. Mather, *Cases of Conscience*, 38–41. His only modern authority on witches causing possession is the treatise on obsession by the Jesuit Petrus Thyraeus, whose patristic citations he appropriates. By using the term "energumen," Mather avoids the question of causation. It originated with patristic authors, such as Eusebius and Dionysius the Areopagite, but Mather probably adopted it from Delrio, Thyraeus, and Voetius.

⁶³ Since Cotton Mather was unable to give a full account of the witnesses, "because the Scribes who took Notice of them, have not Supplied me," it is impossible to know what convinced Increase Mather of the guilt of Burroughs. I. Mather, *Cases of Conscience*, sig. G3r; C. Mather, *Wonders*, 102, 104; Rosenthal, *Salem Story*, 129–50.

have been forced to confess, including several good Christians. "But, finally, as to about thirty of these fifty-five Confessours, they are possessed (I reckon) with the Devill, and afflicted as the children are, and therefore not fitt to be regarded as to anything they say of themselves or others."⁶⁴ Brattle thus deploys the diagnosis of possession to clinch his argument against the evidence of both the afflicted and the confessing witches. Despite Increase Mather's attempt to contain the damage, the possession diagnosis was rendering the whole trial procedure increasingly indefensible.

Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World* appeared shortly before *Cases of Conscience*, but his position was apparently so different that Increase Mather felt obliged to insist that he had approved his son's book before it was printed.⁶⁵ The differences arise partly from a different intention and partly from timing. *Wonders* had been written long before Increase delivered *Cases* to the meeting at Cambridge. Moreover, Cotton's aim is to set local events into an apocalyptic context, so problems of definition do not loom large.

After a very defensive preface, the opening essay is a theoretical consideration of problems arising from the Salem trials in which Cotton Mather emphasizes that New England's disasters are "the Rebuke of Heaven." Although spectral evidence and confessions may be unreliable for details, they do at least prove the existence of "a dreadful Knot of *Witches* in the Country."⁶⁶ The need is for all sides to unite in using the approved means to discover witchcraft, thus defeating the Devil's malice against the colony of Massachusetts.⁶⁷

The central part of *Wonders* is a lecture delivered on August 4, in which Mather had discussed the apocalyptic context of the demonic storm.⁶⁸ The Devil's rage so preoccupies Mather that he ascribes to him many activities normally assigned to the direct will of God, such as wars, plagues, and earthquakes. As signs of the Second Coming, Mather tells his hearers to expect "the Devils being now let Loose in *preternatural Operations* more than formerly; & perhaps in *Possessions & Obsessions* that shall be very marvellous . . . You shall oftner hear about *Apparitions* of the Devil, and about poor people strangely Bewitched, *Possessed* and *Obsessed*, by Infernal Fiends."⁶⁹ He then spends thirty pages urging moral reform. When he put the finishing touches to his book, Cotton Mather simply failed to recognize the

⁶⁴ "Letter of Thomas Brattle, F.R.S., 1692," in Burr, *Narratives*, 173, 183–84, 188–90. Brattle was a noted mathematician but not a fellow of the Royal Society: see Rick Kennedy, "Thomas Brattle, Mathematician-Architect in the Transition of the New England Mind, 1690–1700," *Winterthur Portfolio*, 24 (1989): 231–45. For the liberal Calvinism of Brattle's friends, see Norman Fiering, "The First American Enlightenment: Tillotson, Leverett, and Philosophical Anglicanism," *New England Quarterly*, 54 (1981): 307–44; John Corrigan, *The Prism of Piety: Catholick Congregational Clergy at the Beginning of the Enlightenment* (New York, 1991).

⁶⁵ David Levin, "Did the Mathers Disagree about the Salem Witchcraft Trials?" *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., 95 (1985): 19–38; Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather, 1639–1723* (Middletown, Conn., 1988), 256–64.

⁶⁶ C. Mather, "Enchantments Encountered," in *Wonders*, sigs. A6r, A7r–v.

⁶⁷ C. Mather, "Enchantments Encountered," sigs. A8v, B2r–v, B4r–v, bb1v–4r.

⁶⁸ His text was Revelation 12.12, a key millenarian and demonological *topos*. Although Cotton later ascribed "Sober Chiliasm" to his father, Willard found their millenarianism heretically enthusiastic. Expecting an imminent Second Coming encouraged the sharp division of neighbors into devils and saints, excluding honest doubt: see *The Sermon Notebook of Samuel Parris, 1689–1694*, James F. Cooper and Kenneth P. Minkema, eds. (Boston, 1993), 194–98.

⁶⁹ C. Mather, *Wonders*, 17–19, 26–28. Perhaps echoing Ady, Calef detested Mather's tendency to

seriousness of the possession issue, giving thanks “for Justice being *so far*, executed among us,” and praying that “no wrong steps” will be taken in future.⁷⁰

Governor William Phips, however, was quicker to adjust to the new analysis. He wrote to the Privy Council that on his return from London he had found the colony afflicted with “a most Horrible witchcraft or Possession of Devills.” Satan had appeared to the afflicted group in the guise of innocent people, making all their evidence unusable.⁷¹ The exclusion of spectral evidence by Phips disabled the trials, and there were no more executions, despite the best efforts of the unrepentant Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton. To the dismay of many of those involved, it was gradually accepted that the whole affair had been a delusion promoted by the Devil himself.

IT IS DIFFICULT TO KNOW how ordinary onlookers responded to the redefinition of spectral evidence as unreliable and the afflicted as possessed. Lawrence Hammond, for example, a member of the governing elite who moved from Charlestown to Boston during the trials, barely mentions the Salem trials in his diary.⁷² The imposition of a possession diagnosis, with its implications of guilt, was deeply confusing in Salem itself. According to Thomas Maule, a quarrelsome Quaker living in Salem and writing while the trials were collapsing, “some (whose Names I shall not here mention) have said, *That these afflicted, bewitched or possessed Evidences, are the true Martyrs of Jesus Christ, and that they are killed all the Day long, and as his Sheep accounted for the Slaughter.*”⁷³ The critics of Samuel Parris in Salem Village found the rediagnosis distinctly useful, referring in April 1693 to the afflicted accusers as “the persons under Diabolical Power and delusions.” As the quarrel became increasingly bitter and outspoken, his opponents accused Parris of consulting with witches’ demonic spirits in his dealings with the afflicted.⁷⁴

If historians ignore the distinction between direct demonic activity and the effects of witchcraft, the redefinition of the Salem afflicted as possessed and the inconsistencies of the Mathers over this issue will be incomprehensible.⁷⁵ The Mathers were certainly in some difficulty, but such incoherence as there was in their position can only be understood in the context of a debate not of their making. Their self-image as the champions of orthodoxy made it hard for them to recognize mistakes.

ascribe God’s righteous punishments to the Devil: Calef, *More Wonders*, 48–49, 155 (Burr, *Narratives*, 390).

⁷⁰ C. Mather, *Wonders*, 82–83.

⁷¹ “Letters of Governor Phips,” Phips to the Privy Council, October 12, 1692, in Burr, *Narratives*, 196–97.

⁷² Samuel A. Green, “The Diary of Lawrence Hammond,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d ser., 7 (1892): 161–63.

⁷³ Thomas Maule, *Truth Held Forth and Maintained* (New York, 1695), 186. This refers to Psalms 44.22; Romans 8.36; compare George Fox, *Concerning Persecution in all Ages to this Day* (London, 1682), 3. Maule later taunted judges with their involvement: [Thomas Maule], *New-England Pe[r]secutors Mauld with their own Weapons* (New York, 1697), 53–54, 61.

⁷⁴ Calef, *More Wonders*, 56, 62–64; Gragg, *Quest for Security*, 153–76.

⁷⁵ Karlsen, *Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 279 nn. 131, 134; Godbeer, *Devil’s Dominion*, 217–24.

Whether one thinks of such afflictions as possession or hysteria, it is clear that collective outbreaks strike demoralized communities. Somehow, the godly leadership had to restore confidence. In 1693, Cotton Mather continued to maintain the reality of the afflictions and the specters, but he avoided mentioning the witches.⁷⁶ He was alarmed by the failure to take to heart the lesson of "the matchless *Enchantments* and *Possessions*, that have abounded in our Neighbourhood," and he saw the community indulging in recriminations instead of repenting.⁷⁷ By the winter of 1693, Mather viewed the "*Diabolical Communions*" of petty sorcery and fortune telling, not malicious witchcraft, as the immediate cause of the Salem events.⁷⁸ Henceforth, this was to be his principal explanation.

Cotton Mather did not lose his belief in witchcraft, but he tried to avoid such an interpretation of ambiguous events, fearful of the divisive social repercussions. As in the case of the Surey demoniac, possession became the preferred diagnosis. Mercy Short had first fallen into fits after a quarrel with an imprisoned witch at Salem. In November 1692, long after the witch had been executed, Short relapsed. Mather compared her symptoms to witchcraft cases and listened to her naming of spectral witches, but he was not fully convinced. Accordingly, he stressed her relationship with the Devil and employed collective prayer and fasting, defining her not as a victim of witchcraft but as "a Young Woman, horribly *possessed* with *Divels*."⁷⁹ As a servant, Mercy Short had no family to support her claim to be bewitched. The Mathers also refused to accept the self-diagnosis of a pious young woman who claimed to be experiencing possession by good angels. They warned her that her case would be treated as demonic possession if she had any further contact with the spirit.⁸⁰

Even when suspicions of witchcraft came closer to home, Cotton Mather did not encourage them. His son was born with a rectal occlusion and died shortly afterward. Mather's wife had seen a specter, after which Mercy Short's specters had boasted of injuring mother and child. Moreover, a suspected witch had written to Increase Mather about the birth, so witchcraft seemed likely. "However I made little *use* of, and laid little *Stress* on, this Conjecture; desiring to submitt unto the Will of my Heavenly Father without which, *Not a Sparrow falls unto the Ground*." At the funeral, Cotton Mather interpreted the event as

⁷⁶ Cotton Mather, *Unum Necessarium: Awakening for the Unregenerate* (Boston, 1693), sig. A3v.

⁷⁷ Cotton Mather, *The Day, the Work of the Day* (Boston, 1693), 65. Similar complaints were voiced in London after the 1665 plague and the Great Fire.

⁷⁸ Cotton Mather, *Winter Meditations* (Boston, 1693), 5; compare C. Mather, "The Devil Discovered," in *Wonders* (sep. pagin.), 26.

⁷⁹ Cotton Mather, "A Brand Pluck'd out of the Burning," in Burr, *Narratives*, 259–60, 263, 265–66, 271, 274, 276–78, 282; *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1708, Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 7th ser., 7 (1911): 156, 160–61; Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 24–26.

⁸⁰ "Mather-Calef Paper on Witchcraft," W. C. Ford, ed., *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 47 (1914): 266–67; "Note of a Document in the Savage Papers, Dated 1742," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 44 (1911): 685–86; Increase Mather, "A Disquisition Concerning Angelical Apparitions," in *Angelographia* (Boston, 1696). For a 1682 case, thought to arise from delusion after sickness, see "Copy of the Diary of Noahdiah Russell," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 7 (1853): 54. A more sympathetic judgment was passed on the early French prophets by Cotton Mather, *The Wonderful Works of God* (Boston, 1690), 57–64.

an afflictive trial.⁸¹ He observed similar restraint with his children, avoiding tales of demonic apparitions.⁸²

In September 1693, Margaret Rule suffered an affliction that resembled that of Mercy Short. Mather decided to seek a cure through prayer rather than “hasty Prosecution of any suppos’d Criminal,” even though the spectral tormentors whom she named seemed likely suspects. He considered fraud and disease but insisted that “I have never yet learned the Name of the Natural Distemper, whereto these odd symptoms do belong.”⁸³ Feeling himself to be the object of “hard *representations*” at the hands of “our Learned wittlings of the *Coffee-House*,” Mather was concerned to show how careful he was to prevent accusations based on spectral evidence.⁸⁴ Believing that Margaret Rule was genuinely bewitched, he did not describe her as possessed, but he treated her as if she were, seeking to cure her by prayer and fasting alone.

Foremost among Mather’s coffeehouse critics was Robert Calef, a Boston weaver. During September 1693, Calef circulated a description of Margaret Rule’s affliction, depicting Mather as coaching the young woman and prompting witchcraft accusations.⁸⁵ The response was an accusation of slander, followed by an exchange of letters. In November, Calef wrote to Mather. He did not deny that witchcraft existed or “*that there are Possessions, and that the Bodies of the Possesst have hence been not only Afflicted, but strangely agitated.*” The issue instead was the respective roles of witches and the Devil. Perhaps as a result of the Mathers’ vagueness, popular opinion was finding it difficult to distinguish “between Witchcraft in the Common notion of it, and Possession.” In January, Mather replied, describing Margaret Rule as “an Afflicted Young woman, whom we apprehended to be under a *Diabolical Possession.*” He and his father had sought “to prevent the Accusations of the Neighbourhood” and to discourage crowds of people from “flocking about the Possest Maid.”⁸⁶ Mather’s choice of phrase is a gift to Calef, who wrote:

In the front you declare your apprehension to be, that the Afflicted was under a Diabolical Possession, and if so, I see not how it should be occasion’d by any Witchcraft (unless we ascribe that Power to a Witch, which is only the Prerogative of the Almighty, of Sending or Commissionating the Devils to Afflict her.)⁸⁷

Calef received no answer, so he emphasized the central point, that he did not believe the infliction of possession by witches to be consonant with God’s

⁸¹ *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674–1729*, M. Halsey Thomas, ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1973), 1: 308; *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1708*, 163–64; C. Mather, *Meat out of the Eater*, 1–31. In England, suggestions of witchcraft would be unlikely in such a case: *The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, 1599–1605*, D. M. Meads, ed. (London, 1930), 184; R. Sharpe France and A. Fessler, “A Successfully Operated Case of Membranous Occlusion of the Anus in the Seventeenth Century,” *British Medical Journal* (June 11, 1949): 1048.

⁸² Samuel Mather, *The Life of the Very Reverend and Learned Cotton Mather, D.D. & F.R.S.* (Boston, 1729), 18.

⁸³ Cotton Mather, “Another Brand Pluckt out of the Burning,” in Calef, *More Wonders*, 3–6 (Burr, *Narratives*, 310–14); compare C. Mather, *Warnings from the Dead* (Boston, 1693), 12.

⁸⁴ C. Mather, “Another Brand Pluckt out of the Burning,” 10–13 (Burr, *Narratives*, 318–23).

⁸⁵ As with psychotherapy, the interaction involved in dispossession was always open to such an interpretation by hostile critics.

⁸⁶ Calef, *More Wonders*, 18–20 (Burr, *Narratives*, 339–40).

⁸⁷ Calef, *More Wonders*, 24 (Burr, *Narratives*, 339).

providence, in another letter to Mather in April 1694.⁸⁸ Calef also debated the powers of the Devil with an unnamed gentleman. A central issue was the nature of demonic possession. Like Ady, Calef rejected all notions not based on Scripture, arguing that “possessions must be numbred among Gods afflictive dispensations” and that the Devil had no independent power “to work Wonders, and Miracles, and to impower Witches to do the like.”⁸⁹ In February 1694/5, Mather sent Calef four pages that addressed his criticisms. Calef was not allowed to keep or transcribe the essay, as he had others of the Mathers’, so he annotated it in the margin and returned it, with comments on the relationship between the Devil’s power and God’s providence.⁹⁰

In these pages, Cotton Mather makes two astonishing concessions, which he acknowledges make “a fearful Havock” of demonology. He admits that “they who are usually look’d upon as *enchanted* Persons, are generally, properly Really *possessed* Persons,” whose evidence cannot be trusted. Calef seizes on this, since it is clearly sinful to consult devils in order to identify witches. Mather also admits that apparent witches might be possessed, acting and speaking without volition. Calef points to Mary Glover as an innocent woman who condemned herself.⁹¹ Having conceded so much, Mather struggles to retain a role for witches. He insists on the reality of possessions, citing the Bible and his own experience. He admits that “the *Divels* do ordinarily exert their *Powers*, unprovoked, unassisted, by any *Formal Witchcraft* thereunto.” Nevertheless, he insists that people could be possessed by devils as a result of the sorceries of others. This heterodox position fails to convince Calef, who sees possession as a dyadic relationship between the Devil and the afflicted person.⁹²

Calef tellingly criticizes Mather for failing to provide diagnostic guidelines: “seing there are possessions how to distinguish them from the effects of witchcraft seing both are performed by the Devill.” Those possessed people who purport to reveal secret knowledge, and even those who interrogate them, are clearly engaged in a criminal relationship with a familiar spirit.⁹³ Calef reiterates this point in a letter to the ministers, written in March 1694/5. He also argues that the absence of a clear doctrine of possession renders witchcraft verdicts insecure. In his view, the doctrinal errors of Cotton Mather had caused the Salem debacle.⁹⁴ The failure of the Mathers to provide a workable definition of obsession, with or without a witch, left them wide open to Calef’s criticism.

As they revised their diagnoses, the Mathers changed their public language. The new proposals on the recording of illustrious providences avoided the word “witchcraft.”⁹⁵ Cotton Mather adjusted the wording of his “Reserved and Revised

⁸⁸ Calef, *More Wonders*, 29.

⁸⁹ Calef, *More Wonders*, 68–69, 79–81, 85, 89.

⁹⁰ Calef, *More Wonders*, 30–33.

⁹¹ “Mather-Calef Paper,” 244–45, 264–65.

⁹² “Mather-Calef Paper,” 248–49, 253, 259–61, 264.

⁹³ “Mather-Calef Paper,” 252 n., 255 n. Consulting with familiars was the defining characteristic of a witch in the Massachusetts list of capital crimes.

⁹⁴ Calef, *More Wonders*, 33–37.

⁹⁵ [Cotton Mather], *Thirty Important Cases Resolved with Evidence of Scripture and Reason* (Boston, 1699), 72. Calef suggested recording God’s judgments against those involved in the trials: Calef, *More Wonders*, 40–42.

Memorials" for April and May 1692, stressing that he had always thought that the afflicted might respond to being treated as cases of possession rather than as witchcraft accusers.⁹⁶ In public, he promoted his explanation of Salem as resulting from popular magical practices, drawing a comparison with the possessions in the New Testament, which arose from God's anger against Jewish sorcery. The trials had been flawed by credence being given to spectral evidence and to "every filthy Jealousy, bred of the *Corruptions* in every Malicious and Invidious Brain."⁹⁷ Increase Mather was comfortable using the Salem events as a visible proof of the folly of skeptics and medical materialists "who object that the Age wherein we live has no *Demoniacks*, or possessed persons."⁹⁸

However painful the transition, the possession diagnosis was actually better suited to the ministers' purposes, warning of God's "peculiar Controversy with the *Rising-Generation* of *New England*." The petty sorceries of Salem Village had led God to unleash the Devil and mislead the magistrates. As early as May 1694, Samuel Willard called for collective repentance: "An humbling providence unto us all but pretious lastly & Espesially to those [that] are nextly concerned. It calls us to selfe Examination, selfe Abasing."⁹⁹ The need for a day of public humiliation was generally accepted by 1696. In the sermons that he preached on public fast days and in his biography of Governor Phips, Cotton Mather repeatedly blamed the prevalence of "*Magical Tricks*" for the infliction by God of "such *Praeternatural Possessions*, as may be the perpetual Astonishment of the world." Any remorse that he felt did not find printed expression, and he found it impossible to abandon the idea that the Devil had been, "it may be, by some few Criminals more Explicitely engaged and imployed."¹⁰⁰

Mather's attempt to salvage his position was doomed, since Calef was preparing his account for the press, and an even more devastating critique was being written by a conservative minister, John Hale of Beverley, who had come to the conclusion that there must have been fundamental errors in the proceedings.¹⁰¹ Hale extended demonic obsession and possession to cover most, if not all, of the traditional signs of witchcraft. He was especially scathing about spectral evidence: "Satan may represent himself to the Imaginations &c. I say *Imagination*; for the Apparition of a person to the sick (or obsessed) person in their fits, may be often times only to

⁹⁶ *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1708*, 147, 150–52; Silverman, *Life and Times of Cotton Mather*, 103.

⁹⁷ Cotton Mather, *The Short History of New-England* (Boston, 1694), 29, 50.

⁹⁸ I. Mather, "Disquisition Concerning Angelical Apparitions," 1. The contrary position was based on the Protestant doctrine of the cessation of miracles, combined with the brain pathology developed by Thomas Willis, a High Church Anglican.

⁹⁹ Cotton Mather, *A Midnight Cry* (Boston, 1692), 49; Samuel Willard, *The Character of a Good Ruler* (Boston, 1694), 30; Stephen L. Robbins, "Samuel Willard and the Spectres of God's Wrathful Lion," *New England Quarterly*, 60 (1987): 596–603. On the opportunism of the Devil, see Cotton Mather, *Right Thoughts in Sad Hours* (London, 1689), 13. For the providential context, see Peter L. Rumsey, *Acts of God and the People, 1620–1730* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1986), 45–96; van Dyken, *Samuel Willard*, 170–93.

¹⁰⁰ George H. Moore, "Notes on the History of Witchcraft in Massachusetts," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, n.s., 2 (1882): 174–78; Cotton Mather, *Things for a Distress'd People to Think Upon* (Boston, 1696), 27; C. Mather, *Humiliations Follow'd with Deliverances* (Boston, 1697), 9, 33; [Cotton Mather], *Pietas in Patriam: The Life of His Excellency Sir William Phips, Knt.* (London, 1697), 66–76; *Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681–1708*, 216, entry for January 15, 1696/7.

¹⁰¹ Hale, *Modest Enquiry*, 40. The introduction is dated December 15, 1697.

their Imaginations."¹⁰² According to Hale, the alleged victims of witchcraft were usually directly obsessed or possessed by Satan, despite the eagerness of relatives to fix the cause of the affliction on a witch. Although the Salem afflicted were probably only suffering from "a degree of external possession or obsession of Satan" rather than full internal possession, their evidence was worthless, since their fits were under the control of the Devil. Deathbed accusations were equally useless, being likely to proceed from "Diabolical Molestations, or an abused phantasie, or . . . ungrounded suspicions."¹⁰³ The witch's ecstasies could not be used as proof because they could equally be natural, divine, or "*Diabolical, of Witches, persons Obsessed, or Possessed.*" Indeed, the Salem accusers had experienced such ecstasies. As for the confessing witches, some of them were "under diabolical vexations, (as the other afflicted or obsessed persons were)."¹⁰⁴ Being either possessed or obsessed, the Salem group could not be guilty of witchcraft, always a voluntary crime, but neither could they act as witnesses.¹⁰⁵ Without any suggestion of fraud, Hale disabled the prosecution of witchcraft simply by deploying the concepts of direct obsession and possession.

Despite the efforts of a few loyal defenders, the Mathers' version of events, minimizing their own responsibility, was totally discredited. The demonic forces they saw as besieging them included not only Calef and the liberal Calvinists of the Brattle Street Church group but even Samuel Willard, who supplanted Increase as president at Harvard.¹⁰⁶ Henceforth, the authoritative contemporary interpretations of the Salem events were those of Hale and Calef, although their use of the concept of possession was soon forgotten. Of those most closely involved, only Deodat Lawson in London managed to ignore the reappraisal, publishing an expanded version of his Salem tract.¹⁰⁷

The possession diagnosis had played a crucial part in halting the trials, but it was even more central to subsequent explanations. At Salem Village, the bewitchment diagnosis had originally taken some weeks to emerge, but the accusations then acquired an exceptional momentum. As anxieties about the justice of the proceedings increased in the colony, the diagnosis of possession explained the various problems that had arisen, permitting the same phenomena to be perceived differently. It provided an explanation of the origin of the events, in fortune telling and petty magic. It reinterpreted the extraordinary symptoms and the epidemic spread of the afflictions, without denying their demonic character. It explained why respectable members of the community had been accused. It enabled spectral

¹⁰² Hale, *Modest Enquiry*, 42. Hale demolishes the signs extracted from Perkins, Gaule, and Bernard, cited by C. Mather, *Wonders*, sig. bb2r-4v.

¹⁰³ Hale, *Modest Enquiry*, 52-53, 59-61, 70-71.

¹⁰⁴ Hale, *Modest Enquiry*, 84-85, 88-89.

¹⁰⁵ Hale, *Modest Enquiry*, 131, 163-65.

¹⁰⁶ Gill, *Some Few Remarks upon a Scandalous Book*; Anonymous, *Gospel Order Revived* (New York, 1700); Cotton Mather, *Triumphs over Troubles* (Boston, 1701), sig. A2r-v; compare T[homas] M[aule], *An Abstract of a Letter to Cotton Mather* (New York, 1701).

¹⁰⁷ Israel Loring, *The Duty of an Apostatizing People* (Boston, 1737), 52 n.; S. Mather, *Life . . . of Cotton Mather*, 45; *Mather Papers*, 646, M. Wigglesworth to I. Mather, July 22, 1704; Deodat Lawson, *Christ's Fidelity*, 2d edn. (London, 1704), 93-120. Liberal Calvinists seem to have adopted the fraud explanation in the 1720s, perhaps influenced by Daniel Neal and Francis Hutchinson: see Ebenezer Turell, "Detection of Witchcraft," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2d ser., 10 (1823): 6-22.

evidence and the confessions of witches to be discounted as delusions of the Devil. It removed the whole disaster from the courts, where the diagnoses offered by accusers and magistrates held sway, into the realm of God's providential purposes for New England, which the ministers were best equipped to interpret.

THE CENTRALITY OF THE POSSESSION DIAGNOSIS does not feature in modern explanations. The ending of the Salem trials has usually been explained in terms of public disquiet over the increasingly unrealistic accusations and the anxieties of the ministers over spectral evidence, which led to the intervention of Governor Phips. Some historians assign credit to the afflicted, who "enlightened the intellectuals," or to some of the accused witches. Although one may well agree with some or all of these points, it is significant that the issue of rediagnosis scarcely appears. In the account of Boyer and Nissenbaum, it can be found only in quotations in the footnotes. Historians who do not distinguish between bewitchment and possession, such as Carol Karlsen and Richard Godbeer, cannot recognize the debate: "If the possessed were no longer credible, there could be no possession." Bernard Rosenthal does not consider the matter and regards the afflictions as a fraud that simply needed to be uncovered.¹⁰⁸ Only Chadwick Hansen, writing in 1969, briefly noticed the importance of the rediagnosis, despite his predilection for the French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot's account of hysteria.¹⁰⁹

Historians may have overlooked the debate about possession because it does not fit their own explanatory systems. In the quest for a new understanding of the psychological motives and social context of accusations, there has been a neglect of the conceptual context.¹¹⁰ Functionalist explanations of witchcraft accusations, in terms of the social standing of the women involved, the difficulties of adolescence in such a repressive community, or the anxieties caused by attacks on the colony, are not necessarily undermined by consideration of the rediagnosis. On the contrary, the outcome of contests over the meaning of symptoms depended crucially on the relative status and reputation for piety of accused and accuser.

What can be gained is a new attention to this semiotic contest, whether in isolated cases or in mass outbreaks such as the Salem events. Fraud, disease, and social conflict are the mainstays of modern explanations, and they were not ignored at the time. However, there were two other viable explanations for preternatural psychological symptoms. The afflicted and their families usually sought a diagnosis of bewitchment. The diagnosis of possession was one that only the godly were likely to employ, imposing it on those who were unable to resist. An intermediate diagnosis, of direct obsession, was rarely employed, although it did make an appearance in the Salem debate, if an advocate wished to avoid an overt condemnation of the afflicted.

John Demos has described the accounts of demonic affliction by Willard and

¹⁰⁸ Boyer and Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed*, 9–21, esp. 16 n. 38, 18 n. 42; Weisman, *Witchcraft, Magic and Religion*, 160–72; Karlsen, *Devil in the Shape of a Woman*, 42, 253–54; Koehler, *Search for Power*, 407; Godbeer, *Devil's Dominion*, 220–21; Rosenthal, *Salem Story*, 178–203.

¹⁰⁹ Chadwick Hansen, *Witchcraft at Salem* (New York, 1969), 100–01, 164, 198, 214.

¹¹⁰ Michael MacDonald, "New England's Inner Demons," *Reviews in American History*, 11 (1983): 324.

Mather as "so rich in psychological detail as to be nearly the equivalent of clinical case reports."¹¹¹ Indeed they are, but the psychologies that structured the phenomena and narratives were not those of Charcot, Sigmund Freud, or Melanie Klein. Any psychological theory is internalized. As signs are observed, in oneself or others, the interpretative theory produces dialectically the reality that verifies it. As with bodily disease, phenomena become "symptoms" when they are endowed with significance by an explanatory system, which will inevitably shape both the semiotics and the experience.¹¹² Having seen the signs, someone in seventeenth-century England or New England became bewitched or possessed, in culturally specific ways, whereas someone in twentieth-century London or New York might become neurotic, not because either explanation is false or self-verifying but because psychological systems are part of the process of identity formation.¹¹³

Historians will always ask modern-minded questions and use modern theories in the search for answers. It is difficult to avoid a degree of asymmetry in the epistemological status granted to explanatory systems, although hysteria and the Oedipus metaphor are no more "natural facts" than are witchcraft and possession. Epidemic hysteria, with conversion symptoms, may be an attractive diagnosis for historians of mass possessions, but it was contemporary diagnoses that determined how the afflicted were regarded.¹¹⁴ To explain the dynamics of Salem, or any other cases of witchcraft or possession, the historian must initially focus on the explanatory systems available to the participants. It was the interplay of the explanations offered at the time that shaped events. Similar phenomena could develop a very different construction under other circumstances.¹¹⁵

Since four types of explanation for broadly similar behavior were available to seventeenth-century Calvinists, every diagnosis of an extreme psychological disorder was a complex negotiation. In any society, the imposition of a diagnosis that conflicts with lay culture, or is stigmatized, undermines the identity of sufferers and disempowers them.¹¹⁶ Such diagnoses will be resisted. At Salem, the court had

¹¹¹ Demos, "Underlying Themes," 1320; compare Merrell Middlemore, "The Treatment of Bewitchment in a Puritan Community," *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, 15 (1934): 41–58; Sigmund Freud, "A Seventeenth-Century Demonological Neurosis," in *Complete Psychological Works*, James Strachey, ed., Vol. 19 (London, 1961), 67–105; Richard Hunter and Ida Macalpine, *Schizophrenia 1677* (London, 1956).

¹¹² Jean-Pierre Peter, "Malades et maladies à la fin du XVIII^e siècle," *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, 22 (1967): 711–51; Jean-Pierre Goubert, "Twenty Years On: Problems of Historical Methodology in the History of Health," in *Problems and Methods in the History of Medicine*, Roy Porter and Andrew Wear, eds. (London, 1987), 40–56.

¹¹³ This analysis is based on Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, N.Y., 1966), 159–65, listed in Weisman's bibliography. A more thorough critique might focus on the anachronism of placing sex rather than the soul at the center of identity formation.

¹¹⁴ Hysteria was often diagnosed in the late seventeenth century but only on an individual basis: see Katherine E. Williams, "Hysteria in Seventeenth-Century Case Records and Unpublished Manuscripts," *History of Psychiatry*, 1 (1990): 383–401; Thomas Palmer, *The Admirable Secrets of Physick and Chyrurgery*, Thomas Rogers Forbes, ed. (New Haven, Conn., 1984), 146; Robert E. Bartholemew, "Ethnocentricity and the Social Construction of 'Mass Hysteria,'" *Culture, Medicine and Psychiatry*, 14 (1990): 445–94.

¹¹⁵ For example, at Saint-Médard: B. Robert Kreiser, *Miracles, Convulsions, and Ecclesiastical Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century Paris* (Princeton, N.J., 1978). There are also resemblances to the Great Awakening and other religious revivals in North America.

¹¹⁶ Eliot Freidson, *Profession of Medicine: A Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge* (New York,

initially proceeded on the basis of a diagnosis of bewitchment, in tune with the wishes of the accusers. As the scale of the trials increased and a growing number of anomalies were perceived, pressure mounted for a rediagnosis in terms of possession precisely in order to disempower the afflicted, and hence their satanic puppet-master. An analysis that focuses on translating symptoms into current terminology, or that fails to distinguish between the two demonic states, cannot hear the contest for meaning.

Even in bodily disorders, it is often impossible to translate early modern case histories into modern terms. The patient's understanding interacted with the theory of the physician to produce a select list of signs worthy of note. How much more difficult, then, to translate the account of a demonic state into the terminology of disease or neurosis. Such a translation must remove the ideological and interactive elements of the original narrative.¹¹⁷ This is not to say that nothing can ever be learned from such acts of translation, only that close attention first needs to be paid to the precise conceptual apparatus of the sufferer and of the diagnostician, which are probably not identical.¹¹⁸

Historians of witchcraft often assume that their own explanatory theories are not culturally specific. Unlike the participants, they are engaged in discovering what "really" happened. This is a condescending assumption that most anthropologists and historians of science or medicine try to avoid. It is necessary to recognize the limits of such realism in order to listen carefully to the views of all the contesting participants.

1970), 320–21. The hysteria diagnosis was not yet fully stigmatized, but it would disempower. Queen Anne dismissed Dr. John Radcliffe when he told her she was suffering from "the vapours."

¹¹⁷ For an extreme example of reductionist diagnosis as applied to the Salem events, see Mary Kilbourne Matossian, *Poisons of the Past: Molds, Epidemics, and History* (New Haven, Conn., 1989), 113–22.

¹¹⁸ It is clear that such analyses have provided a much better understanding of why relatively powerless individuals should break the bounds of normal conduct, taking advantage of the opportunity to speak or act outrageously. However, the scope granted and the risks entailed depend on the context.

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“The Sad Situation of Civilians and Soldiers”: The Banditry of Zapatismo in the Mexican Revolution

SAMUEL BRUNK

THROUGHOUT THE COURSE OF THE Mexican Revolution (1910–1920), Emiliano Zapata and his followers—who together formed the most renowned peasant rebellion in Mexican history—were often considered bandits by those who purported to govern Mexico. That was more or less how polite society in Mexico City thought of them when, in March 1911, they rose up from their villages in the south-central state of Morelos and surrounding areas against dictator Porfirio Díaz. Indeed, Díaz had ruled in the name of order and progress for thirty-five years, and during that time he had often defined rural unrest as banditry and punished it accordingly. He had also enacted policies that helped produce that unrest by encouraging and assisting the encroachments of large landholders on village land and water rights.

Zapata's rebellion against Díaz, then, was primarily motivated by the desire for a land reform that would reverse the alienation of village resources. It occurred when it did largely due to the opportunity provided when Francisco Madero, a member of an elite, hacienda-owning family in the northern state of Coahuila, began the broader revolution by calling the nation to arms in late 1910 in protest of Díaz's most recent reelection. Surprisingly—given Díaz's longevity in power—Madero's insurrection toppled the old regime in May 1911. But, despite the participation of the Zapatistas in this successful uprising, the accusations of banditry against them did not end. The mostly conservative Mexico City press, championing the property rights of the *hacendados* of Morelos, soon nicknamed Zapata “The Attila of the South” and credited him with the pronouncement, “the only government I recognize is my pistols.”¹ In late August, when Francisco León de la Barra—the conservative interim president that Madero's revolution had

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¹ *El imparcial* (Mexico City), June 20, 1911. An *hacendado* is the owner of an hacienda.

placed in power—sought to resolve rising tensions in Morelos by sending federal troops to fight the Zapatistas, it was, rhetorically, bandits that they were hunting.²

This posture toward Zapatismo was taken up by Madero, who came to the presidency in his own right in November 1911 but could not talk Zapata into laying down his arms.³ Thereafter, it was inherited by most of those who claimed power in Mexico City, whether they were revolutionaries or not, for the rest of the tortuous decade. Finally, in 1919, the contention that Zapata was merely a bandit helped justify his assassination by forces loyal to Venustiano Carranza, another revolutionary from northern Mexico who had begun to fight the Zapatistas in 1914 and had ruled from Mexico City since 1915.

The scholarly community, however, has long presumed to know better than the governments that opposed Zapata. If Díaz, de la Barra, Madero, and Carranza considered the Zapatistas bandits, historians have argued, that was hardly an objective description; rather, governments have often charged peasant rebels with banditry as a way of denying them political legitimacy, and that was the case with Zapatismo. According to this line of thought, the Zapatistas were revolutionaries, not bandits. John Womack does not closely analyze the relationship between banditry and Zapatismo in his classic work on the movement, but when he mentions bandits he tends to put them in a separate category from true revolutionaries. Moreover, even when he does acknowledge that tensions *within* Zapatismo sometimes manifested themselves in banditry and other forms of internal conflict, Womack generally concludes that Zapata was able to resolve those tensions and conflicts, and he chooses to stress their resolution. With regard to banditry that was merely “predatory,” Alan Knight’s recent seminal survey of the revolution largely echoes Womack’s line, adding that banditry constituted a smaller problem on Zapata’s turf than in other parts of Mexico. Knight also asserts that the activities of Zapatista guerrillas that resembled banditry were often, in the revolutionary context, “social” banditry rather than banditry *per se*: they were directed against *hacendados*, local officials, and urban merchants; they were redistributive; and the “bandits” who engaged in them had deep connections to peasant communities, which approved of their activities. In sum, the most serious and careful students of the Zapatistas have generally supposed that banditry—at least of the nonsocial variety—was relatively insignificant among them.⁴

Knight’s discussion of social banditry naturally leads us to the origins of the concept in the work of Eric Hobsbawm, which is a logical place to begin seeking a broader theoretical context for an examination of the banditry of Zapatismo. For Hobsbawm, banditry directed against the elite and supported by peasant communities is social in that it can be assumed to have class motives. These motives can generally only be assumed, because social banditry is a “pre-political” form of

² See Victoriano Huerta to Francisco León de la Barra, August 20, 1911, Centro de Estudios Sobre la Universidad, Mexico City, Archivo de Gildardo Magaña (hereafter, AGM), 16: 1: 27.

³ For Madero calling Zapata a bandit, see *Diario del hogar* (Mexico City), January 3, 1912.

⁴ John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York, 1970), 131, 225, 261, 275; and Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), 1: 352–56, 371; 2: 368, 395. It should be noted here that Knight’s description of the fluid, relational nature of banditry is extraordinary. For a brief discussion of the political usefulness of accusations of banditry, see Eric Van Young, “Mentalities and Collectivities: A Comment,” in Jaime Rodríguez O., ed., *Patterns of Contention in Mexican History* (Wilmington, Del., 1992), 344–45.

resistance in which motives are frequently unconscious and well hidden. At best “primitive” reformers, social bandits inevitably give way to more consciously political actors—social revolutionaries, in some cases—as societies evolve. Although Hobsbawm’s work is slippery on this point, his fundamental position is that social bandits and social revolutionaries cannot really be the same people, for they are the products of diverse stages in the development of world capitalism.⁵ We might, of course, simply ignore this part of Hobsbawm’s argument for the time being, except that his decision to keep social bandits and social revolutionaries more or less separate may reflect some anticipation of the difficulties that arise from placing social bandits on a revolutionary stage. The intentions and modes of operation of social bandits, after all, are rather indistinguishable from those of peasant revolutionaries engaged in a guerrilla war, with the result that social banditry loses its force as an analytical category in such a context. To consider the existence and meaning of social banditry within Zapatismo in any detail would be pointless.

Another problem with the social-bandit approach has to do with the typology it has spawned. Scholars seeking to revise Hobsbawm have argued that his sources—largely the stories and songs of popular culture—are sometimes not even truly the products of peasants and at best demonstrate only mythical connections between peasants and bandits, not the reality of such ties. At least in Latin America, they claim, bandits are generally more closely linked to landlords than to *campesinos*, and banditry has usually been motivated by the desires of individuals for economic gain or undertaken in the context of political factionalism that lacks a component of class conflict.⁶ In pursuing this argument, these scholars have given us political bandits and guerrilla bandits to add to the several kinds of social bandits that Hobsbawm identifies.⁷ As they have made room for their new bandit varieties, there has been some tendency to read Hobsbawm reductively, ignoring his perception that social bandits have always had diverse intentions.

The legacy of this process is a series of somewhat two-dimensional bandit types, none of which seems quite broad enough to encompass Zapatista banditry—though spokespeople for the various models might certainly find material in Zapatismo that would support their arguments. Part of the problem is that the revisionists, like Hobsbawm, are limited by their sources: the police and judicial records on which they often depend naturally reveal little about bandit motives, at least not without being “deconstructed.” The student of Zapatismo, meanwhile, is blessed with an abundance of sources generated by the movement itself and thus need not worry much about either popular mythification or elite bias. The sources for the study of

⁵ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Manchester, 1959); and Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (New York, 1969). For a more detailed reading of Hobsbawm (and his opponents) than I provide here, see Gilbert M. Joseph, “On the Trail of Latin American Bandits: A Reexamination of Peasant Resistance,” *Latin American Research Review*, 25 (Summer 1990): 7–18.

⁶ For the revisionist position, see Richard W. Slatta, ed., *Bandidos: The Varieties of Latin American Banditry* (New York, 1987); and Slatta, “Banditry as Political Participation in Latin America,” in *Criminal Justice History: An International Annual*, 11 (1990): 175, 180. *Campesino* literally means “a person from the fields,” and I will use it interchangeably with the word peasant.

⁷ Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, 15, distinguishes three main forms of social banditry: the noble robber (Robin Hood), the Haiduk, and the avenger.

Zapatista banditry are not perfect; indeed, one might argue that there were certain biases built into the records produced at Zapatista headquarters. But the testimony of headquarters is complemented by documents generated by villagers and by *jefes* (leaders of guerrillas) in the field. Taken together, these sources reveal how complicated the subject of banditry can be and suggest that we can go deeper than the sometimes constraining debate over the social bandit.

More promising than the social-bandit model is Gilbert M. Joseph's suggestion that students of banditry consider more carefully what their subject has to say about peasant consciousness, and that they might do that by locating it within the array of methods of peasant resistance James C. Scott has called "weapons of the weak."⁸ In seeking to discover resistance in day-to-day peasant activities, Scott's seminal study of a Malaysian village does not approach the subject of revolution any more directly than does Hobsbawm. For Scott, however, "everyday forms of resistance" are part of a larger group of peasant options that does include armed rebellion but within which revolution is not conceptualized as superior to or more sophisticated than other methods. There is thus nothing here to rule out the possibility that in specific circumstances peasants might choose to combine banditry and revolution in the pursuit of their goals. More important, by drawing attention to the politics of such activities as feigned ignorance, foot dragging, theft, and arson, Scott's work challenges us to look for political motives in Zapatista banditry.

This essay, then, will suggest that the issue of Zapatista banditry is more complicated than either the governments that fought Zapata or the scholarly community have made it. It will demonstrate that banditry was far from insignificant among the Zapatistas. Although the Zapatistas were obviously not *simply* bandits, as their enemies claimed, there were always bandits among them—people whose banditry was problematic not in the eyes of outside observers alone but from the perspective of Zapata and members of his headquarters as well. Moreover, this essay will argue that this banditry has profound implications for our understanding of Zapatismo in that it was at times an expression of political goals that differed from those of Zapata. In doing so, it will test the applicability of Scott's model to Zapatista banditry as well as explore what that banditry might tell us about peasant revolutions in general.

BECAUSE DIFFICULTIES OF DEFINITION have plagued the literature on the subject, any discussion of banditry must carefully define its terms. Luckily, most of us know a bandit when we see one. He or she is someone who engages in property theft as part of a group. This theft is sometimes combined with violence against the owners of that property and is generally associated with rural rather than urban areas and with direct confrontation rather than stealth. Gilbert Joseph cautions that such a "traditional legal" definition of banditry runs the risk of embracing the perhaps

⁸ Joseph, "On the Trail," 25–30; and James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven, Conn., 1985). For a wider-ranging discussion of some of these themes, see also James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, 1990).

inevitable position of any given regime that such behavior is inherently criminal.⁹ Far from adopting the perspective of the state, my intention is to characterize banditry as objectively and dispassionately as possible. Recognizing the problem that Joseph identifies, however, I would suggest that my definition be qualified by the realization that property owners may have acquired their property by dubious means and that governments that enact laws to protect property are often (or usually) oppressive, which may make their laws illegitimate in the eyes of many of those they purport to rule. Although acts of banditry generally infringe on formal law codes, in other words, they are not necessarily immoral or unjustifiable.

During the early years of the Zapatista insurgency (1911 to mid-1914), many Zapatista activities fit this definition of banditry. When Pablo Torres Burgos (the first official leader of the movement) and Gabriel Tepepa took Jojutla, Morelos, on March 24, 1911, their *campesino* followers opened the jail, drank the wine, destroyed telephone and telegraph lines, and availed themselves of arms, horses, and food. Led by Tepepa, who knew the area well, they burned the local archives to make it harder to identify liberated prisoners and other fugitives. They also sacked and burned the town's main businesses and public offices and were especially destructive when it came to the property of Spaniards, who were popularly perceived as foreign oppressors.¹⁰ This behavior fits our definition of banditry, but it was also quite clearly class conflict and had an underlying revolutionary rationale. Beyond certain steps that were merely practical, it demonstrated the fact that the villagers of Morelos had not joined the Madero rebellion only to bring an end to the Díaz regime; rather, many of their goals were local and could be met in part by this immediate redistribution of resources and exacting of revenge.

Zapata apparently found these goals and this behavior acceptable, for he quickly took over the leadership of the movement when Torres Burgos, who had tried to stop the looting, resigned in protest. Indeed, Zapatista forces soon reenacted the events at Jojutla in other places, and often Zapata was present. But in the summer of 1911, after the Treaty of Ciudad Juárez ended the first round of fighting, Zapatista banditry became a political problem for Zapata. On the way to exile in Europe, Porfirio Díaz supposedly remarked, "Madero has unleashed a tiger. Now let's see if he can control it."¹¹ Zapata, too, had a tiger on his hands, for episodes of banditry did not magically end with Madero's victory.

That some banditry should continue was not surprising or unusual in such a decentralized rebellion, and Zapata's troops were probably no more prone to theft and violence than those of other leaders. In fact, the banditry that occurred was generally rather tame and limited: property was appropriated, but there was little

⁹ Joseph, "On the Trail," 21–22. Joseph's position echoes that of Ranajit Guha, whose work he discusses in this article.

¹⁰ "Relación de los sucesos en el estado de Morelos," AGM, 28: 19: 808; AGM, 12: 1: 19; *El imparcial*, March 25 and 28, 1911; Domingo Díez, *Bosquejo histórico geográfico de Morelos* (Cuernavaca, 1967), 144; and Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama, *La revolución agraria del sur y Emiliano Zapata, su caudillo* (Mexico City, 1960), 95.

¹¹ Michael C. Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History*, 4th edn. (New York, 1991), 511. For an appreciation of how quickly the need for political order can change hands, see Paul J. Vanderwood, *Disorder and Progress: Bandits, Police, and Mexican Development* (Lincoln, Neb., 1981), 11.



serious violence against the *hacendados* and their allies. Zapata's insistence on addressing the issue of land distribution, however, had earned him some powerful enemies, and they were intent on making political capital of the banditry that did take place. Zapata did what he could to defend himself against the charges of banditry that the Morelian elite raised with the new regime.¹² But in the end, Madero, an *hacendado* himself, and the conservative de la Barra rather predictably found the propertied more credible than they did the leader of a peasant rebellion. By the end of the summer, they had become convinced—or at least pretended to believe—that there was serious disorder in Morelos, and they pressed Zapata to discharge his forces. When the distrust of the Zapatistas complicated that process, de la Barra sent troops into the state to settle the question by force of arms.

Thus it was that in the fall of 1911 Zapata suddenly had the responsibility, which he had probably not completely foreseen, of leading his own revolution. The question of political legitimacy now became even more important, and Zapata undoubtedly thought of the Plateados, a group of bandits that had operated in Morelos during the nineteenth-century Reform era—bandits with whom he had been compared and with whom he compared himself.¹³ Lacking an explicit program, the Plateados had failed to capture broad support among the villagers and had eventually been hunted down and killed. To avoid a similar fate, Zapata continued to reject accusations of banditry. He understood that the label “bandit” had political motives, and he used this label against his own political foes, especially *jefe* Ambrosio Figueroa of Guerrero, whose forces were then fighting the Zapatistas. Finally, in December, one of Zapata's manifestos offered what might be considered a Zapatista definition of banditry: “One cannot call a person a bandit who, weak and helpless, was despoiled of his property by someone strong and powerful, and now that he cannot tolerate more, makes a superhuman effort to regain control over that which used to pertain to him. The despoiler is the bandit, not the despoiled!”¹⁴

Zapata tried to refute charges that he and his followers were bandits primarily by reaching out to Mexican public opinion, in November 1911, through the Plan of

¹² See Alfredo Robles Domínguez to Zapata, Mexico City, May 28, 1911, Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, Archivo de Alfredo Robles Domínguez (hereafter, ARD), 4: 17: 41; Juan Andreu Almazán, “Memorias del General Juan Andreu Almazán,” *El universal*, 1957–58 (bound photocopy at the Colegio de México), chaps. 17–18; Zapata to Robles Domínguez, Cuernavaca, June 4, 1911, AGM, 19: 3: 91; Antonio Carriles to Juan Pagaza, Cuernavaca, May 23–24, 1911, ARD, 6: 28: 10–11; J. Lamberto Marin to Clemente Jaques and Cía, Axochiapan, Morelos, June 9, 1911, ARD, 4: 17: 131; and J. N. Carreón to Robles Domínguez, Cuernavaca, May 31, 1911, ARD, 4: 17: 63.

¹³ On the Plateados, see Vanderwood, *Disorder and Progress*, 8–11, 53. Zapata's *charro* dress was similar to the clothing worn by members of this bandit group; it may also be significant that both Zapata and the Plateados ultimately chose to establish their headquarters in the village of Tlaltizapán. *El imparcial*, March 20, 1911, notes that, as Zapata began his rebellion, rumors that the Plateados were again up in arms circulated in Morelos. See also Serafin M. Robles, “Semblanza del Plan de Ayala,” *El campesino* (Mexico City), January 1950.

¹⁴ Zapata's manifesto, “A Todos los Pueblos en General,” December 31, 1911, in Isidro Fabela and Josefina E. de Fabela, eds., *Documentos históricos de la revolución mexicana*, Vol. 21: *Emiliano Zapata, el Plan de Ayala, y su política agraria* (Mexico City, 1970), 58–59. See also Zapata, “Al Pueblo de Morelos,” Villa de Ayala, August 27, 1911, in Laura Espejel, et al., eds., *Emiliano Zapata: Antología* (Mexico City, 1988), 108–10; Zapata to Magaña, December 6, 1911, and J. N. Carreón to the Secretario de Gobernación, Cuernavaca, July 29, 1911, in Fabela and Fabela, *Documentos históricos*, 43 and 12–13, respectively; and Zapata to Madero, Villa de Ayala, November 6, 1911, Archivo General de la Nación, Colección Revolución (hereafter, CR), 1: 229.

Ayala, which would serve thereafter as his fundamental political statement.¹⁵ Clearly spelling out Zapatista demands for land and liberty, the Plan of Ayala was precisely the kind of revolutionary program the Plateados had lacked. Still, it could not in itself convince the rest of Mexico that Zapatismo was a politically legitimate revolutionary movement. In pursuit of that elusive goal, Zapata would have to try to limit episodes of banditry.

There was also another, more compelling reason to bring banditry under control. What would gradually build into a steady stream of *campesino* complaints about forced loans, robbery, murder, rape, and the destruction of village property had evidently already begun to demand Zapata's attention in 1911 and to make it obvious that Zapatista banditry was not only directed against the wealthy.¹⁶ In some cases, of course, the bandits of whom the villagers complained were only loosely connected to Zapatismo—or perhaps not at all. In other cases, such offenses were carried out by individuals who were prominent in the movement and who at other times served it well.

The reasons that banditry was directed against peasants in this early period are not always clear. The desire of individual *jefes* and their guerrillas to control the resources of their zones was, however, an important factor, as was the general environment of lawlessness and violence bred by the civil war.¹⁷ Many episodes of banditry had as their underlying causes village feuds that went back for generations and did not diminish in intensity when the feuding villages both joined Zapatismo. One good example is the conflict in northwestern Morelos between Francisco Pacheco's village of Huitzilac and Genovevo de la O's Santa María. Both de la O and Pacheco constantly denounced the forces of the other for acts of banditry and more generalized violence against *guerrilleros* and *pacíficos* alike. In doing so, they vividly demonstrated that while the villages of Morelos and surrounding areas could unite against common enemies in a way that those of Oaxaca, say, could not, in many cases that unity was highly problematic.¹⁸

¹⁵ For the Plan of Ayala, see Womack, *Zapata*, 400–04.

¹⁶ For a small sampling of these complaints, see the citizens of San Andrés de la Cal, Morelos to Zapata, October 14, 1913, Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo de Genovevo de la O (hereafter, AO), 13: 9: 33–34; Timoteo Sánchez to Zapata, Tepoztlán, Morelos, March 30, 1914, AO, 14: 4: 28; Francisco Mendoza to Zapata, September 15, 1913, AO, 13: 8: 5; Fortino Ayaquica to Zapata, September 29, 1913, AO, 13: 8: 15, and February 18, 1914, AO, 14: 3: 15; and the citizens of Coatetelco to de la O, October 27, 1912, AO, 1: 3: 87.

¹⁷ Whether a culture (or cultures) of violence existed in Morelos and surrounding areas before the revolution is uncertain. As the inhabitants of this region became brutalized by civil war, however, such a culture naturally emerged. For discussions of conflict and violence in Morelian villages after the revolution, see Lola Romanucci-Ross, *Conflict, Violence, and Morality in a Mexican Village* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1973); and Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (Urbana, Ill., 1951), 428–29. Finally, for revolutionary events contributing to cultures of violence in other regions, see James Greenberg, *Blood Ties: Life and Violence in Rural Mexico* (Tucson, Ariz., 1989), 193; and Frans J. Schryer, *Ethnicity and Class Conflict in Rural Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1990), 220.

¹⁸ For a typical dispute, see Pacheco to de la O, October 28 and 29, 1912, AO, 1: 3: 100, and AO, 1: 3: 102, respectively. Also see Zapata to Pacheco, August 18, 1912, AO, 11: 9: 4–5; Pacheco to de la O, September 1, 1912, September 23, 1912, and December 31, 1913, AO, 1: 3: 71, AO, 1: 3: 54, and AO, 2: 6: 40, respectively; Zapata to de la O, October 24, 1912, AO, 11: 10: 23; Salvador Rueda Smithers, "La zona armada de Genovevo de la O," *Cuicuilco*, 2 (January 1981): 40–41; and Guillermo de la Peña, *A Legacy of Promises: Agriculture, Politics, and Ritual in the Morelos Highlands of Mexico* (Austin, Tex., 1981), 86. On the Oaxacan case, see Ronald Waterbury, "Non-revolutionary Peasants: Oaxaca Compared to Morelos in the Mexican Revolution," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 17 (1975): 410–42. A *guerrillero* was a warrior, and a *pacífico* a noncombatant.

Aside from the fact that this kind of banditry hurt the very people that Zapatismo was committed to helping, it was clear that such behavior would ultimately undermine the village support on which the guerrillas depended. For that reason, Zapata took action early. On December 20, 1911, he outlined for his forces specific means of dealing with the *pueblos*: those in arms were not to take more of the tortillas and the fodder that they required than was willingly given; they were to respect civil authorities that had been chosen democratically; they were to protect civilians. "The better we behave," Zapata argued, "the more supporters and aid we will have among the people, and our triumph will come more quickly."¹⁹

But enforcing such dictates was never easy, given the nature of guerrilla warfare. To begin with, it was often difficult to be certain who the perpetrators were in any given case. *Jefes* whose forces were blamed for infractions often claimed that bandits not under their command were simply using their names, and it was undoubtedly difficult for Zapata, at a distance, to determine who was telling the truth. Furthermore, feuding Zapatistas surely exaggerated each other's misconduct for political purposes. Zapata also had both to balance the demands of justice against the problems inherent in sending one guerrilla band to rein in another and to consider the repercussions of alienating people who might take their knowledge of the region's terrain over to the enemy. Finally, if Zapata needed to hold the support of the villages, he also needed the firepower of even those Zapatistas who sometimes raided those villages. He understood that most of these occasionally brutal bands were his followers and, unlike Torres Burgos, had accepted that some degree of conflict within the Zapatista world was inevitable. As a result of all these considerations, Zapata was pragmatic in his desire to use sometime-bandits if the abuses they had committed were not "of an exaggerated nature, impossible to tolerate."²⁰

Rather than punish his followers for their offenses, Zapata generally sought to "moralize" them. Directives regulating behavior and allotting key resources emerged constantly from his headquarters, sometimes elaborating on those issued in the past but often just rehashing them and thus demonstrating the persistence of episodes of banditry.²¹ In accord with his desire to keep those who sometimes transgressed within his movement, Zapata carefully avoided calling them bandits—another indication that he accepted the connection governments in Mexico City were making between banditry and political illegitimacy. True, these transgressors had become "strong and powerful" despoilers, but the December 1911 manifesto using that phrase had referred to the *hacendados* of Morelos—Zapatismo's class

¹⁹ Zapata's circular of December 20, 1911, in Octavio Magaña's "Historia documental de la revolución mexicana," AGM (unnumbered boxes), document no. 212, pp. 3–7. *Pueblo*, as it is used in this article, simply means village.

²⁰ Zapata to de la O, September 20, 1912, AO, 11: 10: 15. See also Francisco Mendoza to Zapata, September 15, 1913, AO, 13: 8: 5; and Zapata to de la O, February 28, 1913, AO, 11: 10: 31–34.

²¹ Zapata to de la O, November 12, 1912, AO, 11: 10: 24; Instrucciones a que Deberán Sugetarse los Jefes y Oficiales del Ejército Libertador del Sur y Centro, July 28, 1913, and Zapata's circular, October 28, 1913, both in Centro de Estudios Históricos del Agrarismo en México (CEHAM), *El ejército campesino del sur (ideología, organización y programa)* (Mexico City, 1982), 46–47 and 141–42, respectively; the circulars of February 10 and 11, 1914, in Espejel, *Emiliano Zapata*, 179–80; Lorenzo Vázquez to Zapata, Jojutla, July 20, 1914, AO, 14: 8: 137; Zapata to de la O, February 28, 1913, AO, 11: 10: 31–34; and Zapata to de la O, April 3, 1913, AO, 11: 10: 44.

enemies—whose political legitimacy Zapata challenged. However much Zapatista bandits despoiled, their class position and political allegiance put them in a different category and demanded a different vocabulary. To characterize the events that troubled his movement, Zapata therefore employed a broad variety of words: abuses (*abusos*), outrages (*atropellos*), excesses (*desmanes*), crimes (*delitos*), robberies (*robos*), depredations (*depredaciones*), scandals (*escándalos*), assaults (*asaltos*).²²

In at least one case during the early years of the rebellion, banditry was part of a direct threat to Zapata's power. Among the most prominent of Zapatista chieftains was Felipe Neri, an explosives expert who made bombs in salmon cans. Deaf after being wounded in the May 1911 battle of Cuautla, Neri nevertheless took up operations later that same year in northeastern Morelos, southeastern Mexico state, and the Federal District. In June 1913, he was injured for a second time by a bomb of his own making, but still he fought on. Unfortunately, some of the fury that drove Neri to continue pursuing the Zapatista cause despite his injuries was taken out on his fellow Zapatistas and the villagers who supported them. In the spring of 1912, his troops had a shoot-out with those of de la O, and this was not an isolated incident. As one Zapatista veteran put it, Neri's "manner of thinking was to rob," and in 1913 his forces went on a spree of plunder, murder, and rape.²³

Zapata understood by 1912 that "left to himself this man [Neri] is very disorderly."²⁴ Only in November 1913, however, when Neri bluntly responded to a scolding from Zapata concerning an arms dispute with two other *jefes*, did the full ramifications of his disorderliness become evident. Refusing to send the weapons he was accused of taking from his fellow Zapatistas to headquarters as Zapata demanded, Neri charged Zapata with favoring Camilo Duarte—one of the other *jefes* involved in the incident—simply because he was Zapata's *compadre*.²⁵ In fact, Neri claimed, Duarte had committed abuses in the area and had begun the present conflict by taking the guns in question from Neri's soldiers. Zapata could have the weapons, the letter concluded, but if he sent for them, Neri would continue the revolution on his own.²⁶

²² On the rare occasions when Zapata or one of his *jefes* did sign a document that used words like *bandoleros*, it was a sure sign that the person or persons in question had never been part of Zapatismo or were being disowned. See Zapata to Magaña, San Pablo, Morelos, February 16, 1919, AGM, 30: 29; 514; and [Genovevo de la O] to the Municipal President of Miaatlán, Miaatlán, Morelos, February 21, 1913, in Espejel, *Emiliano Zapata*, 125.

²³ Interview with José Lora Mirasol, conducted by Laura Espejel, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, Mexico City, October 2, 4, 1973, Programa de Historia Oral (hereafter, PHO), Z/1/14, pp. 49–50. See also AO, 12: 1: 8, and AO, 12: 1: 10; Constancio Falfán to Zapata, November 22, 1913, AO, 13: 10: 63; Irene Albarrán Ayala to Zapata, November 10, 1913, AO, 13: 10: 58–59; the Archivo Histórico de la Defensa Nacional, Mexico City (hereafter, ADN), pensionados, de la O, X/III, 19; Zapata to de la O, June 27, 1913, AO, 11: 10: 48; interview with Angel Capistrán, conducted by Rosalind Beimler, Mexico City, PHO/1/199; and interview with Serafín Plasencia Gutiérrez, conducted by Laura Espejel and Salvador Rueda, Mexico City, September 13 and 20, 1974, PHO, Z/1/59, p. 51.

²⁴ Zapata to de la O, 1912, AO, 11: 10: 26.

²⁵ *Compadres* were men tied to one another in fictive kinship through one of several rituals of *compadrazgo* (godparenthood), the most important of which was when one man became godparent of the child of another at baptism. For the significance of fictive kinship relations in establishing a network of Zapatista loyalty and leadership, see Salvador Rueda, "Oposición y subversión: Testimonios zapatistas," *Historias*, 3 (1983): 10–11.

²⁶ Neri to Zapata, Tlayacapan, Morelos, November 11, 1913, AO, 13: 10: 14–16.

In nine years of revolutionary correspondence, no other Zapatista ever dared to confront Zapata so openly. Neri, it seems, had always “wanted to be more than Zapata”; indeed, one goal of his banditry was surely to expand his zone—and his power—at the expense of neighboring Zapatistas.²⁷ Beyond the likelihood that Neri’s behavior would alienate villages from the cause was the possibility that Neri, who commanded significant loyalty from other Zapatista chieftains, might divide the movement. On January 23, 1914, troops of a Zapatista named Antonio Barona gunned down Neri in or near Tepoztlán, Morelos. Strong circumstantial evidence indicates that Zapata ordered him killed, the only way to stop a *guerrillero* out of control. Although this order is missing—or, more likely, was never committed to paper—the coincidence that Neri should die at this time and in this way is striking, especially if one considers that Barona was the logical man for the job. As tough a character as Neri, he, too, was Zapata’s *compadre* and could thus be trusted to keep secret Zapata’s role in Neri’s death. Not surprisingly, Barona was never called to account for his participation in this event.²⁸

DESPITE THE CASE OF Felipe Neri, Zapatismo remained relatively cohesive during its early years, and banditry rarely became a serious political threat. Eventually, though, the movement, and the role of banditry within it, began to change. In the words of one witness, from 1911 to 1914, “everyone was more or less in accord with the *jefe* [Zapata],” but from 1915 to 1920, “the government would come and burn the *pueblos*, the Zapatistas would come and assault [us], so that when Zapata died the people desired peace more than anything, even if the Plan of Ayala was not fulfilled.”²⁹ Many of the reasons for this change can be traced to the events of the twelve months after August 1914. During that period, Zapatismo reached its greatest power on the national scene. In alliance with the troops of yet another northern revolutionary, Francisco “Pancho” Villa, the Zapatistas created a nominal national government—the Convention—and held Mexico City for months at a time. Meanwhile, although Villa and Zapata also undertook a war against Venustiano Carranza’s Constitutionalist faction that would last for the remainder of Zapata’s life, the early stages of that war were primarily fought by the Villistas north of Mexico City. Peace prevailed in the Zapatista heartland, enabling Zapata to pursue his revolutionary program.

Unfortunately, many perils threatened this relative peace. Among them was the

²⁷ Interview with Serafín Plasencia Gutiérrez, PHO, Z/1/59, p. 51. See also Ireneo Albarrán Ayala to Zapata, November 1, 1913, in Mirta Rosovsky, *et al.*, eds., *Documentos inéditos sobre Emiliano Zapata* (Mexico City, 1979), 35–37.

²⁸ On other, less sensitive occasions, Zapata did issue written hit orders—see, for instance, Zapata to Lorenzo Vázquez, January 31, 1916, AGM, 31: 2: 100. For accounts of Neri’s death, see Juan Solas for Antonio Barona to Zapata, January 23, 1914, AO, 14: 1: 66; Amador Salazar to Zapata, January 23, 1914, AO, 14: 1: 65; Miguel Ángel Sedano P., *Emiliano Zapata: Revolucionarios surianos y memorias de Quintín González* (Mexico City, 1970), 62; and interview with Carmen Aldana, conducted by Laura Espejel, Tepalcingo, Morelos, March 2, 30, 1974, PHO, Z/1/32. Although Barona escaped immediate punishment for Neri’s death, fate eventually caught up with him: he was killed by the troops of de la O in late 1915.

²⁹ Don Leonor of Tepalcingo, Morelos, cited in Elena Azaola Garrido, “Tepalcingo: La dependencia política de un municipio de Morelos,” in Azaola Garrido and Esteban Krotz, *Los campesinos de la tierra de Zapata III: Política y conflicto* (Mexico City, 1976), 42.

changing nature of resource competition in the Zapatista world. Much of Zapatismo's unity and early impetus came from the common desire of Morelian *campesinos* to stop the expansion of the hacienda system that dominated the economy of their state. Now, in the summer and fall of 1914, the last haciendas passed into Zapatista hands and began to be divided among villages in a formal process of land reform. As respective villages rushed to claim their share of the newly available land and water, it became obvious that neither oral tradition nor the maps and titles that now came out from their hiding places provided the kind of precise data that was needed. Based on these sources, the claims of one community often overlapped those of another. With the common enemy gone, tensions between neighboring villages grew and sometimes burst into open conflict.³⁰

Meanwhile, the relationship between Zapatista troops and the communities they represented underwent a metamorphosis. In 1914, some villages began to claim that they could no longer feed the Zapatistas, and by mid-1915, food was apparently growing scarce in the region. In May of that year, Zapata's brother Eufemio informed the chief executive of the Convention government that the food situation in southwestern Puebla was "of more urgency than free love"; Zapata himself soon wrote of similar pressures in Morelos. The determination of both individual villages and the movement to maximize their resources probably led to some exaggeration of shortages. Still, the growing size of Zapatismo, combined with poor distribution of foodstuffs, hoarding, and bad harvests in some areas, had created a problem: the villages of Morelos and its neighboring states apparently could not feed as many men as were in the field.³¹

The urban experiences of this period formed yet another source of tension within the movement. When the Zapatistas occupied Mexico City in November 1914, they were well behaved and even humble—some went begging for food from house to house. As they became accustomed to the city, however, many forgot both that initial humility and Zapata's instructions about conduct. Some *jefes* now took advantage of the new opportunities for plunder offered by the urban milieu as well as by Zapatista control over the railroads and the remains of the haciendas. Others became involved in various drunken scandals that included shoot-outs with their fellow Zapatistas and their supposed Villista allies. Friction among *jefes* seems to

³⁰ Marte R. Gómez, *Las comisiones agrarias del sur* (Mexico City, 1961), 62–63; Eufemio Zapata to Zapata, Cuautla, Morelos, September 19, 1914, AGM, 27: 12: 213; Jesús Blancas to Zapata, June 12, 1915, Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo de Emiliano Zapata (hereafter, AZ), 19: 2: 85; Modesto Rangel to Zapata, Xochitepec, Morelos, June 27, 1915, AZ, 19: 2: 49; Benigno Veliz to Zapata, Acatlán, July 18, 1915, AZ, 9: 2: 43; Zapata to Ricardo Reyes Márquez, Tlaltizapán, Morelos, August 25, 1915, AZ, 9: 6: 36; Zapata to Otilio Montaña, Tlaltizapán, March 5, 1915, in Amado Cháverri Matamoros, "El Archivo de Zapata," *La prensa* (Mexico City) September 27, 1935; Adalberto Hernández to Zapata, Mexico City, May 28, 1915, AGM, 28: 23: 1038; and Zapata to Gustavo Baz, Tlaltizapán, August 23, 1915, AZ, 19: 4: 71.

³¹ Eufemio Zapata to Roque González Garza, Cuautla, Morelos, May 8, 1915, Universidad Panamericana, Mexico City, Archivo de Roque González Garza (hereafter, AGG), 11: 433. See also Zapata to González Garza, Tlaltizapán, June 3, 1915, AGG, 12: 291; "Un hijo del pueblo" to Pacheco, Cuernavaca, December 9, 1915, AZ, 10: 10: 77; Heliodoro Castillo to Zapata, Iguala, September 9, 1915, AZ, 10: 1: 63–64; José E. Ponce to Zapata, Huehuetlán, Puebla, July 28, 1914, AO, 15: 3: 151; the citizens of Tixtla, Guerrero to Zapata, August 13, 1914, AO, 16: 1: 99; Domitilo Ayala and Luciano Solís to de la O, Palpan, September 21, 1914, AO, 4: 3: 41; Lucio Zamora to Zapata, Miaquatlán, Morelos, November 3, 1914, AZ, 2: 1: 13; and Emigdio Martínez to Zapata, Jonacatepec, Morelos, October 1, 1914, AZ 1: 21: 4.

have increased, and Zapatista morale declined.³² Although difficult to prove, it is quite possible that these urban events also contributed to a process in which Zapatista forces—especially the leaders of those forces—grew increasingly apart from the peasant villages they represented. The final factor that burdened Zapatismo during this pivotal year was the failure of the war against the Constitutionalists. In the spring and early summer of 1915, Villa lost the great, decisive battles of Celaya and León in the Bajío region of the Mexican north; and in early August, the Zapatistas were driven from Mexico City. The Convention government fled west to Toluca in Mexico state and then began to scatter. It could no longer offer the intermittent pay that Zapatista soldiers had become accustomed to receiving, pay that had mitigated the strain on local resources in the Zapatista world.³³

AND SO, IN THE TWELVE MONTHS AFTER AUGUST 1914, cracks began to show in the system of close cooperation between guerrillas and communities that had worked quite well during the early part of the revolution. As the Constitutionalists nibbled away at Zapatismo's periphery in late 1915 and then invaded Morelos in early 1916, the destruction produced by the renewed warfare left often desperate Zapatistas competing with each other—and with the villages—for basic necessities. While the difficulties of war were not new to Zapatismo, there was no longer any recourse to the wealth of *hacendados* and merchants, which had already been appropriated.

Given these developments, it is not surprising that theft seems to have increased after mid-1915. In April 1916, Pedro Avilez of Chamilpa, Mexico, informed de la O that the troops of a General Camilo Paredes had taken his horse, arguing that it was best that the Zapatistas took it first, "before the enemy came." Others complained that Zapatista guerrillas demanded such basic foodstuffs as corn by force of arms or simply stole them from village fields. Villagers sometimes added that if the robbery continued, they would have to take to the road begging. Indeed, as the Carrancistas encroached, the scarcity became so great in some areas that many *campesinos* had to move: Morelians fled to Guerrero, while migrants from Mexico state—where things were worse—streamed down like locusts into Morelos, consuming "even the grass."³⁴ But Zapatista forces had their own problems. In

³² For one view of the change in Zapatista behavior, see Leon Canova to the Secretary of State, El Paso, Texas, December 30, 1914, U.S. Department of State, Records Relating to the Internal Affairs of Mexico, 1910–1929, 812.00/14131. See also Gildardo Magaña to Zapata, Mexico City, June 3, 1915, AZ, 8: 4: 52; Ireneo Albarrán Ayala to de la O, Miacatlán, Morelos, August 11, 1914, AO, 4: 2: 46; Trinidad Paniagua to Zapata, Tlapa, July 1, 1914, AO, 15: 2: 63; Manuel Palafox to Zapata, December 21, 1914, AGM, 28: 19: 820; the "Orden General de la Plaza de México," May 11–12, 1915, AZ, 21: 3: 24; Victoriano Bárcenas to Zapata, Huitzuc, Guerrero, November 9, 1914, AGM, 30: 8: 129; and Samuel Brunk, *Emiliano Zapata: Revolution and Betrayal in Mexico* (Albuquerque, N. Mex., 1995), 141–43, 156, 166.

³³ Brunk, *Emiliano Zapata*, 178.

³⁴ Sergio Valverde, *Apuntes para la historia de la revolución* (Mexico City, 1933), 186. See also Pedro Avilez to de la O, Chamilpa, April 1, 1916, AO, 6: 4: 122; Luciano Solís to de la O, San Gaspar, October 31, 1916, AO, 6: 10: 18; the citizens of Atlacholoaya, Morelos, to Zapata, January 19, 1917, AZ, 13: 2: 13; interview with Norberto Reyes Y., conducted by Laura Espejel, Ajusco, Talpan, D.F., November 12, 1973, PHO, Z/1/22, pp. 20–21; and the anonymous account of travel to Guerrero [May 1916], in AGM, 27: 5: 54.

November 1915, Guerreran General Encarnación "Chon" Díaz told Zapata that if his troops did not receive their pay, they would have to turn back to the villages for support. Díaz made this option sound like a threat, and soon so many charges of banditry had been lodged against him, some say, that Zapata ordered him killed for his misbehavior.³⁵

As Díaz's story hints, this banditry often had what might be considered a political dimension. Tired of war and terrified by the Constitutionalist invaders, villagers now often sought to make deals with the more powerful faction in order to avoid being punished as adherents of Zapatismo. Many of Zapata's *jefes* responded by demonstrating their understanding that coercion and terror were useful tools in obtaining support when good will no longer sufficed. Accusations of rape became more frequent in the documents that arrived at Zapata's headquarters, and some Zapatistas allegedly notched the ears of villagers accused of supporting the Carrancistas, as a way of promising greater punishment should their allegiance to Zapata waver again. It all added up to what one important Zapatista called "the sad situation of civilians and soldiers."³⁶

Zapata naturally took steps to deal with these difficulties. In 1915, he began to recommend the formation of armed patrols to individual villages that complained of banditry, and in a circular of May 1916 he *ordered* municipal authorities to establish such police forces. Zapatista troops were now required to justify their presence in a given community, and those that had a reason to be stationed in a village were to work with civilian authorities to extract the needed aid. In a compilation of the previous declarations of his headquarters on the subject, Zapata signed in early March 1917 a law that outlined the rights and obligations of villages and troops. "It is urgent that we demonstrate with deeds," this decree read, "that the era of abuses has ended."³⁷ To complement these instructions, Zapata also exacted more severe justice, at least upon occasion. After receiving numerous protests about the deportment of a Colonel Miguel Capistrán, for instance, Zapata answered one letter with finality: "we proceeded to execute him in my recent trip there [to Tepalcingo, Morelos], and in doing so carried out proper justice."³⁸ In ordering the death of another bandit, he advised "that the execution be public to satisfy all of the *pueblos* in which he [the criminal] committed his villainies."³⁹

Zapata's indictments of banditry during this period are similar, in many ways, to the pronouncements by conservative proponents of order, early in the revolutionary

³⁵ Encarnación Díaz to Zapata, Iguala, Guerrero, November 15, 1915, AZ, 10: 8: 22; Trinidad Sánchez Tenorio to Zapata, Amecameca, Mexico, July 17, 1915, AZ, 9: 2: 34; and interview with Víctor Valle Lozano, conducted by Laura Espejel, Mexico City, January 30, 1974, PHO, Z/1/27.

³⁶ Fortino Ayaquica to Zapata, December 26, 1916, AZ, 20: 6: 6. For reports of rape, see AZ, 20: 3: 13, and AZ, 25: 9: 3-6. For insight into the use of terrorism by guerrilla movements, see Timothy Wickham-Crowley, *Exploring Revolution: Essays on Latin American Insurgency and Revolutionary Theory* (Armonk, N.Y., 1991), 20, 49-50, 74-80. Finally, see the interview with Leopoldo Alquicira Fuentes, conducted by Alicia Olivera, Tepepan, D.F., July 21 and 31, 1973, PHO, Z/1/3.

³⁷ The Ley de 5 de Marzo de 1917, in Espejel, *Emiliano Zapata*, 378-82. See also Zapata's circular to municipal authorities, May 31, 1916, in the same work, 346-47; the document of August 29, 1915, in AZ, 9: 6: 51-52; Zapata to Huehuetlán, Puebla, September 8, 1915, AZ, 19: 5: 24-25; the citizens of Tepalcingo, Morelos, to Zapata, October 6, 1915, AZ, 10: 4: 36-37; and Manuel Arellano Zavaleta, ed., *Pensamiento social de Emiliano Zapata: Documentos inéditos* (Mexico City, 1969), 17.

³⁸ The citizens of Tepalcingo, Morelos, to Zapata, October 8, 1915, and his reply, AZ, 19: 6: 11-12.

³⁹ Zapata to Francisco Mendoza, Tlaltizapán, September 17, 1917, ADN, pensionados, Mendoza, III.2/1-3m, 88.

decade, against Zapatismo in general. One of his 1917 circulars proclaimed that "robbery is a repugnant crime punished by all civilized peoples, which it is urgent to prevent and energetically repress for the conservation of the society in which we live."⁴⁰ The wording and tone of such documents vividly demonstrate how completely the problem of order had become Zapata's problem. They also indicate that perhaps Zapata and the urban advisers who surrounded him at his headquarters had become more concerned with the kind of order that would keep Zapatismo together than were many Zapatistas in the field. In fact, Zapata had consciously employed his intellectuals as agents of discipline and centralization at least as early as 1913, when he commissioned Angel Barrios to mediate the Pacheco/de la O feud. Now, in 1917, he again hoped to make them part of the solution by assigning them to his new Consultation Center for Revolutionary Propaganda and Unification, which included among its various responsibilities the resolution of disputes between *jefes*.⁴¹

Implicit in the constant complaints about Zapatista infractions directed to Zapata and other, lesser *jefes* was the assumption, or at least the hope, that they could do something about them. Something could be done, of course, in specific cases—like that of Miguel Capistrán—but ending banditry in general would prove to be impossible. It was one thing to make pious proclamations against theft, but Zapata understood that his forces had to eat, and eating meant that they had little recourse but banditry in places where the *pacíficos* would no longer cooperate. The old question of whether to punish Zapatistas who stole from villages but were essential to the flagging war effort also came up occasionally. In 1917, one of Zapata's principal urban advisers argued during the trial of members of a Zapatista livestock-theft ring that those implicated could not yet be punished, "because their services in the files of the Revolution are indispensable."⁴²

In sum, the military and economic decay of the movement was the underlying problem Zapata had to face, and it remained fairly constant, although the Zapatistas did recover Morelos for a time in 1917–1918. Since Zapata had no way of ending this decay, he could not stop the banditry it fostered. And banditry, in turn, furthered the disintegration of Zapatismo. As we have seen, political motives fueled the charges of banditry generated by feuds like that between Genovevo de la O and Francisco Pacheco. At least in part, each *jefe* sought to delegitimize the other in the eyes of Zapatista headquarters and thus to gain an advantage in the local power struggle. Now such struggles over legitimacy deepened: banditry remained a central issue, but to it was added the growing possibility that Zapatistas who were either accusing others or being accused of banditry were about to leave the movement altogether—as Felipe Neri had threatened to do—as a final way of resolving Zapatismo's many tensions. Banditry, in other words, now became a fundamental factor in the most obvious manifestation of Zapatista decline: the wave of desertion that swept the movement after mid-1915 as less than fully loyal *jefes* began to look elsewhere for the winners of the revolution.

⁴⁰ Zapata's circular, Tlaltizapán, Morelos, February 14, 1917, in Espejel, *Emiliano Zapata*, 373.

⁴¹ Brunk, *Emiliano Zapata*, 92–95, 195–96; and Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama to de la O, Tlaltizapán, Morelos, January 17, 1917, AO, 7: 1: 10.

⁴² For the extensive documentation of this trial, see AZ, 25: 8: 45–131.

Not surprisingly, the first great episode of "betrayal" during this stage of the revolution emerged from the contest between de la O and Pacheco. The Zapatista land-reform process had exacerbated a land dispute between Huitzilac and Santa María, and Pacheco came to believe that Zapatista headquarters favored Santa María's claims. The recent military failure also upset him, perhaps especially because Pacheco served as minister of war in the Convention government. Using that position as a soapbox, in August 1915 he informed Zapata, "my face burns with the memory of how many times the enemy has driven us from the City [of Mexico], everyone running for Cuernavaca, committing intolerable abuses due to lack of discipline. Who if not you, *compañero*," he added, "is in a position to prevent this and to admonish the *Jefes* who allow it?"⁴³

Pacheco's men were hardly innocent of the "intolerable abuses" of which he wrote, and he surely sometimes condoned their bandit activities: it had not been long since he had threatened, much like Chon Díaz, that if his troops were not paid, they might commit acts "that discredit us." Over the years, however, he had developed a purifying, anti-bandit discourse as he competed with de la O for Zapata's favor. Now, while he was surely thinking about de la O in complaining about abuses, he was also appropriating the anti-bandit position for himself, against even Zapata, by questioning Zapata's commitment to disciplining his followers. It is unlikely that Pacheco hoped to prod Zapata into centralizing the movement more effectively, for he had rejected what he considered intrusions from Zapatista headquarters in the past. Rather, this critique of Zapata's leadership might best be seen as an exploratory effort on Pacheco's part to delegitimize Zapata by implying that the banditry was his fault. As such, it would help justify Pacheco's separation from the movement—to himself, to his troops, and to other Zapatista *jefes* who might be inclined to join him. In any event, Pacheco soon entered into talks with the Carrancistas, and in March 1916 he defected, opening a path for the invasion of Morelos. Adherents of de la O soon hunted Pacheco down and killed him.⁴⁴

Similar centrifugal forces were at work on the border between Morelos and Guerrero, where Zapatista bands competed for power and resources with each other and with the Carrancistas. Among the *jefes* operating there were Lorenzo Vázquez and Pedro Saavedra, who had been trading charges of banditry for years—charges that, again, were undoubtedly often well founded in reality. In fact, the accusations against Saavedra—for stealing grain, livestock, arms, and money—became convincing enough that in January 1916 Zapata directed Vázquez to attack and capture him, if possible, for his "constant abuses." But neither Vázquez nor anyone else succeeded in carrying out what was essentially a hit order, and Zapata

⁴³ Pacheco to Zapata, Huitzilac, August 5, 1915, AZ, 9: 4: 29–32. See also Julián Gallegos to Zapata, Malinalco, Mexico, November 19, 1915, AZ, 10: 8: 50–51; Pacheco to de la O, Huitzilac, December 28, 1915, AO, 5: 12: 11; Manuel Palafox to Pacheco, December 27, 1915, AO, 11: 9: 57; Manuel Palafox to de la O, December 27, 1915, AO, 5: 12: 10; Pacheco to Zapata, Huitzilac, October 20, 1915, AZ, 10: 5: 48; Pacheco to Zapata, Huitzilac, December 15, 1915, AZ, 10: 11: 23–25; and Pacheco to [Everardo?] González, Huitzilac, March 11, 1916, AGM, 27: 3: 34.

⁴⁴ Pacheco to Zapata, Huitzilac, March 12, 1915, AZ, 7: 1: 53. Octavio Paz Solórzano, *Hoguera que fue*, Felipe Gálvez, ed. (Mexico City, 1986), 340, argues that Pacheco had a puritanical streak, which might have played into his anti-bandit righteousness. Also germane, perhaps, is Hobsbawm's contention that social bandits are often restorers of morality; see *Bandits*, 37.

continued, diplomatically, to deal with Saavedra as if he were a Zapatista in good standing.⁴⁵

The *pacíficos* of the area, often defenseless, bore the brunt of the violence and property loss that Saavedra and others occasioned, and they had little reason to hope that Zapata could correct the problem. On the last day of April 1917, the villagers of Buenavista de Cuéllar, Guerrero, just south of the Morelos state line, took things into their own hands by attacking the small Zapatista garrison stationed there. Whether they meant to support Carranza or simply wanted to be left alone is unclear, but they were anti-Saavedra. The uprising posed a sizable threat to Zapata, who quickly ordered more troops—some of questionable loyalty—into Buenavista.⁴⁶

In the melee that followed, Lorenzo Vázquez was killed. Documents supposedly found in his clothing implicated him in the rebellion, and other evidence pointed to Otilio Montaña—co-author, with Zapata, of the Plan of Ayala—who also often fought in the area. Zapatista headquarters viewed it as another case of betrayal; and, in one of Zapatismo's tragic moments, Montaña was tried and executed for his part in the uprising. The details of the Buenavista revolt and Montaña's subsequent trial may never be convincingly explained, for these were tremendously complicated occurrences—full of ambitions and grievances and conspiracy theories. Still, we do know that Vázquez and Zapata had recently had a falling out and that Montaña had become increasingly unhappy with certain Zapatista policies, so it is possible that both planned to defect. Whatever the truth of their intentions and motives, banditry—and especially the reaction to it by the citizens of Buenavista—again seems to have played a central role in events that deeply damaged Zapatismo.⁴⁷

Although the precise relationship between banditry and betrayal differed from case to case, the two issues became entangled again and again. Zapata's ally from the state of Tlaxcala, Domingo Arenas, began in 1916 to complain about the indiscipline of his fellow Zapatistas, and to attack and rob the troops of other *jefes* and, allegedly, their village supporters as well. Like Pacheco, he, too, soon developed a purifying rhetoric that questioned Zapata's leadership and described his fellow Zapatistas as despoilers in no uncertain terms. In one letter, for example, he suggested that "we try to sanitize the Revolutionary Army," of those who had "made themselves lords over life and death, who have in their hands the lives and the dignities of the defenseless *campesinos*." Having developed such a justification, in December 1916 he signed on with the Carrancistas in the hope of carving out a largely independent political space for himself in and around Tlaxcala. In August of

⁴⁵ For the order against Saavedra, see Zapata to Lorenzo Vázquez, January 31, 1916, AGM, 31: 2: 100. See also Zapata to Vázquez, Tlaltizapán, March 21, 1916, AGM, 31, copybooks, 474; Zapata to Saavedra, April 15, 1916, AGM, 31, copybooks, 142; Saavedra to Zapata, December 9, 1915, AZ, 10: 10: 74–75; Saavedra to Zapata, Taxco, Guerrero, December 1, 1915, AZ, 10: 10: 7; Jesús Sánchez and five others to Zapata, Amacuzac, Morelos, February 28, 1915, AZ, 6: 2: 88; and Saavedra to Zapata, Amacuzac, Morelos, July 19, 1914, AO, 15: 1: 55.

⁴⁶ Victoriano Bárcenas to Zapata, Huitzuco, Guerrero, May 1, 1917, AZ, 13: 13: 2; Ponciano Juárez to Zapata, Ahuatepec, May 2, 1917, AZ, 13: 13: 10; the Boletín Extra of the Zapatista Information Service, May 7, 1917, AGM, 29: 10: 577; Brígido Barrera to Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama, Tlaltizapán, May 3, 1917, AGM, 29: 10: 551; Barrera to Díaz Soto y Gama, Jojutla, Morelos, May 4, 1917, AZ, 13: 13: 23; Zapata to Bárcenas, Tlaltizapán, May 5, 1917, AGM, 29: 10: 554; and Valverde, *Apuntes*, 187.

⁴⁷ Brunk, *Emiliano Zapata*, 199–201.

the following year, he was killed in a scuffle with Zapatista agents, who professed to be trying to talk him back into the fold.⁴⁸

Finally, one of the *jefes* with whom Arenas frequently clashed was Everardo González, who controlled a zone in eastern Mexico state. In 1916, Zapata praised González's fighting ability and held him up for emulation to other Zapatista leaders. Unfortunately, González had apparently come to feel that *guerrilleros* deserved greater rewards from Zapatismo than did *pacíficos*, and in 1916 his forces began to appropriate those rewards from the villages. Eventually, complaints about González led Zapata to remove him as commander of his zone, and González's activities largely disappear from our view. When he becomes visible again, in February 1919, he was apparently no longer a functioning Zapatista. Zapata charged that he and another chieftain, Valentín Reyes, were "marauding" near Jumiltepec, "where, as is their custom, they are oppressing the *pueblos* with looting and costly crimes." "They have entered fully into the life of bandits," he continued; and having thus thoroughly delegitimized them, he gave the command to "eliminate" them as well, "in order to purify the Revolution definitively." Here, it seems, excessive banditry was the betrayal that separated González from the movement; but, because González never joined the Carrancistas, that separation was somewhat provisional. Zapata's own elimination occurred less than two months after he ordered González killed. Both González and Reyes survived him and continued to be considered at least nominal Zapatistas.⁴⁹

It was just as well, then, that in January 1918, Zapata had acknowledged his impotence against banditry by informing his main adviser, Gildardo Magaña, that it would henceforth be up to the villages to protect themselves. Though realistic, this policy created further problems in that it permitted the *pueblos* to decide which Zapatistas were bandits. Zapatista headquarters would not always like the decisions they made. About three months later, for instance, Zapatista troops were ambushed at Amecac, Puebla, when they tried to take corn by force after the villagers refused to feed them. One soldier claimed to have heard a civilian say, "here come just a few, let's wipe them out." Zapata responded to this and similar clashes by ordering that *pacíficos* license their arms with the Zapatistas; he added that those villagers

⁴⁸ Arenas to Zapata, Chiautzingo, September 15, 1916, AGM, 28: 2: 491. See also Arenas to Zapata, January 7, 1916, AGM, 30: 11: 219; Zapata to Arenas, January 27, 1916, AGM, 31: 2: 77; J. S. Díaz to Zapata, Tlahuapan, February 26, 1916, AZ, 11: 6: 35; Arenas to Zapata, Santa Rita Tlahuapan, March 10, 1916, AZ, 11: 7: 58; Raymond Th. J. Buve, "'Neither Carranza nor Zapata': The Rise and Fall of a Peasant Movement That Tried to Challenge Both, Tlaxcala, 1910-1919," in Friedrich Katz, ed., *Riot, Rebellion, and Revolution: Rural Social Conflict in Mexico* (Princeton, N.J., 1988), 338-75; Arenas to Zapata, Chiautzingo, August 12, 1916, AGM, 28: 4: 577; J. Sabino Díaz to Zapata, Tlahuapan, August 26, 1916, AGM, 28: 4: 587; Arenas to Zapata, August 31, 1916, AGM, 28: 4: 582; Arenas to Zapata, Chiautzingo, December 21, 1916, AGM, 28: 2: 530.

⁴⁹ Zapata to Magaña, San Pablo, Morelos, February 16, 1919, AGM, 30: 29: 514. See also Laura Espejel, "El movimiento campesino en el oriente del Estado de México: El caso de Juchitepec," *Cuicuilco*, 2 (January 1981): 36; Antonio Díaz Soto y Gama to Francisco Mendoza, Tochmilco, Puebla, September 17, 1919, ADN, cancelados, Mendoza, XI/III/1-274, 764; Domingo Arenas to González, November 6, 1916, AGM, 28: 2: 509; AGM, 31: 3: 82, 83, 157, 169; Emiliano Zapata, "Orden general para el ejército libertador," August 15, 1916, AGM, 28: 4: 581; González to de la O, Milpa Alta, D.F., May 5, 1919, AO, 9: 7: 3; and Juan Cruz to de la O, Cuernavaca, October 25, 1917, AO, 8: 1: 107. Finally, for hints about González's political views, see the "Plan de Ayala: Reformada en Milpa Alta, D.F.," August 6, 1919, Mexico City, Centro de Estudios de Historia de México, Condumex, Archivo de Genaro Amezcua, VIII-2, impresos, 1: 27.

who turned their weapons against the cause would be considered traitors. Shortly after Zapata's death, this policy was taken to its logical conclusion: far from being responsible for their own protection, villagers were now forbidden to bear arms. The need to protect the troops from their ostensible supporters was a vivid demonstration of how thoroughly banditry, and the desertion that accompanied it, had weakened Zapatismo by 1919.⁵⁰

IN CONCLUSION, the Mexico City press was not completely wrong when it proclaimed Zapata and his followers bandits in 1911. As they rose up more or less spontaneously from their myriad villages to undertake a revolution, some Zapatistas did engage in banditry, and Zapatista bandits existed for the duration of the revolutionary decade. While banditry soon became the same kind of problem for Zapata as it was for those who governed Mexico, most Zapatistas who occasionally robbed and terrorized local communities probably did not lose their status within Zapatismo or even have it seriously threatened. Thus to downplay bandit activities among the Zapatistas by arguing that bandits were separate from revolutionaries, that outbreaks of banditry were usually resolved, or that Zapatista banditry was generally "social" would be to risk missing crucial information about this peasant rebellion.

In 1911, when accusations of banditry helped divide Zapata and Madero and force Zapata to seek legitimacy through the Plan of Ayala, Zapata came to understand Zapatista banditry as a significant challenge. Limiting it would make him look better in Mexico City, keep his movement united, and make his forces more effective in military terms; limiting it had become necessary if he hoped to build a national movement with a national program. Banditry became both one of the most important reasons he sought to increase the control of his headquarters over his *jefes* after 1913 and one of the key stumbling blocks to that process of centralization.

Throughout the revolutionary decade, in other words, to act as a bandit—especially when one's victims were villagers who supported Zapata—was at minimum to ignore the instructions of Zapatista headquarters. At least at times, it also meant rejecting or confronting the Zapatista political program more directly. Often, the political goals of sometime bandits were rather individual. For Felipe Neri, banditry was a means of gathering resources, as well as a way of expanding the zone he controlled at the expense of neighboring *jefes*. Ultimately, it became a method of testing Zapata's resolve and contesting his leadership.

More interesting was the banditry that occurred in the context of the many intervillage feuds that helped shape the movement. Here, banditry represented the pursuit of local political (and economic) goals, as neighboring villages sought to use their guerrillas to gain advantage over one another. Such a struggle meant disobeying injunctions against banditry because those injunctions discounted local

⁵⁰ Gildardo Magaña to Zapata, May 2, 1918, AGM, 27: 15: 270. See also Zapata's circular, Tlaltizapán, July 10, 1918, AZ, 20: 13: 9; Fortino Ayaquica to Magaña, Tochimilco, Puebla, May 2, 1918, AGM, 27: 15: 267; Zapata to Magaña, January 26, 1918, AGM, 29: 8: 484; and Magaña to Francisco Mendoza, July 30, 1919, AGM, 30: 39: 625.

tensions that could not—from the perspective of a Francisco Pacheco or a Genovevo de la O—simply be forgotten in view of the common good. This does not mean that Pacheco and de la O rejected such fundamentals of the Zapatista program as land reform. There is abundant evidence, though, that by 1913 both of these men, and many other *jefes* as well, resented what Zapatista headquarters had become: the centralizing product of Zapata's interaction with urban intellectual advisers. They were opposed to the centralizing project, limited though it was, much as Zapata himself opposed the idea of a highly centralized national government. The *jefes* and their peasant constituencies also feared that the urbanites would appropriate for themselves the benefits of the revolution—as they did, in some respects, after 1920, when they emerged as the Zapatista leaders on the national level.⁵¹

After 1915, the various material and psychological stresses that came with the decline of Zapatismo made such differences within the movement more apparent. Again, banditry played an important part in the political exchange. When villages threatened by Carrancista incursions bargained with the enemy to protect themselves, Zapatista troops often responded with punitive raids, until some *pacíficos* decided that they “no longer wanted even a handful of the land that the Plan of Ayala has given them, because the ambition they have at the moment is simply to have their lives protected.”⁵² As Zapatista soldiers struggled with the loss of village support, some banditry may have been motivated by the feeling that Zapata's program included insufficient rewards for those who did the fighting. Not surprisingly, banditry eventually became part of the politics of betrayal. For Zapatistas preparing to defect, it was conceivably a way of proving themselves to the Carrancistas, as well as, again, a means of carving out a larger zone of operations for themselves; it was also an issue that could be used to delegitimize Zapata and thus justify and gain support for the decision to leave the movement.

Banditry, then, is a window through which we may scrutinize the internal political processes of Zapatismo. Given Zapatismo's heuristic value as one of the most-cited of peasant rebellions, we might also hazard some suggestions, based on those internal political processes, about what we might expect to find within other such broad peasant insurrections.⁵³ One might argue that there existed within Zapatista banditry what James Scott has called a “hidden transcript” of peasant resistance—or perhaps the transcript is not so much hidden as overlooked, given that the grievances behind this banditry were and are at least partially visible in the documentation of the movement. At any rate, Scott's appreciation of the resistance embodied in sometimes ambiguous and even individual actions—as opposed to the more conventional notion that resistance must be obvious and collective—might certainly lead us to the contention that multiple forms of resistance were at work

⁵¹ On the subject of relations between Pacheco, de la O, and Zapatismo's intellectual brood, see Barrios to de la O, May 27, 1913, AO, 1: 8: 27; Barrios to de la O, June 7, 1913, AO, 2: 1: 6; Barrios to Zapata, July 13, 1913, AO, 13: 6: 10; Barrios to de la O, July 13, 1913, AO, 2: 2: 51; Barrios to Zapata, August 3, 1913, AO, 13: 7: 23–24; Angel Barrios to Pacheco, August 23, 1913, AO, 13: 7: 66; de la O to Zapata, September 21, 1913, AO, 17: 5: 2–3; and Pacheco to Zapata, October 3, 1913, AO, 13: 9: 18–20. See also Marte R. Gómez, *Las comisiones agrarias del sur* (Mexico City, 1961), 133.

⁵² Fortino Ayaquica and two others to Zapata, Tochimilco, Puebla, August 8, 1917, AZ, 14: 4: 25–26.

⁵³ For Zapatismo's heuristic value, see, for instance, Eric R. Wolf's classic, *Peasant Rebellions of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1969), 28–32.

within the larger project of Zapatista rebellion.⁵⁴ This internal resistance, however, was not organized by class: it did not represent peasant unity—rather, it entailed peasant-on-peasant violence—and it was not directed against a clearly identifiable dominant class.

As we pursue this notion of resistance within resistance, a major shortcoming of Scott's work for the study of the internal operations of peasant revolutions becomes apparent: in his struggle with issues of peasant consciousness and resistance, he has taken no serious interest in conflicts among peasants.⁵⁵ As a result, like the social bandit and its typological offspring, his model may be too narrow for Zapatista banditry. In fact, though they recognize the theoretical complexity of the issue, Scott and many other students of peasant politics ultimately insist on separating the methods of resistance on which they focus from methods of peasant adaptation or accommodation—a category that for them seems almost automatically to include intra-peasant strife. Gilbert Joseph summarizes this position when he argues that “resistance is not merely whatever peasants do to survive . . . [W]hen survival comes at the expense of other peasants, appropriation by the dominant classes is aided, not resisted.”⁵⁶

This is an excellent point: peasants raiding other peasants hardly seems like resistance, and Zapatista infighting did undermine the cause and help enable other revolutionary factions to win the revolution. On the other hand, Joseph's concern with the results of peasant actions in terms of elite appropriation tends to lead him away from peasant consciousness. When the forces of de la O attacked the supporters of Pacheco, they were motivated by group aims that they took seriously—those, presumably, of the village of Santa María. Furthermore, something more than simple survival drove them; they were engaged in a kind of resistance, against Pacheco and against Zapatista headquarters. To dismiss peasants involved in such events as short-sighted—or perhaps as the victims of false consciousness—simply because they do not appear to act in the best interests of what we have determined to be their “class” may be to deny them the status of subjects of their own history by forcing them into our conceptual frameworks.

In any event, putting such peasants and their behaviors into some nonresistance category and then ignoring them, as Scott's focus on class struggle tends to do, is problematic if we hope fully to comprehend peasant consciousness, because even the most raw and disturbing episodes of intra-peasant conflict may give us important hints about how peasants think about their worlds. Episodes of Zapatista banditry indicate, for instance, that even the participants in this large, class-based rebellion, which was able to generate clear demands on the national level, did not always feel very unified—they had not abandoned their local, familial, and individual aims.⁵⁷ These episodes demonstrate something that should be obvious

⁵⁴ Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 297–98.

⁵⁵ See Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, 272.

⁵⁶ Joseph, “On the Trail,” 32. For some of the work addressing the problem of resistance and adaptation, see Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*, xvi, 247, 265, 289–96, 302; Florencia E. Mallon, “The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History,” *AHR*, 99 (December 1994): 1502–03; and Steve J. Stern, “New Approaches to the Study of Peasant Rebellion and Consciousness: Implications of the Andean Experience,” in *Resistance, Rebellion, and Consciousness in the Andean Peasant World, 18th to 20th Centuries*, Steve J. Stern, ed. (Madison, Wis., 1987), 11.

⁵⁷ What I am driving at here is similar to what Daniel Nugent and Ana María Alonso identify, after

but has often been neglected: not all peasants in a given insurrection are likely to agree on goals and strategies or on the way in which power is distributed within their movement. Above all, they reveal the need to dig deeply into the documentation in those rare instances when peasant rebellions have generated substantial archives, in order to produce detailed case studies of local political relationships—both within and between villages. With this kind of research into Zapatismo, we might ultimately determine, for example, whether Zapatista banditry represented any sort of divergent ideology, perhaps a stubborn insistence on the decentralizing popular liberalism that lay at the movement's roots in the face of the various radicalisms that had crept into Zapatista headquarters along with the urban intellectuals.

Finally, interpreting episodes of banditry as resistance also calls attention to that which is being resisted. Structure, hierarchy, and at times even something we might identify as government obviously existed within Zapatismo. The existence of governing structures run by revolutionary factions is, of course, hardly a new idea—witness the literature on how multiple sovereignty emerges as one step in revolutionary transformations.⁵⁸ Probably due to lingering assumptions that peasant movements are relatively simple, homogeneous, egalitarian, and unorganized, however, such structure may still be somewhat unexpected when the faction in question is largely led by peasants.⁵⁹ Certainly, the proposal that the leaders of peasant rebellions may experience problems of disorder comparable to those faced by more conventional governments is somewhat surprising.

It is evident, though, that Zapatista leaders *were* often dismayed by decentralizing violence in the countryside and sometimes made pronouncements in favor of order that sounded eerily similar to those that emanated from Mexico City. The dynamics of resistance within resistance, in other words, may generate leaderships of peasant movements that are as likely to perpetuate customary attitudes about government as they are to “turn the world upside down.”⁶⁰ If this is true, it might help explain certain postrevolutionary political outcomes: it is clear, at least, that after 1920, the surviving Zapatista leaders generally cooperated in the reestablishment of order through a deeper centralization of state power at the expense of the local liberties that figured so prominently in the Zapatista program.

In illustrating the multiplicity of Zapatismo, Zapatista banditry also illustrates the need for a model of how resistance works that will take that multiplicity into account. The solution may be as simple as erasing what remains of the line between resistance and adaptation or accommodation, envisioning them less as opposites than as equal and complementary sections of a continuum of options that peasants might draw from as they struggle to survive, to maintain their dignity, and to shape

Gramsci, as a “contradictory consciousness,” in “Multiple Selective Traditions in Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Struggle: Popular Culture and State Formation in the Ejido of Namiquipa, Chihuahua,” *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*, Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds. (Durham, N.C., 1994), 239.

⁵⁸ Perhaps the best-known proponent of the idea of multiple sovereignty is Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Reading, Mass., 1978). For a good discussion of this issue, see Wickham-Crowley, *Exploring Revolution*, 38–44, 49–51.

⁵⁹ For discussion of such assumptions, see Brunk, *Emiliano Zapata*, xiv–xv, 232–33.

⁶⁰ Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi, 1983), 78–79.

their worlds.⁶¹ In any case, to get to the bottom of peasant consciousness, it is clearly necessary to explore different methods that might—like this study of the banditry of a peasant revolution—facilitate the kind of “deconstruction” of “the popular” that scholars such as Gilbert Joseph and Florencia Mallon have recently advocated.⁶² Certainly, this tack is long overdue with regard to Zapatismo, for until we have undertaken a deeper exploration of its component parts—whether those components initially look like resistance or not—we will not really understand the Zapatista project as a whole.

⁶¹ This is not to say that such an approach would be completely new. For a fine study that examines peasant activities across this continuum, though without using these analytical terms, see William Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford, Calif., 1979).

⁶² Gilbert M. Joseph, “Rethinking Mexican Revolutionary Mobilization: Yucatán’s Seasons of Upheaval,” in *Everyday Forms of State Formation*, 168; and Mallon, “Promise and Dilemma,” 1512.

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The Hour of the Woman: Memories of Germany's "Crisis Years" and West German National Identity

ELIZABETH HEINEMAN

IN A MID-1980S INTERVIEW, an elderly West Berlin woman recalled a conversation whose contours would have been familiar to many in the Federal Republic of Germany. As the woman explained, she once attended a talk where a middle-aged historian accused her and members of her generation of not having confronted the Nazi past more aggressively—starting right in 1945, at the end of the war. "I asked him, 'When were you born?' '1946.' I said, 'You know, only someone who didn't experience those times can utter such nonsense.' I mean, after '45 no one thought about confronting the past. Everyone thought about getting something on the stove so they could get their children something to eat, about rebuilding, clearing away the rubble . . . But this is what one is told today, and strangely enough it's all from people who didn't live through those times."¹ By now, the exchange seems commonplace. A member of the younger generation, horrified by what he knows about the Nazi era and suspicious about the fact that his elders have little to say about it, accuses his seniors of not having seriously confronted their past. The older German resents the younger man's moralizing tone and his single-minded focus on the Nazi years at the expense of the traumatic period immediately following.²

The older woman, however, does not simply propose a generational history. In

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¹ Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze, *Wie wir das alles geschafft haben: Alleinstehende Frauen berichten über ihr Leben nach 1945* (Munich, 1984), 178. All translations are mine.

² On different groups' employment of different reference points to make sense of their national history, see Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York, 1991); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York, 1991). On the application of memories of World War II and the Nazi era to specific postwar national histories, see Tom Segev, *The Seventh Million: The Israelis and the Holocaust*, Haim Watzman, trans. (New York, 1993); Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome: History and Memory in France since 1944*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Martin and Sylvia Greiffenhagen, *Ein schwieriges Vaterland: Zur politischen Kultur Deutschlands* (Munich, 1979), esp. 45–64; Nina Tumarkin, *The Living and the Dead: The Rise and Fall of the Cult of World War II in Russia* (New York, 1994).

casting her generation's understanding of the past, she universalizes on the basis of stereotypically *female* experiences. "Everybody" was trying to get something on the stove to feed their children; "everybody" was clearing away the rubble. These are references to the activities of women, yet they have come to stand for the experience of the entire wartime generation—at least, that portion that had not experienced persecution at the hands of the Nazi regime.

This essay will explore the universalization, in West German collective memory, of crucial aspects of the stereotypically female experience of Germany at the end of the war and during the immediate postwar years. It will further examine the effects of this universalization on the development of West German national identity and on the status of women in the Federal Republic. In doing so, it will explore the relationship between the "counter-memories" of a subordinate group, the "public" and "popular" memories of a dominant culture, national identity, and gender.

Memories of three "moments" in German women's history of 1942–1948 played crucial roles in the development of a West German national identity. First were memories of female victimhood during the latter part of the war, which were generalized into stories of German victimhood. Second were images of women's heroic efforts to rebuild a devastated landscape and people. The "Woman of the Rubble" (*Trümmerfrau*), who cleared away the rubble from Germany's bombed cities, laid the groundwork for the Federal Republic's founding myth of the "phoenix rising from the ashes"—a myth that did not inquire too deeply into the origin of the ashes. Finally, there were recollections of female sexual promiscuity. By generalizing a history of sexual disorder to describe a much broader moral decay, Germans found the opportunity to view the military occupation—and not the Nazi period—as Germany's moral nadir.³

These three moments told at least three different stories, and, as they were transformed in memory, they continued to serve different functions. They did not describe a straightforward, uncomplicated West German national identity. Instead, they functioned within, and helped to shape, varying strands of this emerging identity. The Cold War, the economic miracle, the effort to achieve national and cultural sovereignty from the Western powers (especially the United States), and the need to explain the Federal Republic's relationship to the Nazi past informed the development of West German national identity in complex and sometimes contradictory ways. Yet memories of women's experiences from 1942 to 1948 served all of these facets of the emerging national identity.

Appropriating the female experience for the nation might be a rather surprising development, especially in the aftermath of a highly militarized society such as Nazi Germany. Yet a popular identification with selected aspects of women's experience is in some respects unsurprising. First, it is worth recalling the environment in which most Germans began to think retrospectively of the Nazi era and their part in it. The "crisis years" of 1942–1948 were framed by the defeat at Stalingrad (which marked the beginning of Germany's military collapse) and the currency reform

³ It is interesting to note that the versions of these three "moments" that were recalled in postwar West Germany closely adhere to three of the "scripts" that, according to Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, frequently provide structure for collective memory. These are narratives of shared suffering/victimhood, inspiring stories of accomplishment, and morality tales. Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994), 58 and following, 87–88.

(which symbolized the beginning of the recovery in the western occupation zones). Within the larger context of the complete disintegration of the military, the state, and the economy, Germans experienced death, dislocation, hunger, and uncertainty about the future. But 1942–1948 was not just a period of prolonged crisis, it was also a time when women dominated the physical landscape and when their role in the community's survival was unusually visible. In fact, these years came to be known as the "hour of the women."⁴ Women's prominence did not signal the beginning of a new, sexually equitable order.⁵ It did, however, provide images that would strongly shape the evolution of popular representations of the recent past.

Second, Germany's total defeat and the discrediting of the ideology for which the war was fought made the largely male military experience problematic. Again, this did not serve to displace men from their leading role in society; it did not even serve to undermine individual men's military activities or the military as an institution. Given the prior importance of military imagery in national symbolism, however, it did create a certain representational vacuum.⁶ New symbols, often drawing from prototypically female experiences, helped to fill this vacuum.

Drawing on women's experience, to be sure, represented only one of many competing strategies for recasting Germany's recent past. This competition coincided with the years in which the Federal Republic was founded and in which the young state struggled to develop a uniquely West German identity. The specter of Germany's recent past made the development of a legitimate national identity difficult. At the same time, the need to reject certain aspects of the past—however problematic in terms of West Germans' ability to "come to terms with" or "work through" the crimes of the Nazi era—also created something of an open playing field, a discursive space in which many people developed diverse narratives of German experience that competed for a role in shaping a new national identity.⁷

⁴ See, for example, the book by that name, in which the author recollects his sister's central role in her family's survival from 1944 to 1947. Christian Graf von Krockow, *Die Stunde der Frauen: Bericht aus Pommern 1944 bis 1947* (Stuttgart, 1988). On the use of the dates 1942–1948 to describe a period of prolonged crisis in Germany, see *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Umbruchs in Deutschland*, Martin Broszat, Klaus-Dietmar Henke, and Hans Woller, eds. (Munich, 1988).

⁵ On women's "lost opportunity" for emancipation, see especially Annette Kuhn, "Die vergessene Frauenarbeit in der deutschen Nachkriegszeit," in *"Das Schicksal Deutschlands liegt in der Hand seiner Frauen": Frauen in der deutschen Nachkriegsgeschichte*, Elisabeth Freier and Annette Kuhn, eds. (Düsseldorf, 1984), 13–24; Annette Kuhn, "Die Rolle der Frauen in der Nachkriegszeit," in *Deutschland 1945–1949: Ringvorlesung im Sommersemester 1985*, Hans-Gerd Schumann, ed. (Darmstadt, 1989), 153–68; Annette Kuhn, "Power and Powerlessness: Women after 1945, or the Continuity of the Ideology of Femininity," *German History*, 7 (1989): 35–46. For a comparative consideration, see Sarah Fishman, *We Will Wait: Wives of French Prisoners of War, 1940–1945* (New Haven, Conn., 1991).

⁶ The heroic image of the fallen soldier, for example, all but disappeared from military cemeteries. Sabine Behrenbeck, "Heldenkult oder Friedensmahnung? Kriegerdenkmäler nach beiden Weltkriegen," in *Lernen aus dem Krieg? Deutsche Nachkriegszeiten 1918 und 1945*, Gottfried Niedhart and Dieter Riesenberger, eds. (Munich, 1992), 344–64; George Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (New York, 1990), 212–22.

⁷ The classic psychological treatment of West Germans' failure to "come to terms with their past" was presented in Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern: Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens* (Munich, 1967). The most influential philosophical discussion is Theodor Adorno, "Was bedeutet: Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit," in Adorno, *Erziehung zur Mündigkeit* (Frankfurt, 1970). More recently, journalists writing for a popular audience have turned to the younger generation's attempts to come to terms with the history of their parents' generation. Peter Sichrovsky, *Born Guilty: Children of Nazi Families*, Jean Steinberg, trans. (New York, 1988); Dörte von Westernhagen, *Die Kinder der Täter: Das Dritte Reich und die Generation danach* (Munich, 1987);

Refugees and evacuees from the eastern portions of the old Reich, Christians, those who had been adversely affected by denazification, those who felt themselves to be victims of Communism, veterans, former prisoners of war, women—all offered histories that claimed simultaneously to explain their unique situations and to represent, in some way, an experience that was characteristically German.⁸ At the same time, some Germans' experiences were, correctly or not, understood *a priori* to have been exceptional and thus not particularly useful (or even desirable) in understanding the history of "Otto Normalverbraucher," the German Joe Average. Jews and other racial or religious persecutees (except those who could claim victimization as Christians), Communists, Germans who had been persecuted as "asocials," and Nazi activists—none seemed to represent the "average German." Most "average Germans" did not want to identify with members of these groups, just as members of many of these groups would have resisted having their identity claimed by the larger population of Germans.⁹

During the formative years of a new West German state and society, some narratives of the past would thus become marginal and others dominant; and those that were assimilated into dominant discourses would be transformed in the process. In focusing on the universalization of memories of women's experience of the "crisis years," I am not arguing that the development of West German identity was essentially a process of feminization; other stories linking past and present were

Sabine Reichel, *Zwischen Trümmern und Träumen: Aufgewachsen im Schatten der Schuld* (Hamburg, 1991).

⁸ On refugees and evacuees, see Robert Moeller, "Expelled into Contemporary History: *Flucht und Vertreibung*," paper delivered to the conference of the German Historical Association, 1994. On political Christianity, see Maria Mitchell, "Materialism and Secularism: CDU Politicians and National Socialism, 1945–1949," *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (June 1995): 278–308. On denazification, see Hans Woller, *Gesellschaft und Politik in der amerikanischen Besatzungszone* (Munich, 1986), 95–166; Lutz Niethammer, *Die Miltäuerfabrik: Die Entnazifizierung am Beispiel Bayerns* (Berlin, 1982); on veterans and former prisoners of war, James Diehl, *The Thanks of the Fatherland: German Veterans after the Second World War* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1993); Albrecht Lehmann, *Gefangenschaft und Heimkehr: Deutsche Kriegsgefangene in der Sowjetunion* (Munich, 1986). On widows, see Elizabeth Heineman, "Complete Families, Half Families, No Families at All: Female-Headed Households and the Reconstruction of the Family in the Early Federal Republic," *Central European History*, 1996, forthcoming.

⁹ Histories of everyday life and oral histories often attest to the ways non-persecuted and non-activist Germans recall a past of "ordinary Germans" that excludes the experience of the persecuted and the activists, who numbered in the millions. This opposition of "ordinary Germans" to the "others" has helped to create an apparently homogeneous category of "ordinary Germans" that downplays significant differences among them. In focusing on the majority of the population that was acceptable to the Nazi state, I do not intend to universalize that group's history and thus further marginalize the experience of outsiders to Nazi society, many of whom did not live to recount their experiences. Rather, I intend to draw on those strands of experience that became part of the dominant collective memories of postwar West German society, a society that included few members of racial and religious groups persecuted by the Nazis and that continued to marginalize members of most political and social groups targeted by the Nazis. On the need to recognize the traumas of historical actors without adopting their commemorative priorities and on the specific problems posed by *Alltagsgeschichte* (the history of everyday life) to this duty, see Saul Friedlander, *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe* (Bloomington, Ind., 1993), 85–101; Dominick LaCapra, "Representing the Holocaust: Reflections on the Historians' Debate," in *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"*, Saul Friedlander, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 122–23; Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, 49. For a brief overview of the disputes between practitioners of *Alltagsgeschichte* and their critics, see Ian Kershaw, "'Normality' and Genocide: The Problem of 'Historicization,'" in *Reevaluating the Third Reich*, Thomas Childers and Jane Caplan, eds. (New York, 1993), 20–41. *Otto Normalverbraucher* translates literally as "Otto Average-Consumer."

too significant for the matter to have been so simple. I do hold, however, that the appropriation of women's history for the nation as a whole played a key role in the evolution of a West German national identity and that the national identity that resulted cannot be fully comprehended without understanding this process.

In addition to incorporating many voices, the relationship between memory and national identity was hammered out in diverse locations: in "public" or "official" memory, articulated in such locations as monuments and official anniversary speeches; in "popular" memory, expressed in artifacts such as novels, films, and magazines; and in "counter" memories of groups not well represented by the dominant culture.¹⁰ Yet public, popular, and counter-memories constantly challenged and revised each other. Memories of stereotypically female experiences, which might initially have comprised West German women's "counter-memories," became the "popular memories" of West German society as a whole. In some cases, they even entered the "official memory" of the West German state. This process profoundly affected the development of a West German national identity. It also played a role in West German women's apparent inability to develop a group identity, based on their experiences during the "crisis years" of 1942–1948, which could then serve as a springboard to improved status.¹¹

In seeking links between gender, national identity, and social memory, this essay employs an eclectic collection of sources.¹² Studies of one sort of social memory typically examine a range of themes within a well-defined, internally consistent source base: monuments for examining public memory, for example, or interviews among members of a subpopulation for exploring counter-memory. Because my aim was to analyze the relationships among various forms of social memory, I focused on a limited number of themes through a wide variety of genres. In the

¹⁰ For useful introductions to the ways historians and sociologists of memory have classified various forms of social memory (as opposed to individual memory), see *Memory: History, Culture and the Mind*, Thomas Butler, ed. (Oxford, 1989); Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, Francis J. Ditter, Jr., and Vida Yazdi Ditter, trans. (New York, 1980); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992); Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover, N.H., 1993); David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *Journal of American History*, 75 (March 1989): 1117–29; Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*; *Constructing the Past: Essays in Historical Methodology*, Jacques Le Goff and Pierre Nora, eds. (New York, 1984); Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, Steven Rendall and Elizabeth Claman, trans. (New York, 1992); Nathan Wachtel, "Introduction: Memory and History," *History and Anthropology*, 2 (1986): 207–24; as well as the special issue of *Representations* on "Memory and Counter-Memory" (Spring 1989) and the journal *History and Memory*.

¹¹ In shaping women's second-class status in the early Federal Republic, the cultural history described here played a secondary role to economic, political, and social pressures. See footnote 5. For comparative explorations of the role of a conservative family ideology in Western attempts to recover from the traumas of war, see Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, 1991); Mary Louise Roberts, *Civilization without Sexes: Reconstructing Gender in Postwar France, 1917–1927* (Chicago, 1994); Susan Kingsley Kent, *Making Peace: The Reconstruction of Gender in Interwar Britain* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Robert Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993); Richard Bessel, *Germany after the First World War* (Oxford, 1993), 220 and following. For more general discussions on the role of war in shaping gender, see *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*, Margaret Randolph Higonnet, et al., eds. (New Haven, Conn., 1987).

¹² For further discussion of the necessity of such an approach, see Saul Friedlander, *Reflections on Nazism: An Essay on Kitsch and Death* (New York, 1982), 13; Friedlander, *Memory, History, and the Extermination of the Jews of Europe*, 11–12; Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, 145–47. Both Patrick Hutton and Iwona Irwin-Zarecka discuss the dangers of an overly narrow approach to collective memory. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*, 22; Irwin-Zarecka, 47.

pages that follow, counter-memory may be revealed through oral histories, dominant popular memory via best-selling novels or widely circulating magazines, and public memory through commemorative speeches. In order to focus the investigation, however, I limited my analysis to references to the three stereotypically female experiences listed at the outset of this essay: victimization, rebuilding, and sexual disorder.

Neither West German social memories nor the group and national identities they helped to shape were static. Decades after the initial consolidation of a West German national identity in the 1950s, memories of women's experiences of the "crisis years" would be revisited, as part of the process of forging a distinct feminist identity. Thus, although this essay focuses mainly on the late 1940s and 1950s, during which the universalization of memories of women's experiences of 1942–1948 occurred, it then turns the clock forward to the era of the feminist challenge to this universalization—and to the implications, for West Germany and for West German feminists, of newly recast memories.

WOMEN'S OWN NARRATIVES of the war rarely begin with September 1, 1939. Instead, the recollections of the large majority of German women who were politically and racially acceptable to the regime typically begin with their husbands' or fathers' departures. They intensify with the invasion of the Soviet Union—with all the casualties that the war in the east brought—and the air war against Germany.¹³ In general, women's narratives emphasize their sufferings and losses and downplay their contributions to and rewards from the Nazi regime. The notion that ordinary Germans were innocent victims of forces beyond their control was a familiar motif in postwar representations of the Third Reich, one hardly unique to women. Before considering this theme in postwar retellings of the Nazi period, however, it is worth examining the ways it simultaneously distorted a larger understanding of the impact of Nazi rule and genuinely captured certain aspects of women's wartime experience.

German women were not, collectively, simply passive victims of a ruthless regime and a terrible war. Aside from larger questions about women's role in the functioning of the Nazi state, it is worth noting some of the advantages German women enjoyed with the outbreak of war. They profited from a generous system of family allowances that allowed hundreds of thousands of working wives to give up their jobs; the war allowed women to enjoy the introduction of war booty to the

¹³ For example, a chapter entitled "Women's Everyday Life in the War 1939 to 1945" in one of the best books on German women's experience in the wartime and postwar years unselfconsciously focuses almost entirely on the years after 1942. Meyer and Schulze, *Wie wir das alles geschafft haben*, 27–41. See also Annemarie Tröger's observation of this phenomenon in "German Women's Memories of World War II," in *Behind the Lines*, 285–99, esp. 287.

Although this essay will most often refer to "German women" or "West German women," readers should keep in mind that the construction employed above—"German women who were politically and racially acceptable to the [Nazi] regime"—more accurately describes the women considered in this essay. In using the generic term "women," I hope to avoid repeated cumbersome qualifications. Even more important, I hope to illustrate the ways dominant German and West German culture referred to a generic "German woman" without noting just how limited this category was. Inaccurate and exclusive as the terminology may have been, it was the basis for the very stereotypes of "German women's" experience explored here. Only the possibility of imagining a generic "German woman" enabled West Germans to generalize from "her" experience.

consumer economy; some saw in employment with the Reich Labor Service or the military an opportunity for travel, adventure, or a role in realizing the Nazi Party's ideological and political aims; and Germany's early successes allowed women as well as men to feel pride in their country's military prowess (see Figure 1).¹⁴ The war was begun with an intent to win, and German women stood to gain much by being on the victorious side.

Furthermore, insofar as tales of wartime sufferings are presented as evidence that German "bystanders" were among the victims of the Nazi regime, they have a misleading tendency to distract attention away from the tremendous support German men and women lent the regime before it began the war—or, more precisely, before it began to lose the war.¹⁵ Finally, reminders of "Germans'" sufferings rarely force the listener to understand those sufferings in relation to other traumas caused, facilitated, or at least tolerated by the very people who, by losing the war, eventually experienced pain of their own. On the contrary, stories of "Germans'" sufferings tend to displace reminders of the hundreds of thousands of (German) Jews, Communists, and Socialists forced to emigrate before the war; (German) "asocials" and physically and mentally disabled people killed in the euthanasia program or sterilized against their will; and (German) criminals and political opponents who withstood torture and spent years in prison or concentration camps, often to die there. They draw attention away from the millions of Poles evicted from their homes and villages in order to "Germanize" eastern lands; the tens of millions of Europeans killed in the Germans' aggressive war or imported into the Reich as slave labor; the tens of millions who died in German concentration and prisoner-of-war camps; and the hundreds of millions of weakened, displaced, and traumatized survivors of all of these.

Women's retellings of their war experiences conspicuously omit such points, something that has deservedly raised eyebrows among women's historians both in Germany and the United States.¹⁶ But such narratives are rarely intentionally

¹⁴ Dörte Winkler, *Frauenarbeit im "Dritten Reich"* (Hamburg, 1977); Ursula von Gersdorff, *Frauen im Kriegsdienst* (Stuttgart, 1969); Elizabeth Heineman, "'Standing Alone': Single Women from Nazi Germany to the Federal Republic" (PhD dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1993), 135–85.

¹⁵ See the tellingly titled collections edited by Gabriele Rosenthal and Christiane Grote, *Als der Krieg kam, hatte ich mit Hitler nichts mehr zu tun": Zur Gegenwartigkeit des "Dritten Reiches" in Biographien* ("When the war came, I had nothing more to do with Hitler": On the presence of the "Third Reich" in biographies) (Opladen, 1990); and Lutz Niethammer, *Hinterher merkt man, dass es richtig war, dass es schiefgegangen ist": Nachkriegs-Erfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet* ("In hindsight, one sees that it was right that it didn't work out": Postwar Experience in the Ruhr), (Bonn, 1983); also *Die Jahre weiss man nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll": Faschismus-Erfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet* ("Today, one doesn't know what to do with those years": Experiences with Fascism in the Ruhr), Lutz Niethammer, ed. (Bonn, 1983).

¹⁶ See especially Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family and Nazi Politics* (New York, 1987). Koonz not only examined female Nazis and sympathizers, she also explored the ways in which apparently unpolitical women, fulfilling traditional roles, enabled the Nazi regime to function. The impassioned nature of her work and the responses to it have characterized the heated debate among feminist historians regarding women's roles in Nazi Germany. See Gisela Bock's review of Koonz's work, "Die Frauen und der Nationalsozialismus: Bemerkungen zu einem Buch von Claudia Koonz," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 15 (1989): 563–79; *Töchter-Fragen: NS-Frauen-Geschichte*, Lerke Gravenhorst and Carmen Tatschmurat, eds. (Freiburg i.Br., 1990); Atina Grossmann, "Feminist Debates about Women and National Socialism," *Gender and History*, 3 (1991): 350–58; Adelheid von Saldern, "Victims or Perpetrators? Controversies about the Role of Women in the Nazi State," *Nazism and German Society*, David Crew, ed. (London, 1994), 141–65.



FIGURE 1: "You help, too!" Although working conditions were hard during the war, women could feel pride and adventure through their part in the war effort. Photo courtesy of the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Poster Collection, GE1070.

disingenuous. Instead, they are self-centered recollections of events that demand a broader perspective. Women's recollections of the war focus on the events that most deeply affected their own lives: bombing raids, evacuation, widowhood, flight from the east, and rape.¹⁷ Whatever the shortcomings of typical "German women's" recollections—and they are many—those recollections became the basis for important strands of postwar West German thought.

German women's war stories are indeed dramatic tales, leaving little doubt that their tellers suffered genuine traumas. Of Germany's pre-war population of roughly 80 million, 20 million were removed for military or related service during the war, half of them before the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. These 20 million represented the large majority of men ages eighteen to forty, along with a smaller number of women, older men, and younger boys. The cities hit by bombs and evacuation orders in the second half of the war were thus inhabited mainly by women, children, and the elderly. Night after night, women woke to the sound of sirens, dressed their children, grabbed their belongings, and ran to the nearest cellar or bunker. After the "all clear" was sounded, and if no damage had been done, they returned home to soothe their children to sleep and salvage what was left of the night for themselves. Germany's city women, even if they and their homes were untouched by bombs, lived the second half of the war with little sleep and shattered nerves.

Millions of German women did lose their homes, members of their families, or even their own lives. In a week-long raid on Hamburg in the summer of 1943, to take an extreme example, between forty and 100,000 died; 55 to 60 percent of the city was destroyed, leaving 750,000 homeless. By the end of the war, perhaps 14 million Germans had lost their homes, and 600,000 their lives, to air raids.¹⁸ Those who emerged from the bomb shelters to find that their apartments had been hit began extinguishing the fires, rescuing their belongings, and, if possible, making at least a portion of their apartments livable. If this last was impossible, they might move in with relatives, but conditions would be cramped, particularly if they brought children along. If they had no relatives or friends with extra rooms but worked in the city, they were assigned rooms with strangers, who shared this living space only grudgingly.

Beginning in 1943, 10 million people, mainly women and children, were evacuated from Germany's cities. But being a woman did not qualify an adult for evacuation; rather, nonemployed status or responsibility for small children did. Working women without children remained in the endangered cities, as did most working mothers; only women caring for very young children could accompany their children into evacuation.¹⁹ Women who had seen their husbands, fathers, or

¹⁷ On the importance of trauma in determining which portions of experience will dominate individual or collective memories, see Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, 16, 49.

¹⁸ *Unsere verlorene Jahre: Frauenalltag und Nachkriegszeit, 1939–1949*, Klaus-Jörg Ruhl, ed. (Darmstadt, 1985), 70, 74; *The United States Strategic Bombing Survey: Overall Report (European War)*, September 30, 1945, 92–93; rpt. in *The United States Strategic Bombing Survey*, Vol. 1 (New York, 1976). Statistics on the extent of the damage and the number of dead vary considerably.

¹⁹ Over the course of the second half of the war, the criteria for mothers who wished to leave the endangered cities were repeatedly tightened. Beauftragte für den Vierjahresplan, der Generalbevollmächtigte für den Arbeitseinsatz, Schnellbrief (VIa 5550/726), September 21, 1943, R43 II/651d, Bd. 8, Bundesarchiv Koblenz (hereafter, BAK); Beauftragte für den Vierjahresplan, der Generalbevollmäch-

brothers sent into danger remained in dangerous places themselves as they sent their children into unknown parts. Or they accompanied their children into evacuation, leaving familiar support networks behind and knowing that, if their apartments were hit, they would be unable to salvage any of their property.²⁰

The story of the Darmstadt family F. illustrates the cumulative effects of the separation of marriage partners, bombing raids, homelessness, and evacuation.²¹ In 1939, Herr F. was drafted, leaving his wife with their two children: three-year-old Gisela and one-year-old Willy. Frau F. worked as a letter carrier; her mother, who lived nearby, watched the children late afternoons when the day-care center closed. In the last years of the war, Frau F. and her children spent many nights in air-raid shelters. On the night of September 11, 1944, their shelter was hit. They ran to another, from which they also soon had to flee. Willy's clothes caught fire; as Frau F. beat out the flames, Gisela disappeared. She was never found. With burn wounds, Frau F. and Willy made their way the next morning to Frau F.'s sister-in-law, who, like Frau F., her mother, and two-thirds of Darmstadt's population, had been left homeless by the previous night's raid. All that the family had been able to save were a few linens and two suitcases full of clothing. The group spent the next three days in the open air and the nights in an air-raid shelter. Then Frau F. took her mother and Willy to relatives in the countryside; Frau F. returned, as required by law, to her post in Darmstadt. She and her sister-in-law were assigned a room in an apartment with several other bombed-out families. With Herr F. at war, Gisela presumably dead, and Willy and Frau F.'s mother in evacuation, Frau F. lived out the remainder of the war in Darmstadt with her sister-in-law.²²

Despite Frau F.'s trials, she was spared two central chapters in many women's wartime experience: flight from the east and rape. The 4.5 million Germans who fled during the last months of the war and the chaotic period before official transports began in 1946 belonged mainly to female-headed families.²³ For many, this was not their first move: they had come east as part of the attempt to

tigte für den Arbeitseinsatz, Abschrift zu VIa 5558/223, May 1944, R43 II/651d, Bd. 8, BAK; Beauftragte für den Vierjahresplan, der Generalbevollmächtigte für den Arbeitseinsatz, Schnellbrief (VIa 5558/374), August 25, 1944, R43 II/651d, Bd. 8, BAK.

²⁰ On the difficulties women faced in leaving friends and family behind in the cities, see Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze, *Von Liebe sprach damals keiner: Familienalltag in der Nachkriegszeit* (Munich, 1985), 51–52.

²¹ Mandatory participation in the work force is an additional element of most working-class women's recollections of the strains of the war. On women in the labor force, see Winkler, *Frauenarbeit im "Dritten Reich"*; Gersdorff, *Frauen im Kriegsdienst*; Timothy Mason, "Women in Germany, 1920–1940: Family, Welfare and Work," *History Workshop Journal*, 1 (1976): 74–113; 2 (1976): 5–32; Annemarie Tröger, "The Creation of a Female Assembly-Line Proletariat," in *When Biology Became Destiny: Women in Weimar and Nazi Germany*, Renate Bridenthal, Atina Grossmann, and Marion Kaplan, eds. (New York, 1984), 237–70; Heineman, "Standing Alone," 135–85. On women's experience of their participation in the labor force, see Meyer and Schulze, *Wie wir das alles geschafft haben* and *Von Liebe sprach damals keiner*; Gerda Szepansky, "Blitzmädel" "Heldenmutter" "Kriegerwitwe": *Frauenleben im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986).

²² Gerhard Baumert, *Deutsche Familien nach dem Kriege* (Darmstadt, 1954), 209–10. The family name is abbreviated in Baumert's work.

²³ The sexual imbalance among refugees exceeded that among the native West German population in 1946. *Monthly Report of the Military Government—US Zone*, no. 9 (April 20, 1946): 21. By 1950, the "surplus of women" among refugees and evacuees was less marked than that among the native population. Gerhard Reichling, *Die Heimatvertriebenen im Spiegel der Statistik* (Berlin, 1958), 15, 52–53.

"Germanize" Polish territory (thus forcing Poles onto their own refugee trail a few years earlier), or they had been evacuated east, out of the range of British and American bombers. Others were leaving their lifelong homes, indeed, the homes their families had inhabited for generations. With as many possessions as they could carry, they traveled by bicycle, horse-drawn cart, or by foot. They faced roads blocked for military use, a crippled system of railroads, and, as long as the war continued, wide-scale bombings. As they progressed westward, they arrived in badly damaged cities that already had a sizable native homeless population. Their treks often lasted weeks.

Germans fleeing westward wanted to be in a portion of Germany conquered by the Western Allies rather than by the Soviet Union. Germans could reasonably expect a much harsher payback from the Soviets. The recent conduct of the Germans in the east, however, was only one of many factors contributing to women's fears of the coming Soviet conquest. German stereotypes of brutal, semi-human peoples of Asia had a centuries-long history, and the Nazi Party had made official portrayals of "Red Hordes," "Tartars," "Huns," and "Asiatics" part of its racial and political vocabulary. As the war drew to a close, depictions of Soviet brutalities, and specifically of rape, became an important tool in urging Germans to fight to the last breath.²⁴

As the first refugees brought news west of widespread slaughter and rape, they confirmed other Germans' worst fears about the Red Army. Estimates of the numbers of rapes at the hands of Soviet soldiers range widely, from the tens of thousands to 2 million. Whatever the precise numbers, rape was a common experience for women in eastern parts of the old Reich, and fear of rape was universal.²⁵ Confronted with the conquering armies, German women were left largely to their own devices. German men, when present, were rarely able to provide any defense, and they often seemed all too anxious to trade women's safety for their own.²⁶

²⁴ See, for example, Joseph Goebbels's second-to-last radio address, delivered on February 28, 1945. Joseph Goebbels, *Goebbels-Reden*, Vol. 2: 1939–45, Helmut Heiber, ed. (Düsseldorf, 1972), 431–32. Also Anatol Goldberg, *Ilya Ehrenburg* (New York, 1984), 207; *Der Panzerbär*, April 27, 1945, quoted in Ingrid Schmidt-Harzbach, "Eine Woche im April: Berlin 1945; Vergewaltigung als Massenschicksal," in *BeFreier und Befreite: Krieg, Vergewaltigungen, Kinder*, Helke Sander and Barbara Johr, eds. (Munich, 1992), 23.

²⁵ The highest estimates appear in Sander and Johr, *BeFreier und Befreite*, 60; more conservative figures appear in Erich Kuby, *Die Russen in Berlin 1945* (Berlin, 1965), 305–18. On the difficulty of quantification and contextualization, see esp. Atina Grossmann, "A Question of Silence: The Rape of German Women by Occupation Soldiers," *October*, 72 (April 1995). On the rapes in general, see also Norman Naimark, *The Russians in Germany: A History of the Soviet Zone of Occupation, 1945–1949* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 69–140; Annemarie Tröger, "Between Rape and Prostitution: Survival Strategies and Possibilities of Liberation of Berlin Women in 1945–48," in *Women in Culture and Politics: A Century of Change*, Judith Friedlander, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Carol Smith-Rosenberg, eds. (Bloomington, Ind., 1986); Ingrid Schmidt-Harzbach, "Doppelt besiegt: Vergewaltigung als Massenschicksal," *Frankfurter Frauenblatt* (May 1985): 18–23; Schmidt-Harzbach, "Eine Woche im April"; Erika Hörning, "The Myth of Female Loyalty," *Journal of Psychohistory*, 16 (1988): 19–45. Members of the Western allied forces also raped German women, although there was no western equivalent to the mass rapes that occurred in the east. See Ute Frevert, *Frauen-Geschichte zwischen bürgerlicher Verbesserung und neuer Weiblichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1986), 246–47.

²⁶ For reports of the dangers men faced in defending women from rape, see *Dokumentation der Vertreibung der Deutschen aus Ost-Mitteleuropa*, Vol. 1/1: *Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den Gebieten östlich der Oder-Neisse* (1954; Munich, 1984), 65E. For reports of men's unwillingness even to try, see Schmidt-Harzbach, "Eine Woche im April"; Kuby, *Die Russen in Berlin*, 305–18; Tröger,

Women's immediate reactions to rape varied widely. Some women seem to have experienced rape as one problem among many: it was a horrible episode, but so were many other events of the winter and spring of 1945.²⁷ For others, rape was an earth-shattering experience. The fact that rape was often accompanied by shooting—either of the victim, of others with her, or simply reckless shooting into the air—meant that women had to fear rape as a mortal danger, not “just” as a painful and traumatic episode. Some families and fiancés reacted with disgust even as women returned tattered and bleeding; others felt but could not express their sympathy.²⁸ Where internal injuries, sexually transmitted disease, or pregnancy resulted, women's feelings of lasting damage were confirmed.²⁹

Bombings, flight, and rape: although these experiences represented only a portion of German women's wartime experience, they quickly came to define the “home front.” Women were the majority in the civilian population, and during and immediately after the war, home-front experiences were typically described as women's experiences (see Figures 2 and 3).³⁰ Reminders that the enemy was harming “innocent women and children” were, if nothing else, effective wartime propaganda. As Germans gained a bit of distance, however, these episodes of victimhood came to represent the wartime sufferings of a population whose sex was unspecified. In essence, they came to represent a “universal German” victimhood at the hands of Allied bombers, Soviet ground troops—and the Nazi Party, which was increasingly portrayed as an alien element that had inflicted a terrible war on an unwilling people.

To be sure, German men had their tales of woe as well, usually focusing on the eastern front or incarceration in a Soviet prison camp.³¹ Given the international

“Between Rape and Prostitution,” 104; Meyer and Schulze, *Von Liebe sprach damals keiner*, 83; Hörning, “Myth of Female Loyalty,” 29. Stories of German men's efforts to defend women are highlighted in publications of the Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees, and War Victims (hereafter, Ministry for Expellees) regarding the flight of Germans living in areas that would become part of the postwar Soviet bloc. Stories of men's uselessness in the face of Soviet soldiers intent on rape appear most frequently in Berlin women's diaries and interviews with Berlin women.

²⁷ See, for example, *Eine Frau in Berlin: Tagesbuchaufzeichnungen* (Geneva, 1959), 81, 144, 271; Schmidt-Harzbach, “Eine Woche im April,” 39–42; Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze, *Auswirkungen des II. Weltkriegs auf Familien: Zum Wandel der Familie in Deutschland* (Berlin, 1989), 227.

²⁸ See esp. Sander and Johr, *BeFreier und Befreite*, 16–17; interview with Frau Fr., Interview Collection, Institut für Soziologie, Technische Universität Berlin, p. 42. I am grateful to Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze for making transcripts of their interviews available to me.

²⁹ The police and judicial system turned a blind eye to the widespread abortions that followed these rapes. Some 90 percent of pregnancies in Berlin resulting from rape by Soviets may have ended in abortion, although the number among women on the refugee trail was probably smaller. Even some denominational hospitals and social work groups temporarily relaxed their disapproval of abortions not necessary to save the life of the mother. Within a year, however, both churches made very clear their firm opposition to abortion even in cases of rape. Schmidt-Harzbach, “Eine Woche im April,” 36–39; Sander and Johr, *BeFreier und Befreite*, 58; Naimark, *Russians in Germany*, 97–101, 121–25; Diakonieschwesterenschaft Zehlendorf am Central Ausschuss für die Innere Mission-West, August 12, 1948, ADW, CAW 391A, Archiv des Diakonischen Werkes—Innere Mission (hereafter, ADW-IM); April 1946, Deutsch-Evangelischer Frauenbund, “Stellungnahme zur Frage der künstlichen Schwangerschaftsunterbrechung und der empfängnisverhütenden Mittel,” ADV, BP I 215, ADW-IM.

³⁰ For a gendered description of the bombings, written by a man during the war and published in 1948, see Hans Erich Nossack, *Der Untergang* (Frankfurt am Main, 1948), esp. 27, 49, 51. On the openness of early postwar discussions of the female experience of rape, see Grossmann, “Question of Silence.”

³¹ Wounded veterans, of course, could easily adopt the identity of victims of war; see Diehl, *Thanks*

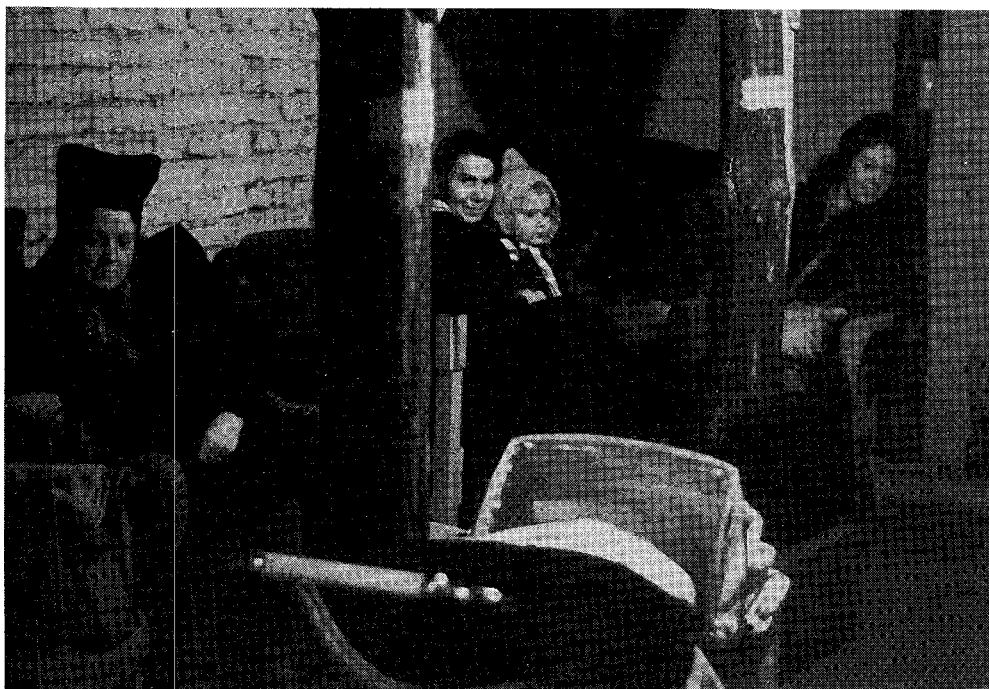


FIGURE 2: Bomb shelter, Berlin [1945?]. This wartime photograph makes clear the disproportionate degree to which women were victimized by bombing raids. Landesbildstelle Berlin.

fury at the destruction wrought by the German military, such narratives often expressed the desire to separate the individual teller from the collective. The German military machine, aggressive war aims, and inhumane actions taken “in the name of the German people” might have been criminal and brutal, but an individual veteran could point out that *he*, at least, had been an unwilling draftee. Or he could insist that he had been a member of a legitimate collective: a highly professional *Wehrmacht*, distinct in every way from the SS and completely innocent of wartime atrocities. The mythology of the innocent draftee and professional soldier had tangible implications for the development of the Federal Republic, helping, for example, to justify pensions for veterans and West German participation in NATO. Despite the significance of popular memories of male experience, however, such memories do not seem to have become so generalized that the gendered nature of the original experience was obscured. Even popular memories of an admittedly huge collective—the German military—remained just that: representations of the military.

of the Fatherland. Wounded veterans, however, nurtured an “active” identity of upright soldiers who had performed their duty rather than a “passive” identity of victimhood. On men’s experience in Soviet prison camps and their readjustment to civilian society, see Lehmann, *Gefangenschaft und Heimkehr*. For a later portrayal of prisoners of war, consider the popular 1958 film *Der Arzt von Stalingrad*, directed by Geza Radvanyi. Significantly, the leading character is less a victim than a hero, a moral anchor, and a font of technical expertise in a primitive environment.



FIGURE 3: "Two Russian soldiers harass a girl," 1945. The interaction is clearly a gendered one. Ullstein Bilderdienst.

The disproportionately female civilian experience and the almost exclusively female rape experience, by contrast, seem to have been especially well suited for allowing Germans to consider their nation as a whole an innocent victim of war.³²

³² See also discussions of post-World War II monuments emphasizing civilian suffering rather than soldierly heroism. Behrenbeck, "Heldenkult oder Friedensmahnung?"; Mosse, *Fallen Soldiers*, 212–16.

Germans could remind themselves that not only Jews but also Germans, a category that implicitly excluded German Jews, had suffered wartime atrocities, such as the firebombing of Dresden. The fact that the adult population of cities such as Dresden had been mainly female at the time of the bombings no longer seemed so significant.

Visual culture played a part in this transition, as the lunar landscapes of bombed cities were endlessly photographed both for their historic value and for their striking aesthetic quality (Figure 4). In this genre of photography, the inanimate victims of the bombings—the buildings—became the subject. Viewers who did recall that these buildings were once full of people could easily forget such details as those people's demographic profile.³³ In fact, one of the features that made them so striking was their very sterility: they were, at least on the surface of things, utterly devoid of life.

Even representations of earlier moments, however—the years of the bombings themselves—increasingly described sex-neutral *cities*, or even German or Western *civilization*, as the victims of the bombings. Typical was an essay in the 1953 collection, "Balance of the Second World War," a book promoted, in the words of its very respectable publisher, in order "that the survivors . . . not simply push aside this most monstrous event of world history [the war], but confront it in a very basic way."³⁴ Presumably in the interests of such a confrontation, an essay titled "The Air War over Germany" portrayed Germany as the innocent victim of a war against civilians, observing that, "aside from Hiroshima, there has scarcely been a more terrible decision in the history of war than this one, which announced war and destruction to the way of life of a Western urban culture that had grown organically over a long period of time."³⁵ The essay is notably silent on the possibility that the *German* war against civilians might have embodied some of the most terrible decisions in the history of war. Less glaring but also telling is the fact that the largely female experience of the bombing raids has become war and destruction of a "Western urban culture." To be sure, the destruction of German housing and urban infrastructure was significant by any measure. But by minimizing the human and emphasizing the cultural victims of the bombing war, the author obscured the degree to which this was a gendered experience. Germany, representing no less than Western urban culture, was the victim of the war.³⁶

Most remarkable was the appropriation of the female rape experience by the nation. Although discussions of women's experiences with rape by members of the victorious armies became taboo a few years after the end of the war,³⁷ references to the rapes hardly disappeared. In fact, they permeated the culture. But they

³³ On the power of the visual image to overwhelm information provided by less striking sources, even if those other sources challenge the message of the image, see Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, 176–77; Friedlander, "Introduction," in *Probing the Limits of Representation*, 16.

³⁴ *Bilanz des Zweiten Weltkrieges: Erkenntnisse und Verpflichtungen für die Zukunft* (Oldenburg/Hamburg, 1953), 11.

³⁵ Hans Rumpf, "Luftkrieg über Deutschland," in *Bilanz des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, 163.

³⁶ The author, writing in 1953, notes the predominance of women among the casualties only in passing. Rumpf, "Luftkrieg über Deutschland," 170. By contrast, note the unselfconsciousness with which the author of a 1943 account describes the victims of bombing raids as women. Nossack, *Der Untergang*, 28, 51. Both the wartime and the 1953 accounts were written by men.

³⁷ Grossmann, "Question of Silence."

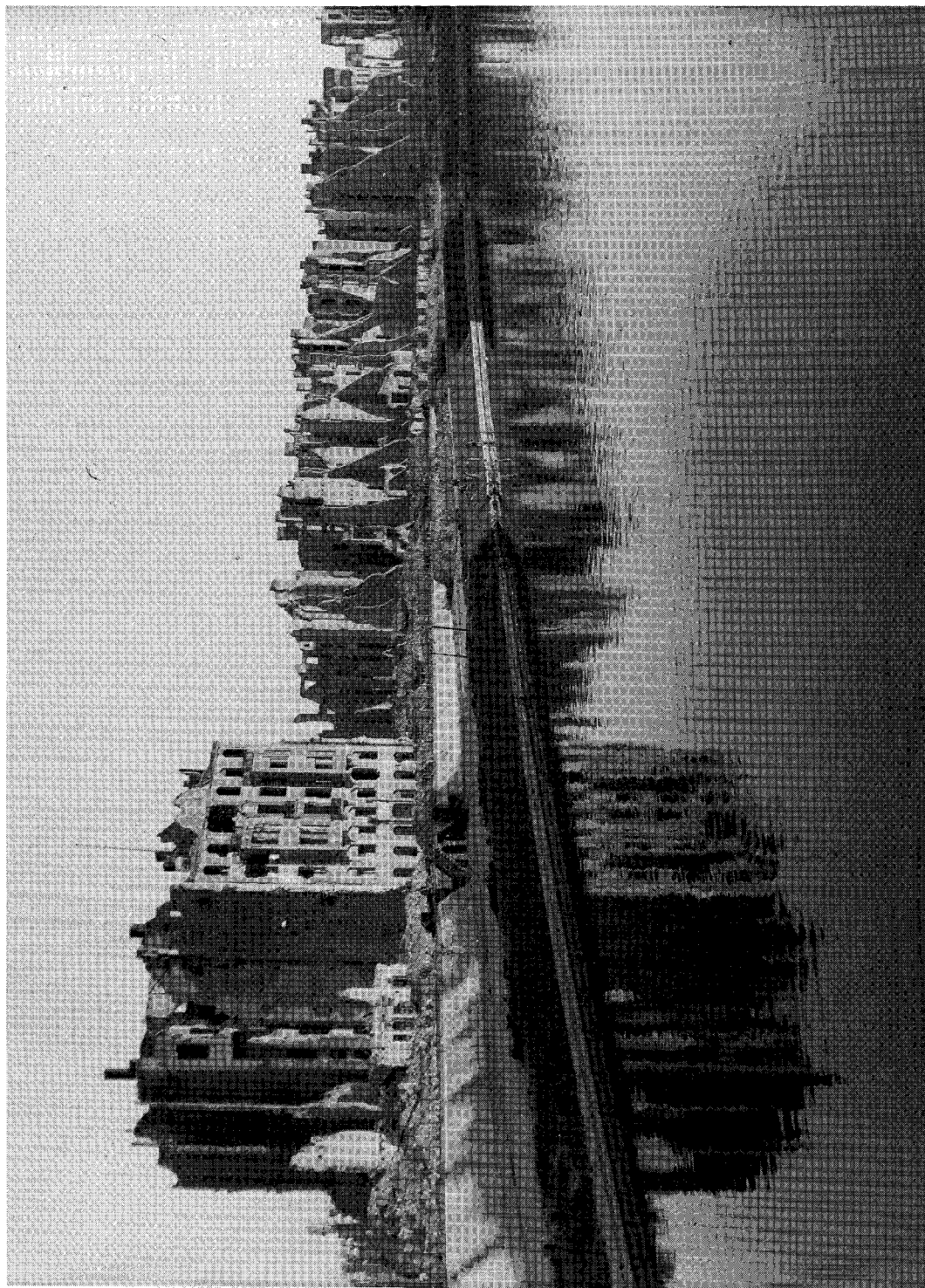


FIGURE 4: "Destroyed row of houses on the Spree," Friedrich Seidenstücker, 1946. This postwar photo is an example of the retrospective focus on the cultural and ungendered victims of the bombing raids. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

ceased to be references to rapes of women and instead turned into allusions to the rape of Germany.

Cold War-era references to the Soviet rapes explained them in political, national, or even racial terms—and not as gendered acts. During the military occupation, Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union campaign posters warned against the Soviet threat by portraying Asian-featured, red-tinted men lurking in the shadows, a visual reference to the warrior/rapist. Their outstretched hands, however, reached not for a woman but for a chunk of a prone Germany (Figure 5). The image of a Germany raped by the Soviets made its way into “official history” when, in the mid-1950s, the Federal Ministry for Expellees, Refugees, and War Victims published a multi-volume work on the flight and evacuation of Germans at the end of the war. The series testifies to the very real hardships of Germans who fled or were evacuated from their homes in violent circumstances. However, it also represented an official endorsement of a racial analysis of the rapes, as the ministry offered the following explanation:

It can be recognized that behind the rapes stood a form of behavior and a mentality that seem strange and repelling to European concepts. One would have to trace them back in part to traditions and ideas that are still in effect, particularly in the Asian regions of Russia, according to which women, like jewelry, valuables, and the contents of apartments and armories, are the rightful bounty of the victor . . . The fact that Soviet soldiers of Asian origin distinguished themselves by a particular ferocity and lack of moderation confirms that certain strains of the Asian mentality contributed substantially to these outbreaks.³⁸

The notion that European Soviet soldiers conducted themselves better, on the whole, than did Asian Soviet soldiers is not borne out by the several volumes of documentation that follow this analysis, and the ministry would surely have objected to a similar racial explanation for German atrocities in the east—including widespread rape of women of occupied lands.³⁹ What is especially notable in the present context, however, is how such an understanding of the rapes allowed Germans, male and female, to recall the collapse of the eastern front as an event in which Western civilization was violated by a brutal Soviet or Asian culture.

This rhetorical opposition of a violent East against a civilized West predated the Federal Republic by decades, even centuries. The reiteration of this opposition

³⁸ *Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den Gebieten östlich der Oder-Neisse*, 61E. See also Walter Luedde-Neurath, “Das Ende auf deutschem Boden,” in *Bilanz des Zweiten Weltkrieges*, 430. A volume published at the same time as the Ministry for Expellees’ collection did focus on the victimization of women per se. The title of the work, which describes the “martyrdom” of East German women as an “excerpt” from the “Passion” of the region of Silesia, nevertheless makes clear that the larger story is one of Good against Evil. *Martyrium und Heldentum Ostdeutscher Frauen: Ein Ausschnitt aus der schlesischen Passion 1945/46*, Johannes Kaps, ed. (Munich, 1954). For a much more recent account of the flight and expulsion, which also highlights rape, see Alfred-Maurice de Zayas, *The German Expellees: Victims in War and Peace*, John A. Koehler, trans. (New York, 1986).

³⁹ In his contribution to the *Historikerstreit* (the “Historians’ Debate” of the 1980s), Ernst Nolte continued the tendency to characterize atrocities—in this case, the yet more horrible practice of genocide—as “Asiatic,” thus defining as perpetrators one of the very groups targeted by the Nazis. Ernst Nolte, “Vergangenheit, die nicht vergehen will,” rpt. in *Historikerstreit: Die Dokumentation der Kontroverse um die Einzigartigkeit der nationalsozialistischen Judenvernichtung* (Munich, 1987), 45; consider also Dominick LaCapra’s commentary on this in LaCapra, “Representing the Holocaust,” 113; and Klaus Theweleit’s discussion of Weimar-era sexualized fears of the East. Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, Stephan Conway, Erica Carter, and Chris Turner, trans., 2 vols. (Minneapolis, 1987, 1989).



Figure 5: Political poster of 1949 appealing to fears of the “rape” of Germany. The poster portrays an endangered Bavaria and recommends a vote for the CDU’s Bavarian counterpart, the Christian Social Union. In the original, the face is red. Münchner Stadtmuseum.

after the war, however, legitimated the emergence of a discourse that challenged the notion that the German war effort had been, to its core, unjustifiable. According to this narrative, the Western Allies had refused to recognize that the Germans, in the final stages of the war, had been on their side, defending the West against the onslaught of the East. As the *Wehrmacht* had defended Western civilization against the "Red Flood," the Western Allies had stubbornly held out for an unconditional surrender; the results were the perpetration of "Asiatic horrors" on the East Germans and expanded Soviet power in postwar Europe. Not only German civilians but Western civilization and all its carriers became the victims of the war in this retelling.⁴⁰

Ironically, as rape became a powerful metaphor for German victimization, the government declined to recognize real rape by the enemy or occupier as a form of wartime injury deserving compensation. Insisting that rape was not an injury unless lasting physical damage had been done and that children were the natural result of sexual intercourse, the Ministry of Labor turned down repeated petitions to recognize raped women as victims under the Law to Aid Victims of War, or at least to contribute to the support of children who had resulted from wartime and occupation-era rapes.⁴¹ Only in the late 1950s did the Finance Ministry award limited support to a small number of raped women under the provisions of the Law Regarding Compensation for Work and Damages Resulting from the Occupation.⁴²

⁴⁰ Luedde-Neurath, "Das Ende auf deutschem Boden," 430–37. Similar themes emerged in the *Historikerstreit*. Andreas Hillgruber, for example, described a Germany that could anticipate its fate after it learned of the rape and murder of women and children in the town of Nemmersdorf late in 1944. Andreas Hillgruber, *Zweierlei Untergang: Die Zerschlagung des Deutschen Reiches und das Ende des europäischen Judentums* (Berlin, 1986), 19. With the Western Allies stubbornly and, Hillgruber seems to think, incomprehensibly working with the Soviets on a postwar settlement (which of course would include increased Soviet influence in Central Europe), the German military was left no choice but to prolong the war in order to give eastern civilians time to flee. This leads Hillgruber to his famous and much-criticized formulation, "If the historian looks at the catastrophe of the winter of 1944/45, only one position remains . . . he must identify with the concrete fate of the German population in the East and with the desperate and sacrificial exertions of the eastern German army and the German Baltic navy, which sought to defend the population from the orgy of revenge of the Red Army, the mass rapes, the arbitrary killing, and the compulsory deportations" (pp. 24–25). Hillgruber thus not only described a past in which the German nation adopted a "victim" identity that was particularly compelling because of the fact of rape, he also insisted that, even in the present, the (presumably German) historian has no choice but to adopt this identity.

⁴¹ Gerhard Wilke, "Versorgung unehelicher Kinder nach dem Bundesversorgungsgesetz unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ehelichkeitsanfechtung," *Sozialarbeit*, 1 (1952): 348–57; "Fall 3: Ist ein von Besatzungsangehörigen zwangsgezeugtes Kind auch als Kriegsoffer anzusehen?" *Sozialarbeit*, 1 (1952): 115–17; Bundesministerium für Arbeit an den vorsitzenden des Ausschusses des Deutschen Bundestages für Kriegsoffer- und Kriegsgefangenenfragen (IVb 2–45/51), January 22, 1951, B149/1876 folio 10, BAK; Bundesministerium für Arbeit an das Bundesministerium des Innerns, Finanzministerium, Bundesministerium für Angelegenheiten der Vertriebenen (IVb 1073/50), November 20, 1950, B149/1876 folio 7, BAK.

Some provincial welfare offices gave special consideration to needy mothers raising children of wartime and occupation-era rape. Sozialminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen–Jugendwohlfahrt (IIIB/7b 10/47 II), February 20, 1947, Best. 932 Nr. 213, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz (hereafter, LHK); Sozialminister des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen an den Herrn Bundesminister des Innerns, September 28, 1950, Best. 932 Nr. 213, LHK (the same document can be found in B153/345-I folio 55, BAK); der Niedersächsische Sozialminister an den Herrn Bundesminister des Innerns (W As.20 10 06a), April 30, 1953, B153/345-I folio 1952, BAK; der Hessische Minister des Innern an die Herren Regierungspräsidenten Darmstadt, Kassel, Wiesbaden (VIII a [3] 50 f 24 02–3254/53), October 17, 1953, B153/345-I folio 186, BAK.

⁴² *Gesetz über die Abgeltung von Besatzungsleistungen und Besatzungsschäden*, December 1, 1955 (*Bundesgesetzblatt* [hereafter, BGBl.], 1955, I, p. 734). This law covered only damages that occurred

As the experience of rape was degendered to apply to the nation, the state refused to recognize a uniquely female experience of victimization by rape.

Conventions of delicacy provided a ruse for minimizing women's rape experiences at the linguistic level and describing a national experience instead. The euphemism "Asian atrocities" typically replaced the word "rape" in the 1950s, thus substituting a racialized term for a gendered one.⁴³ As late as 1985, the head of the Christian Democratic faction to the Bundestag feigned an inability to call the wartime rape of German women by its name in a speech to the Federation of German Expellees:

I . . . express my solidarity . . . with you, the expellees. With two million of your fellow countrymen who lost their lives while fleeing or being driven out of their homes and with twelve million who, at the end of the Second World War, lost nearly everything but their lives—their homes, their property, their families and their honor—I do not wish to describe what was done to the women.

Three paragraphs later, however, the speaker proved capable of referring to the "rape" of a gender-neutral Europe by the Soviet Union: "The purpose of a constructive *Ostpolitik* by the free Europeans and the free West cannot be to legitimize the rape and division of Europe."⁴⁴

Stories of wartime victimization of women thus provided one important source for a popular, even official, version of German history sympathetic to Germans' recent experience. Allied bombers and the Nazi Party could serve as the villains in tales of wartime victimization, but memories of flight and rape had an especially profound resonance in the formative years of the Federal Republic. In the context of the Cold War, stories of flight and rape helped to define a West Germanness that was defined in large part by the need to face the threat from the East. But whatever the origin of Germans' suffering, as stories of victimization came to constitute

after August 1, 1945, in the territory that became the Federal Republic, however, and was thus received with some skepticism as recompense for the rapes, most of which occurred in the eastern territories prior to August 1. An order of December 1958 allowed payments to women who had been raped in other portions of the former Reich during earlier months. Neither piece of legislation made retroactive payments, and both terminated payments when the child reached the age of sixteen. Finanzministerium, Rdvfg., December 4, 1958, "Gewährung eines Härteausgleichs für den Unterhalt von Kindern, die bei einer Vergewaltigung gezeugt worden sind, die nicht als Besatzungsschäden anerkannt werden kann" (II A/8-Sk 0317-66/58), rpt. in *Die Praxis*, 12 (May 1959): 118-19. A portion of the payment was designated as child support, a portion as damages for the woman's physical and psychological sufferings. This meant that women who had not borne children as a result of their rapes could collect smaller payments. Finanzministerium, Rdvfg., December 17, 1956 (II E/1-BL 1112-352/56/0 4250), rpt. in "Abgeltung von Besatzungsschäden: Gewährung eines Ausgleichs für den Unterhalt von Kindern, die bei einer Vergewaltigung gezeugt worden sind (NR 21 BVBl.)," *Verband der Kriegsbeschädigten, Kriegshinterbliebenen, und Sozialrentner Deutschlands-Mitteilungen*, 7 (April 1957): 185-87; Auszug aus dem Schreiben des Finanzministeriums, December 18, 1958-VI-B/1-BL 1821-40/59, Best. 932 Nr. 213, LHK.

⁴³ See, for example, *Die Vertreibung der deutschen Bevölkerung aus den Gebieten östlich der Oder-Neisse*, 61E; Luedde-Neurath, "Das Ende auf deutschem Boden," 430.

⁴⁴ Alfred Dregger, "For a Free Germany in a Free Europe," speech delivered to the Federation of German Expellees, Bonn, on April 28, 1985; trans. and rpt. in *Bitburg and Beyond: Encounters in American, German and Jewish History*, Ilya Levkov, ed. (New York, 1987), 112. In his foreign policy of the early 1970s, nicknamed "Ostpolitik," Chancellor Willy Brandt sought improved relations with the East by recognizing the GDR and the loss of formerly German lands to Poland and the USSR.

national memory, they functioned ever less effectively in describing a female experience.

The next chapter of women's history would be represented as one of heroism, sacrifice, and hard work. It, too, would provide material for the establishment of a positive national identity at the expense of fully recognizing women's unique experience. This strand of West German identity, however, depended less on the existence of an enemy "other" and more on a positive understanding of West Germany's human resources and economic success.

UPON THE MILITARY COLLAPSE, Germany was left with a marked "surplus of women" (*Frauenüberschuss*). In October 1946, there were 7 million more women than men in occupied Germany. The demographic imbalance was particularly stark among young adults: for every 1,000 men in the Western zones between the ages of twenty-five and thirty, there were nearly 1,700 women of the same age.⁴⁵ With men scarce, women pulled their families and German society through extraordinarily lean years, times so difficult they were called the "hunger years." Millions had already lost their homes to bombing raids, and the homeless population grew by millions more as refugees from the east poured in. The lack of food supplies was catastrophic. In late May 1945, Berlin housewives could claim a daily ration of 11 ounces of bread, 14 ounces of potatoes, 1 ounce of grain, $\frac{2}{3}$ ounce of meat, and $\frac{1}{4}$ ounce of fat—a ration card popularly nicknamed the "Ascension pass." This starving, homeless population went on to face the coldest winter of the century in 1946–1947. Thus hard times persisted: in November 1947, the average weight for women was 93.5 pounds; for men, 92.3 pounds.⁴⁶ With few means for obtaining basic necessities, and with even those necessities in appallingly short supply, women almost literally had to make something out of nothing in order to feed themselves and their dependents.

They did so largely without men's help. Few men were around: they were either casualties of war or still in prison camps. Those who were present were often wounded, too weak to work, or psychologically shattered by their wartime and prison experiences. In a period of utterly inadequate rations, tremendous shortages of housing, fuel, and the most basic of consumer items, women worked the black market, stood in endless food lines, trekked to the countryside to barter away their last belongings, made bread out of acorns and soap out of ash, stole coal from trains and wood from off-limits forests, and mended their families' threadbare clothes when even needles were a scarce commodity on the black market.

Just as women's reproductive work became both more complicated and more vital for survival, a new, powerful symbol of women at the workplace emerged: the "Woman of the Rubble" (*Trümmerfrau*), who cleared away the piles of stone and brick that constituted Germany's urban landscape. Rubble clearance was not an

⁴⁵ Helga Grebing, Peter Pozorski, and Rainer Schulze, *Die Nachkriegsentwicklung in Westdeutschland: 1945–1949, A: Die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen* (Stuttgart, 1980), 19.

⁴⁶ Men's health problems had been aggravated by their incarceration as prisoners of war. Monthly Narrative Report for Land Hessen, November 1948, Medizinalabteilung, Minister des Innern, Hessisches Staatsministerium, Abt. 649 8/59–1/11, Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (hereafter, HHA).

occupation women entered with much enthusiasm. The work was not only strenuous, it was dead-end: women were prohibited from entering apprenticeships that might have allowed them to advance in the construction industry. Since volunteers were lacking, occupation authorities assigned men and women who had belonged to Nazi organizations, as well as dependents of those implicated, to work removing rubble in many cities.⁴⁷ When this proved to be an inadequate labor pool, the same authorities turned to a system of mandatory labor among the general population.⁴⁸ In addition to those performing compulsory labor, another group of women volunteered for the task, not for the poor pay but for the better ration cards they received as heavy laborers. However mixed their motivations for taking on this chore, women set to the tedious, heavy work of moving, cleaning, and sorting building material for reuse—the first step of Germany's physical reconstruction. Women of the rubble peopled the streets of many German cities; they constituted 5 to 10 percent of employed women in Berlin.⁴⁹

From the women of the rubble emerged the Woman of the Rubble: the central symbol of the era.⁵⁰ A single image linked women in rags and ruined cities on the one hand, the resilience of Germans and the process of reconstruction on the other. The survival of ordinary German families and the economic recovery of Germany as a whole were united in one figure: a woman who devoted her days to cleaning bricks and her evenings to feeding her family. Occupation authorities tried to establish a link between the Nazi past and the current devastation, as evidenced by their assignment of former Nazis and their families to rubble clearance. Initially, women of the rubble endured the occasional taunt, "Nazi Broads" (*Nazi-Weiber*).⁵¹ Nevertheless, the Woman of the Rubble quickly came to suggest a story that began with the bombing of German cities, focused on terrible hardships, and promised renewal by the cooperative efforts of ordinary Germans. Nazi politics, aggression,

⁴⁷ Meyer and Schulze, *Wie wir das alles geschafft haben*, 70; John Gimbel, *A German Community under American Occupation: Marburg, 1945–52* (Stanford, Calif., 1961), 58. The prohibition on women's work in construction was lifted by Control Council Law Nr. 32, of July 10, 1946, but women's work clearing rubble predated this law.

⁴⁸ The number and ages of the children that qualified a woman for an exemption varied according to region. See, for example, North Rhine province's "Verordnung über die Leistung von Pflichtarbeit, 31. Juli 1945," rpt. in *Unsere verlorene Jahre*, 42–45; Doris Schubert, *Frauenarbeit 1945–1949: Frauen in der deutschen Nachkriegszeit*, Vol. 1 (Düsseldorf, 1984), 76–77; Landesarbeitsamt Nordrhein-Westfalen, Rdvfg. 15/46 (Entwurf) an die Arbeitsämter, February 26, 1946, Landesarbeitsamt Nordrhein-Westfalen Nr. 239 folio 288, Nordrheinwestfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (hereafter, N-WH).

⁴⁹ Meyer and Schulze, *Wie wir das alles geschafft haben*, 95. Women of the rubble were most visible in Berlin, but they were also prominent in many other cities. In Mannheim, 48 of 177 people working to clear rubble a year after the war were women. Der Badische Landesdirektor für Wirtschaft, Ernährung und Verkehr Nr. 1329 an den Herrn Landesdirektor für Arbeit, Wohlfahrt und Wiederaufbau, May 7, 1946, Abt. 460 Arbeitsamt Karlsruhe Nr. 82, Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (hereafter, GLK). In other cities, such as Munich, construction remained a male preserve even in the short term. Marita Krauss, "... es geschahen Dinge, die Wunder ersetzen": Die Frau im Münchner Trümmeralltag," in *Trümmerleben*, Friedrich Prinz, ed. (Munich, 1985), 21–74, esp. 62 and following.

⁵⁰ Although the present discussion focuses on the symbolic use of the Woman of the Rubble in the Federal Republic, she played a powerful role in the German Democratic Republic as well. Compare Ina Merkel, ... und Du, *Frau an der Werkbank: Die DDR in den 50er Jahren* (Berlin, 1990), 31–47.

⁵¹ In this context, the *Trümmerfilme* ("Rubble Films") of the immediate postwar years also warrant consideration. These films—which bore the Allies' stamp of approval via the licensing process—typically explored questions about the recent past against the striking physical backdrop of the ruined cities. The connection between past and present was thus unavoidable. Anton Kaes, *From "Hitler" to "Heimat": The Return of History as Film* (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 12.

and war crimes provided only the haziest of backdrops for this story. The Woman of the Rubble had no questionable past: she came from nowhere to clean up the mess others had left behind. In the words of a 1946 pamphlet,

There is no picture that characterizes the results of a catastrophic politics more impressively and graphically, but at the same time more movingly, than these untiring women working in the rubble in all weather. Of all the boasting promises that were once made to them, nothing remains but rubble and piles of stone, which they must literally clear away with their own hands *so life can go on*. They do not hide their disappointment over their fate, but whatever may happen, they want to *put these hard times behind them*.⁵²

Rather than revisit the past, the Women of the Rubble wanted to “put hard times behind them” so “life could go on,” an attractive idea for most Germans.⁵³ Popular metaphors such as “ruins of the soul” and “internal devastation,” which established a parallel between the physical destruction of Germany and the psychological destruction of Germans, made the business of cleaning up even more essential to Germany’s renewal. “Ruins are a general phenomenon,” wrote a contributor to a social work journal in 1949. “Just as concretely as they lay on the street corners, so are they present inside people.”⁵⁴

In addition to her lack of association with the past, the Woman of the Rubble had no complicated future. This became important as the mythology of the Woman of the Rubble developed in the 1950s—the decade of the Federal Republic’s “economic miracle.” During the 1950s, West Germany’s “economic miracle” became more than the measure of its recovery from the war. Given the difficulty of building a national identity on the troubled grounds of Germany’s past, as well as the widespread lack of interest in the political foundations of the new state, collective economic success became an important basis for the establishment of a distinctly West German national identity.⁵⁵ By the mid-1950s, however, it was clear that this recovery had had a price tag, albeit one to which few objected. The recovery of West Germany had required the quick denazification of technical experts who were needed for the economy; it had involved an alliance with the West that some blamed for making reunification with East Germany impossible; it included rearmament and participation in military exercises; it demanded an attitude of humility and gratitude toward the United States for the provision of Marshall Plan aid. But the phoenix had begun to rise from the ashes with the

⁵² *Frauen gestern und heute* (Berlin, 1946), 34–36, emphasis added; rpt. in Schubert, *Frauenarbeit 1945–1949*, 263.

⁵³ For additional examples of the need to look forward rather than backward, see Ernst Wiechert in *Das Gedicht: Blätter für die Dichtung*, 1946, quoted in Arnold Sywottek, “Tabuisierung und Anpassung in Ost und West: Bemerkungen zur deutschen Geschichte nach 1945,” in *Deutschland nach Hitler: Zukunftspläne im Exil und aus der Besatzungszeit 1939–1949*, Thomas Koebner, Gert Sautermeister, and Sigrid Schneider, eds. (Opladen, 1987), 229.

⁵⁴ “Eheberatungsstelle in Hannover,” *Neues Beginnen*, 4 (March 1, 1949): 3. For a literary example of such imagery, see Walter Kolbenhoff, *Heimkehr in die Fremde* (Munich, 1949), 60, 116; for religious use of such language, consider the discussion of the left-Catholic journal *Ende und Anfang* in Gert Sautermeister, “Messianisches Hoffen, tapfere Skepsis, Lebensbegehren: Jugend in den Nachkriegsjahren,” in *Deutschland nach Hitler*, 278.

⁵⁵ See, for example, Peter Reichel, *Politische Kultur der Bundesrepublik* (Opladen, 1981), 110–49. On West Germans’ failure to identify with their constitution and the principles of constitutional democracy, see Heinz Rausch, “Politisches Bewusstsein und politische Einstellungen im Wandel,” in *Die Identität der Deutschen*, Werner Weidenfeld, ed. (Munich, 1983), 130.



FIGURE 6: Women of the rubble. Images of these women quickly entered popular iconography of the reconstruction of West Germany. Landesbildstelle Berlin.

Women of the Rubble—women who projected an image of political neutrality, equality in sacrifice, and an ability to pull themselves up by their own bootstraps.⁵⁶ The Women of the Rubble provided a symbol of rebuilding on a humble scale, innocent of the disputes that would mark later stages of reconstruction in the Federal Republic.

The Woman of the Rubble did not share the fate of the victim of rape: she did not disappear in order that a nationalized, degendered version of her experience might take her place. In fact, visual images of the Woman of the Rubble became a national cliché, gracing countless dust jackets and journalistic references to the era (see Figures 6 and 7). At the same time, the appealing simplicity of the Woman of the Rubble could be removed from her person, and as such could represent not just women's extraordinary efforts but an entire era in West Germany's history. Consider this idealization of the immediate postwar period and of the physical work of reconstruction by a Social Democrat who served in the Bundestag during the 1960s: "After the total war and total defeat we began to clean up the devastated landscape, to organize the rebuilding . . . Back then, Conservative and Social Democrat, Communist and Liberal, Catholic and Protestant sat together without

⁵⁶ On the importance of collective memories of rebuilding to West German identity, see, for example, Wolfgang Mommsen, "The Germans and Their Past: History and Political Consciousness in the Federal Republic of Germany," in *Coping with the Past: Germany and Austria after 1945*, Kathy Harms, Lutz R. Reuter, and Volker Duerr, eds. (Madison, Wis., 1990), 253–54; Mommsen, "Wandlungen der nationalen Identität," in *Die Identität der Deutschen*, 174–76.



FIGURE 7: Women of the rubble dancing during a break from their work. Such photos emphasized the innocence of Germans engaged in the work of reconstruction. Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

examining each other suspiciously, without mistrust.”⁵⁷ Histories of the occupation era hardly support this portrayal of political parties working in harmony. Despite some promising signs of cooperation, such as the establishment of an ecumenical Christian party to replace a distinctive political Catholicism, divisions between Christian conservatives, Socialists, liberals, and Communists were intense and bitter. The parliamentarian’s reference to cleaning up the devastated landscape, however, suggests that his mental image was not one of the smoke-filled rooms of political meetings, which were filled mainly by men; rather, his reference is to the scene on the streets, which was dominated by women.

Women of the Rubble thus came to personify West Germany’s reconstruction. They lay at the heart of a national identity that emphasized hard work and economic success, and they implied that 1945 was the “Zero Hour” that marked the beginning of the new nation’s history. Women found themselves unable, however, to translate memories of their hard work during Germany’s hour of need into fairer treatment in the labor market once economic recovery began. Memories of women’s heroic role in feeding their families and in cleaning up the bombed cities had greater potential to improve women’s status than did images of women as

⁵⁷ Fritz Sanger, “Gefahrdete Meinungsfreiheit,” in *Die zornigen alten Manner: Gedanken uber Deutschland seit 1945*, Axel Eggerecht, ed. (Reinbek/Hamburg, 1979), 236. Consider also aesthetic images of the rubble and of the activity of removing it. Sautermeister, “Messianisches Hoffen,” 261 and following.

victims or as fraternizers (see below); thus their failure to have this effect is particularly telling. The adoption of the Woman of the Rubble as a national symbol served at best to compensate former women of the rubble for continued economic and legal discrimination.

With the 1948 currency reform in the Western occupation zones came a sharp rise in unemployment. Firms laid off workers, since labor paid with the new Deutsche mark was much more expensive than that paid in the old currency. At the same time, millions of people who had supported themselves through the now-defunct underground economy suddenly needed legitimate work. Women and men alike flooded the unemployment offices, as male joblessness rose 42.5 percent and that of women 70 percent in the first month after currency reform.⁵⁸ But women, whose ability to juggle paid employment with extended household responsibilities and underground work had attracted admiration during the "hunger years," found their applications for unemployment compensation rejected on the grounds that their presumed household responsibilities made them unavailable to the labor market.⁵⁹ As a result, unemployed women found it much more difficult to collect unemployment compensation than did men.⁶⁰

As the new state was formed, women found that their extraordinary efforts prior to the currency reform did not lead to the alleviation of discrimination against working women. The argument of Social Democrats and Communists that women had demonstrated their value in the labor force and that equal pay for equal work should thus be anchored in the West German constitution (the "Basic Law") proved unconvincing to the majority of representatives who drew up the document.⁶¹ The courts upheld separate wage and salary classifications until 1955.⁶² Age limits excluded adult women from practically all vocational training and from much employment.⁶³ Female applicants over the age of forty faced truly bleak prospects in seeking work, even if they had performed twenty years or more of salaried work and had lost their positions through no fault of their own. Women could have little hope that their government would challenge age discrimination: the federal

⁵⁸ Schubert, *Frauenarbeit 1945–1949*, 103; *Monthly Report of the Military Government—US Zone*, no. 37 (July 1948): 3–4, 79–80.

⁵⁹ Petri, Bezirksfürsorgestelle Friedberg (Hessen) an das Landesarbeitsamt Frankfurt/Main, January 7, 1949, Abt. 940 Umgang Nr. 164, HHA; Härting, Regierungspräsident Darmstadt an die Bezirksfürsorgestelle Friedberg (Hessen), November 30, 1948, Abt. 940 Umgang Nr. 164, HHA; Petri, Bezirksfürsorgestelle Friedberg (Hessen) an das Landesarbeitsamt Frankfurt/Main, December 27, 1948, Abt. 940 Umgang Nr. 164, HHA; Präsident des Landesarbeitsamtes Hessen an die Arbeitsämter im Bezirk des Landesarbeitsamtes Hessen, Dienstanweisung 17/48 (Entwurf), September 10, 1948, Abt. 940 Umgang Nr. 176, HHA; Präsident des Landesarbeitsamtes Hessen an die Arbeitsämter im Bezirk des Landesarbeitsamtes Hessen, Dienstanweisung 6/49 (Entwurf), January 5, 1949, Abt. 940 Umgang Nr. 164, HHA; Präsident des Landesarbeitsamtes Württemberg-Baden an den Herrn Leiter der Arbeitsämter, July 2, 1948, Abt. 460 Arbeitsamt Tauberbischofsheim Nr. 15, GLK.

⁶⁰ *Monthly Report of the Military Government—US Zone*, no. 38 (August 1948): 75, 77. See also Heineman, "Standing Alone," 233–37.

⁶¹ Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood*, 53. For an overview of legal issues regarding women and employment, see Klaus-Jörg Ruhl, *Verordnete Unterordnung: Erwerbstätige Frauen zwischen konservativer Ideologie und Wirtschaftswachstum* (Munich, 1994).

⁶² Frevert, *Frauen-Geschichte*, 265.

⁶³ Käthe Mahrt, "Die Berufsnot der weiblichen Jugend," *Bundesarbeitsblatt*, 3 (1953): 468–69; "Zur Berufsnot der älteren Angestellten," *Informationen für die Frau*, 3 (July–August 1954): 18–19.

ministry charged with addressing the problem turned down applicants for typing positions because they exceeded the cut-off age of twenty-five.⁶⁴

As West Germany enjoyed its "economic miracle" in the 1950s, unemployment and poverty among middle-aged women reached critical proportions. In response, women's magazines and, especially, organizations of female employees did more than protest the general unfairness of age cut-offs. They also pointed out that such limitations hurt precisely those women who had contributed their labor during Germany's hardest years.⁶⁵ To no avail. Narratives that linked women's hard physical labor during the "hunger years" to a present in which the same women faced discrimination on the labor market did not resonate outside the circles of women's rights and women's labor advocates. The Woman of the Rubble became a profound symbol of West Germany's economic reconstruction; the former women of the rubble faced brutal discrimination in the labor force that fueled the recovery.

IF THE WOMAN OF THE RUBBLE provided a heroic, constructive identity for West Germans, other parts of women's history during the occupation were not so positively construed. Most subject to criticism was women's sexual behavior: their fleeting relationships with men on the refugee trail, their acceptance of men into their homes while they awaited word of their husbands, their use of prostitution as a strategy for survival. To many Germans, exploding rates of illegitimacy, of sexually transmitted disease, and of divorce indicated a terrible crisis.⁶⁶

Germans reserved their harshest criticism, however, for women who associated with occupation soldiers. The "Yanks' Sweetheart" (*Ami-liebchen*)—the "fraternizer" in the zone where fraternization was probably most common—came to be as deeply associated with these years as the Woman of the Rubble. Like her, the Yanks' Sweetheart eventually represented something much larger than herself.

⁶⁴ "So geht es nicht, Herr Bundesminister!" *Frau und Beruf*, 5 (March 1955): 21–22; "Zusätzliche Einstellung von arbeitslosen älteren Angestellten," *Frau und Beruf*, 4 (December 1954): 4.

⁶⁵ "Keine Chance für ältere Frauen?" *Constanze* (February 1953): 24–25; Maria Tritz, "Vermittlungsfähigkeit arbeitsloser Frauen," *Frau und Beruf*, 3 (May 1953): 3; "Zum Problem: 'Ältere Angestellte,'" *Frau und Beruf*, 2 (February 1952): 1; "Für die älteren Angestellten," *Frau und Beruf*, 4 (February 1954): 5; "Noch einmal: Die älteren Angestellten," *Frau und Beruf*, 4 (May 1954): 5–6; "Das Problem 'Ältere Angestellte,'" *Frau und Beruf*, 8 (May 1958): 34; "Zu alt fürs Vorzimmer?" *Frau und Beruf*, 10 (October 1960): 67. Likewise, when the federal government, in 1984, announced that only women born after 1921 would be eligible for new pensions for those women who had interrupted employment in order to raise children, the Gray Panthers argued that the government was excluding precisely those women whose labor had been most critical during the crisis years. Even more dramatically employing the symbol to which women's rights and women's labor advocates had referred in the 1950s, they organized a demonstration in Bonn—in which they dressed as Women of the Rubble. *Trümmerfrauen: Biografien einer betrogenen Generation*, Trude Unruh, ed. (Essen, 1987), 6. The pension law was revised to add women born earlier. *Kindererziehungs-Gesetz*, July 12, 1987 (BGBl. I S. 585); *Rentenanpassungsgesetz*, May 10, 1988 (BGBl. I S. 581).

⁶⁶ In 1948, 88,374 couples divorced, an 80 percent increase over 1946. "Die Ehescheidungen im Bundesgebiet seit 1946," *Wirtschaft und Statistik*, 2 (1950): 291. The divorce rate began a decline in 1949 that continued through the 1950s. The illegitimacy rate of 1946, 16.4 percent of births, was more than twice that of 1939. *Die Frau im wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Leben der Bundesrepublik* (Wiesbaden, 1956), 4–7. At the height of the epidemic of sexually transmitted disease in August 1946, there were 90.6 reported cases of gonorrhea and 30.2 of syphilis per ten thousand civilian population; the true rates were much higher, but even these reported rates were double those of 1934. *Monthly Report of the Military Government—US Zone*, no. 38 (August 1948): 8.

Unlike the Woman of the Rubble, however, the Yanks' Sweetheart was no heroine. She became the symbol of Germany's moral decline—and, as such, implied that the decline occurred with the collapse of, rather than during, Nazi rule.

With the lifting of the Western occupation armies' prohibitions of fraternization, a lively social culture featuring young German women and Allied soldiers, particularly Americans, began to flourish.⁶⁷ By December 1945, most U.S. veterans—many of whom still had some reservations about Germans—were released from their duties. They were replaced by young men with no wartime experience, little bitterness against Germans, and eagerness for adventures abroad. Contact with German women became a routine part of their lives. Army investigators estimated that 50 to 90 percent of American troops "fraternized" with German women in 1946; among married servicemen, one in eight had "found a home"—that is, entered a relatively stable relationship—in Germany.⁶⁸

Women who formed liaisons with occupation soldiers sought emotional companionship at least as eagerly as they sought economic benefits. Occupation soldiers, quite simply, constituted a significant portion of the young male population, and they often seemed more appealing partners than the demanding, wounded, and emotionally scarred German veterans returning from war. Insofar as women were motivated to enter relationships with foreign troops for economic reasons, their behavior was consistent with traditions of women seeking suitors or husbands who could provide financial security.⁶⁹ Relationships with the former enemy could be just as exciting, or just as drab, as relationships with Germans. But this perspective on fraternization would, at best, become material for "counter-memory." Few Germans who were not involved in such relationships considered them anything other than prostitution, and Germans quickly adopted the American nickname for fraternizers, "Veronika Dankeschön" (Veronika Thank-You-Very-Much, whose initials were "VD").⁷⁰

A sexually promiscuous woman, and especially a "fraternizer," who slept with the former enemy and sometimes crossed racial or religious boundaries, thus put her reputation at risk. In the discourse of occupation-era Germany, however, a fraternizer did not just prostitute herself, she stabbed her entire people in the back. She made a mockery of the sacrifices of German soldiers: forty years later, a German veteran claimed still to be haunted by the words of an American serviceman: "The German soldier fought for six years; the German woman only five

⁶⁷ Gimbel, *German Community under American Occupation*, 49 and following. Fraternization was almost certainly most common in the American and British zones and least common in the Soviet zone. The U.S. forces lifted their non-fraternization policy in July 1945; the Soviets never had a formal non-fraternization policy but began strict segregation of Soviet troops and German civilians in the summer of 1947. Naimark, *Russians in Germany*, 92–96.

⁶⁸ "To Tell or Not to Tell Is Query of Worried Home-Bound GIs," *Stars and Stripes* (June 28, 1946): 3; "Yank-Fraulein [*sic*] Romances Seen Ruining Occupation," *Stars and Stripes* (June 24, 1946): 8. By the end of 1947, 2,262 German women had married occupation soldiers. *Sie*, 3 (January 4, 1948): 1. By the mid-1950s, over 7,000 West German women married occupation soldiers annually. "Eheschließungen der Deutschen und Ausländer 1952 bis 1957," *Statistisches Jahrbuch* (1959): 48.

⁶⁹ Heineman, "Standing Alone," 207–13.

⁷⁰ Heineman, "Standing Alone," 206–28. Veronika Dankeschön first appeared as a comic character in *Stars and Stripes*; comics including her initials were published on July 9 and 20, 1946. See also Ken Zumwalt, *The Stars and Stripes: World War II and the Early Years* (Austin, Tex., 1989), 141–43.

minutes."⁷¹ Other Germans who had suffered during the war and its aftermath also found grounds to resent presumably promiscuous women. Germany's umbrella social-work organization calculated the cost of treating sexually transmitted diseases in Hessen in 1947 and duly informed its members that the sum could have paid the pensions of 17,800 war widows and orphans for a year.⁷² As fraternizers seemed to mock the sufferings of veterans and victims of war, contemporaries concluded that young women were sullying what they still felt was the good name of the German people. A twenty-two-year-old student wrote of fraternizers in 1946: "Have the German people no honor left? . . . One can lose a war, one can be humiliated, but one need not dirty one's honor oneself!"⁷³ Like many of her contemporaries, this young woman held that the sexual conduct of many of her peers—and not the previous regime—had cost the nation its honor.

During the military occupation, the entire German nation stood in the international spotlight, accused of an utter collapse of moral conscience. The Nuremberg trials were only the most prominent of many forums in which the world discussed German crimes against humanity. In this context, the appearance en masse of a familiar symbol of moral decline—the sexually promiscuous woman—made it easier for Germans to avoid thinking about much more troubling characters: the patriotic civil servant or soldier who had committed crimes against humanity in the name of his nation or the upright housewife who had dutifully reported nonconformist neighbors to an unforgiving system of justice.⁷⁴

In the American zone of occupation, the scandal of sexual promiscuity and the insult to Germans who had presumably sacrificed a great deal to the nation coincided with fraternizers' apparent embrace of American material wealth and cultural modernism—wearing American nylons, dancing to American music, and so on. This reinforced fraternization as a symbol of German decline. Even in the Weimar era, many Germans had feared that American consumer goods and cultural exports posed a threat to German culture and traditions. The extraordinary allure of this threat (American exports found enthusiastic markets in Germany) made it all the more dangerous.⁷⁵ And although the Nazis had railed especially hard against

⁷¹ The German veteran's reference to the American soldier's blackness—not quoted here—expresses Germans' continuing anxieties about racial mixing, particularly in the context of political and military defeat. Niethammer, "*Hinterher merkt man, dass es richtig war, dass es schiefgegangen ist*," 31.

⁷² "Werden die Mittel zur Bekämpfung der Geschlechtskrankheiten richtig verwendet?" *Mitteilungen des deutschen Vereins für öffentliche und private Fürsorge*, no. 9 (September 1948): 161–63. See also Resolution of the Socialdemocratic Women of Heidelberg (and related correspondence from MG), folder 10, VD Staff Studies, Box 551, Records of Chief, Med. Aff. Section, Public Health & Public Welfare Branch, Civil Affairs Division, OMGUS RG 260, National Archives–Suitland, Maryland.

⁷³ Hilde Thurnwald, *Gegenwartsprobleme Berliner Familien: Eine soziologische Untersuchung an 498 Familien* (Berlin, 1948), 156. For language linking the decline of religiosity, guilt for Nazism, and female promiscuity in the immediate postwar period, see Bishop Otto Dibelius's 1947 speech, "Vor dem grossen Entweder-Oder," rpt. in Heinz Fast, *Die Antwort der protestantischen Kirche auf die Niederlage von 1945* (Sankelmark, 1968), 23–30; Betr. Grundlagen der Volkswartbundarbeit, *Volkswartbund* (November–December 1947): 5.

One of the most well-known expressions of female responsibility for a postwar decline was the controversial 1951 film *Die Sünderin*, which is thoroughly analyzed in Heide Fehrenbach, *Cinema in Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity after Hitler* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995), 92–117.

⁷⁴ On denunciations during the Nazi period, see Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy 1933–1945* (Oxford, 1990).

⁷⁵ Detlev J. K. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity*, Richard Deveson, trans. (New York, 1992), 99, 174–81.

American modernism, fear of a creeping American cultural imperialism was not limited to Nazi circles. Indeed, to many anti-Nazis, as well as to Germans for whom Nazism had lost its appeal during the war, the challenge of the postwar era would be to gain recognition for what was good in German culture at the very moment when international attention was focused on aspects of German tradition that could help to explain genocide. Germany's military and political loss must not be compounded by a loss of positive cultural identity.⁷⁶

Yet preserving, or restoring, a German cultural tradition worthy of admiration seemed an uphill battle. Not only did the Americans have all the money as well as legal control over German cultural production in their zone in the immediate aftermath of the war, but there was also tremendous demand, on the German side, for things American. This demand was not limited to fraternizers' legendary desire for stockings. American cigarettes, to name only one item, were both a treasured luxury item and black market currency, which meant that everybody wanted them. Nevertheless, ordinary black market consumers could believe that fraternizers were taking pleasure in what, for them, was a bitter necessity: not only acknowledging American military and political victory but also bowing down before American commercial success.

Thus, in addition to shifting attention from violent racial and political crime to sexual misconduct, the popular obsession with the fraternizer helped to redefine the national terms of Germany's moral decline and, by implication, the possibilities for rehabilitation. Denazification, war crimes trials, and other public explorations of the Nazi years focused on a phenomenon that was home-grown and associated with Germany's years of greatest power and an ideological insistence on a unique national character. Although much of the machinery of denazification was eventually turned over to the Germans, foreign control of the initial stages of the process made clear that rehabilitation, to some extent, would have to come from outside.

Fraternization pointed to a much more appealing conceptual relationship between Germanness, moral decay, and the possibilities for rehabilitation. The years when Germans had most insisted on their national uniqueness (and greatness) were not Germany's low-water mark; they were, rather, the "good old days," as evidenced by Germany's strength, confidence—and sexual order.⁷⁷ If fraternization

⁷⁶ Heide Fehrenbach, "Cinema, Spectatorship, and the Problem of Postwar German Identity," in *The American Impact on Postwar Germany*, Reiner Pommerin, ed. (Providence, R.I., 1994), 165–96; Uta G. Poiger, "Rebels with a Cause? American Popular Culture, the 1956 Youth Riots, and the New Conception of Masculinity in East and West Germany," in *American Impact on Postwar Germany*, 93–124.

⁷⁷ Or at least the retrospective appearance of sexual order. In fact, during the Nazi years, the perception that Nazi ideologues promoted illegitimate childbearing among the "racially fit" coexisted uneasily with the Nazis' reputation for encouraging early marriage and large families. During the war, relationships between German women and foreign slave laborers and prisoners of war were part of everyday life, as were relationships, rape, and prostitution involving the German occupying forces and women of occupied lands. Ironically, the regime that most emphatically preached racial purity did more than any previous regime to enable "racial" mixing—simply by sending millions of men abroad and by importing millions of foreigners to German lands. Postwar fraternization—as well as the fact that it was now possible to speak openly against what was displeasing—helped to shape distorted memories of supposed sexual order during the Nazi years. Heineman, "Standing Alone," 117–28; Jill Stephenson, "Triangle: Foreign Workers, German Civilians, and the Nazi Regime: War and Society in Württemberg, 1939–45," *German Studies Review*, 15 (May 1992): 339–59; Gerd Steffens, "Die praktische Widerlegung des Rassismus: Verbotene Liebe und ihre Verfolgung, in *Ich war immer gut zu meiner*

symbolized Germany's decline, then that decline went hand in hand with a loss rather than a surfeit of national strength. The fact that, decades earlier, Germans had already identified American power as a threat to German cultural identity made this reading of the contemporary situation all the more believable. Rehabilitation would not result from excising what was uniquely German while learning from foreigners, especially the Americans; instead, it would depend on a reassertion of German independence, uniqueness—even sexual, racial, and cultural purity. The official, public discourse of Nuremberg—which certainly shaped *foreign* readings of the relationship between German national identity and a specifically German loss of decency—was opposed by an unofficial, popular discourse of fraternization, which described a very different relationship between Germanness and the loss of moral bearings.

Statements such as that of the twenty-two-year-old student who blamed sexually delinquent women for “bringing down” their decent contemporaries thus coexisted with a more complicated discourse, in which fraternizers symbolized a larger degradation of Germany brought about by loss of sovereignty. At first glance, Erwin Oehl's 1946 painting *Fraternization* seems to portray a villainous fraternizer and a victimized veteran (Figure 8). The grinning young woman cruelly kicks the haggard veteran, who is already precariously balanced on a crutch. The woman's leg, which unites sexuality and violence, takes the central position in the painting; the light coloring of the veteran's and woman's face, as well as of the woman's sweater, make them stand out against the dark, indistinct background. But this interaction is in fact the making of a third character: the occupation soldier, painted in darker colors and positioned in the background, who manipulates the young woman like a puppet. Even the woman's grin, so painful to the veteran, is only a mask, veiling her own distress. The sexual disorder is real enough, but it is only the tip of the iceberg, symptomatic of a much broader landscape of misery due to foreign occupation.

As West Germany emerged from the “hunger years,” several developments seemed to confirm the connection between fraternization and loss of national self-determination. The currency reform of June 1948 resulted in the quick decline of mass prostitution as a survival strategy.⁷⁸ It also set into motion a series of events that, in less than a year, resulted in the establishment of the Federal Republic. Thus, in retrospect, the association of fraternization with lack of national self-determination was cemented. The utility of fraternization as a symbol for the larger degradation of foreign occupation was confirmed in the popular culture of the early Federal Republic. In a passage from a novel set during the occupation, which was

Russin: Zur Struktur und Praxis des Zwangsarbeitssystems im Zweiten Weltkrieg in der Region Südhessen, Fred Dorn and Klaus Heuer, eds. (Pfaffenweiler, 1991), 185–200; Ulrich Herbert, *Fremdarbeiter: Politik und Praxis des “Ausländer-Einsatzes” in der Kriegswirtschaft des Dritten Reiches* (Berlin, 1985), 79–80, 122–28, 248.

⁷⁸ This hardly meant the end of “fraternizing” relationships, since economic desperation had never been the only reason German women had been attracted to Allied men—and, in any case, prostitution with the occupation forces remained remunerative. Nevertheless, *mass* prostitution (and fraternization) did decline with the currency reform. See Maria Hoehn, “GIs, Veronikas, and Lucky Strikes: German Reactions to the American Military Presence in the Rhineland-Palatinate during the 1950s” (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1995).



FIGURE 8: Erwin Oehl, "Fraternization," 1946. The fraternizer kicks the wounded German veteran; she in turn is manipulated by the American. Promiscuous female sexuality and foreign occupation combine to create an amoral order. The solution: restore both the national and the sexual order. Münchner Stadtmuseum.

an immediate best-seller upon its publication in 1955, a young prostitute who served an American clientele contemplates suicide:

She felt no shame about being a whore; she was ashamed that everyone seemed to be a whore . . . Whenever she walked past the PX, there were women outside, waiting for an

obliging American. Whores. In the "Mücke" [an exclusive bar where black market transactions were conducted] the waiters would keep the Germans waiting but would dart about like weasels as soon as an American bawled at them. Whores. When ration cards were issued at the food office the officials would snap at the men and women who had queued up there for hours, but they would jump up obsequiously as soon as a conqueror entered the room. Whores. Sometimes she listened to her father's conversations with the neighbors when they assured each other and themselves that they had never been Nazis. Whores. The Americans who came to visit her would dodge along the walls when they left. Whores. And on the walls of the houses a new inscription was more and more frequently being chalked up: "Yankee Whore." Who then was a Yankee Whore, Inge wondered, when everybody was a whore?⁷⁹

The degradation of the German landscape takes many forms: German women offer themselves sexually to American men, German men scurry about to please American men, German men lie to themselves about their Nazi past, even American men hide in a cowardly manner after their visits to prostitutes. Prostitution is a metaphor for the entire society in which Inge lives, and a narrative that would single her out for blame is clearly rejected. As a prostitute, however, Inge does retain a certain symbolic value, and, fittingly enough, her character is killed off shortly after the currency reform.⁸⁰ The fraternizer Inge is buried with the prostituted society she represents.

Nevertheless, although Inge symbolizes her decrepit society, she is not to blame for its decrepitude. Foreign occupation is. In the final meeting of most of the book's central characters, an American officer who is one of the moral anchors of the tale admits that the military occupation was hypocritical and corrupting. "The occupation was a dictatorship, even if in democratic garb . . . We arrived here with the Bible in one hand and the knout in the other . . . We believed ourselves to be missionaries, but we did not love those under our charge . . . Our efforts were marked by the motto: '... and unless you are willing I shall have to use force.'" When a German in the circle remarks that Hitler had managed with a similar motto, the American responds that Hitler had not talked about democracy—and he had not been a foreigner.⁸¹ Neither the officer nor the author of the book are apologists for Nazism; this comparison of Hitler and the occupation government—to Hitler's apparent advantage—is thus all the more astonishing. The message is clear: West Germany must attain national sovereignty, and the Yanks must go home.

⁷⁹ Hans Habe, *Off Limits*, Ewald Osers, trans. (1955; New York, 1956), 178. Habe published a major Viennese newspaper in the 1930s before being blacklisted by the Nazis. He fought in both the French and the American armies during the war and supervised the rebuilding of the German press while attached to the U.S. army of occupation. He eventually resettled in Austria. *Off Limits* was originally published in German and was most widely read by a West German audience. The author's anti-Nazi background and professional association with the army of occupation is a reminder that anti-Americanism (including the subtle variety found here) did not necessarily indicate revanchism.

⁸⁰ Habe's novel also features a sado-masochistic relationship between a U.S. Army officer and a captured concentration camp guard clearly modeled on Irma Gries, the "bitch of Auschwitz." Nevertheless, it reads like high literature when compared to some of the semi-pornographic publications that used sexually promiscuous young women to symbolize the degradation of occupied Germany. See, for example, Karl-Heinz Helms-Liesenhoff, *Die Demobilisierung der Gretchen-Armee* (Grenchen, n.d. [ca. 1955]), the second volume of a trilogy that begins with women's auxiliaries in the Wehrmacht but devotes most of its space to the postwar period.

⁸¹ Habe, *Off Limits*, 432–33.

Most Germans recalled the occupation as the time of their greatest physical hardship. With fraternization and mass prostitution, the occupation became, in the popular imagination, not only the material and political but also the moral nadir of recent German history.⁸² Popular support for official attempts to “confront the past”—and for the government’s choices of which “pasts” to confront—suggest that, by the early 1950s, most West Germans felt more traumatized by the years 1945–1948 than by the years 1933–1945. The young West German government, insisting as Christian conservatives on the need for “moral renewal,” neither rushed to make indemnity payments to victims of National Socialism nor was troubled by the readmittance of old Nazis to the civil service and the participation of the same in political life.⁸³ Instead, when focusing on issues they described as moral, the ruling parties referred to the legacy of the occupation era by working hard to “reconstruct the family” and to reinforce conservative sexual mores.⁸⁴ The tasks of “reconstructing the family” and “reconstructing [West] Germany” were linked.

Of all the striking images of women during the “crisis years,” that of the fraternizer thus translated most directly into official attempts to address and shape the situation of women. A significant number of major political players argued that the “surplus of women” and the large number of single mothers constituted grounds for liberalizing family law in ways that would enhance the rights of women. This position was defeated. The governing coalition argued, by contrast, that the apparent breakdown of sexual mores demonstrated the need for a conservative family policy, which reinforced women’s second-class status through a broad legislative program. In the founding years of the Federal Republic, the inferior status of illegitimate children was written into the constitution; fathers’ ultimate legal authority over their children was confirmed (despite the constitutional guarantee of equal rights for women); discrimination against families with few children (including the overwhelming majority of female-headed households) in social programs was reaffirmed; municipalities were even permitted to restrict the movements of registered, law-abiding prostitutes—something that had been outlawed during the Weimar years but reinstituted during the Nazi period. As victims

⁸² Seventy percent of respondents to a 1951 West German poll held that 1945–1948 had been the worst period of the current century for Germany. Other polls of the 1950s show a progressive rehabilitation of the Nazi period. Rausch, “Politisches Bewusstsein und politische Einstellungen,” 126. For comparative purposes, consider the felt need for moral renewal following Germany’s loss in World War I and the South’s loss in the American Civil War. Bessel, *Germany after the First World War*, 220 and following; Charles Reagan Wilson, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause 1865–1920* (Athens, Ga., 1980), 46–47; Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South 1865 to 1913* (New York, 1987), 22.

⁸³ West Germany began indemnification payments to certain victims of National Socialism only in 1953 under considerable international pressure and following strains between Konrad Adenauer (who supported payments) and his party’s parliamentary contingent (which mainly opposed them). Constantin Goschler, *Wiedergutmachung: Westdeutschland und die Verfolgten des Nationalsozialismus 1945–1954* (Munich, 1992). For a condemnation of the reintroduction of old Nazis to the civil service, see Ralph Giordano, *Die zweite Schuld oder Von der Last Deutscher zu sein* (Hamburg, 1987). A high position in the Nazi hierarchy did not disqualify one from a similarly high rank in the Federal Republic. Perhaps most notorious was Hans Globke, who penned the official commentary to the Nuremberg racial laws of 1935 and became secretary of state to Adenauer.

⁸⁴ While memories of sexual promiscuity played an important role in the “restoration of the family,” they do not fully explain it. For more nuanced discussions of the reconstruction of the family, see Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood*; Heineman, “Complete Families, Half Families, No Families at All.”

and as rebuilders, women's symbolic value was positive, and it was transferred to West Germany as a nation. Women would reap no material benefits from their unique burdens and contributions as women, although they shared in the overall rise in the standard of living that characterized the West German economy.⁸⁵ As fraternizers, by contrast, women's symbolic value was negative. Although certain universalized lessons were drawn from the history of fraternization—lessons that emphasized the need for national self-determination—the most tangible response to memories of fraternization demonstrated unambiguously that this was *women's* history.

THE HIGH PROFILE OF WOMEN during Germany's collapse and occupation, whether as saints or as sinners, was thus crucial in shaping West German national identity. Women not only offered sympathetic images of victimization and rebuilding, images that could be generalized and that provided vital alternatives to representations of militaristic, genocidal Germans, they also prompted a discourse about decline in the realm of sexual morality and the loss of national sovereignty that helped to deflect attention away from troubling moral questions about the Nazi past.

These popularized memories of women's pasts did not add up to a neat whole, a tidy package that equaled West Germans' national identity. The history from which these memories evolved was itself one of multiple identities: the same woman might have been the pitied victim of rape one month, a despised fraternizer the next. Furthermore, these aspects of women's history addressed different concerns during the formative years of a distinctly West German society, and they worked in tandem with other concerns shaping a new national identity. Stories that associated moral degeneracy with military occupation suggested that renewal could come only with national sovereignty. Generalized images of German victimhood countered international accusations of German perfidy; reminders of rape at the hands of the Soviets helped to formulate a West Germanness that, by definition, was opposed to all things Eastern and that implied an alliance with the Western democracies. Recollections of rubble clearance, by contrast, associated West German well-being not with membership in the Western alliance but rather with hard work by members of the national community.

Although varied, these ways of connecting memories of the "crisis years" to the situation of West Germans in the 1950s did share something: they all reflected crucial concerns of the early Federal Republic. But these concerns did not remain constant. Many elements of West German national identity and West Germans' ways of "coming to terms with their past" were negotiated anew during the student movement of the late 1960s and the Federal Republic's turn to the left in the

⁸⁵ References to women's activities during the "crisis years" did play a significant role in winning a constitutional guarantee of equal rights for women. Barbara Böttger, *Das Recht auf Gleichheit und Differenz: Elisabeth Selbert und der Kampf der Frauen um Art. 3 II Grundgesetz* (Münster, 1990); Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood*, 38–75; Antje Späth, "Vielfältige Forderungen nach Gleichberechtigung und 'nur' ein Ergebnis: Artikel 3 Absatz 2 GG," in Freier and Kuhn, *Das Schicksal Deutschlands liegt in der Hand seiner Frauen*, 112–69. Nevertheless, the repeated delays in revising the Civil Code to reflect women's equal rights, and especially the confirmation of fathers' legal authority over their children and the legality of separate pay classifications, meant that the constitutional statement regarding women's equal rights had a more symbolic than genuine material or legal significance.

1970s.⁸⁶ Among these was the traditional linkage between Cold War hostilities and the West German tendency to focus on German wounds suffered rather than German wounds inflicted during the war. The challenge to this link reshaped both public policy and official memory as Social Democratic Chancellor Willy Brandt reconsidered foreign relations, instituting *Ostpolitik*, and the burden of historical guilt, kneeling before the Warsaw ghetto monument in 1970.

The first real challenge to the universalization of women's history, however, came in the 1980s, when the feminist movement had matured adequately to produce a significant historical literature.⁸⁷ Feminist explorations of the "hour of the women," which drew heavily on oral histories, explicitly reclaimed for women crucial aspects of Germany's mid-century history. In so doing, they illuminated counter-memories specific to women. Bearing titles such as "The Forgotten Work of Women in the German Postwar Period" and "Housework as Survival Work," feminist writings pointed out that histories of "Germans'" hard work in the immediate postwar period obscured the extent to which that work was performed by women.⁸⁸ In describing the bombings, evacuations, and flight, they insisted, in the words of an interview subject that were chosen as a chapter heading for a major work, that "we [women] lived with the danger" (emphasis added), thus reclaiming the civilian experience for women.⁸⁹ A ground-breaking article on the rapes demonstrated that, as Germany lost the war, women were uniquely "doubly defeated," targets not only of military but also of sexual violence.⁹⁰ Even the previously despised fraternizer was reclaimed, with a positive and uniquely female pioneering role that had been

⁸⁶ Alf Lüdtke, "'Coming to Terms with the Past': Illusions of Remembering, Ways of Forgetting Nazism in West Germany," *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (September 1993): 542-72; Andrei S. Markovits, "Coping with the Past: The West German Labor Movement and the Left," in *Reworking the Past: Hitler, the Holocaust, and the Historians' Debate*, Peter Baldwin, ed. (Boston, 1990). On links drawn by leftists of the 1968 generation between West German ways of dealing with the Nazi past and sexual repression—if not the oppression of women per se—see Dagmar Herzog, "Antifascist Bodies and the Persistence of the Past: Theorizing Sexuality among German 68ers," paper delivered at the "Conference on the Persistence of Memory," Harvard University, October 1995.

⁸⁷ Starting in the late 1960s, isolated but significant works on women's history during the Nazi period began to appear. None of these early works touched on the postwar period. Winkler, *Frauenarbeit im 'Dritten Reich'*; Gersdorff, *Frauen im Kriegsdienst*; Mason, "Women in Germany." For feminist explorations of the postwar period directed at a popular audience, see Ingrid Schmidt-Harzbach, "Nun geht mal beiseite, ihr Frauen!" *Courage* (July 1982): 47-54; Schmidt-Harzbach, "Die Lüge von der Stunde Null," *Courage* (June 1982): 33-40; Meyer and Schulze, *Wie wir das alles geschafft haben*; Meyer and Schulze, *Von Liebe sprach damals keiner*; Beate Hoecker and Renate Meyer-Braun, *Bremerinnen bewältigen die Nachkriegszeit* (Bremen, 1988); Rainer Horbert and Sonja Spindler, *Wie wir hamsterten, hungerten und überlebten* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983); Ulrike Richter, *Alltag im Nachkriegsdeutschland: Frauenleben und -schicksal nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg in Hannover* (Hanover, 1985); *Der Hunger nach Erfahrung: Frauen nach '45*, Inge Stolten, ed. (Berlin, 1981); Unruh, *Trümmerfrauen*; Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück: Frauenleben und Familienpolitik in den 50er Jahren* (Berlin, 1985).

⁸⁸ Kuhn, "Die vergessene Frauenarbeit in der deutschen Nachkriegszeit"; "Hausarbeit als Überlebensarbeit: Krisenbewältigung auf Kosten der Frauen," chapter heading in Schubert, *Frauenarbeit 1945-1949*, 32-70; Gabriele Strecker, *Überleben ist nicht genug: Frauen 1945-1950* (Freiburg i.Br./Breisgau, 1981).

⁸⁹ "Wir haben mit der Gefahr gelebt": Frauenalltag im Krieg 1939 bis 1945," chapter heading in Meyer and Schulze, *Wie wir das alles geschafft haben*, 27-41. See also Szepansky, "Blitzmädel" "Heldennutter" "Kriegerwitwe."

⁹⁰ Schmidt-Harzbach, "Doppelt besiegt: Vergewaltigung als Massenschicksal." For other West German feminist treatments of the subject in the mid-1980s, see Schmidt-Harzbach, "Eine Woche im April"; Tröger, "Between Rape and Prostitution"; Hörning, "Myth of Female Loyalty." The reclamation of a peculiarly female experience of defeat, determined by rape, reached a wider audience with

forgotten as a more general friendship between West Germany and the Western Allies became a foundation of postwar life. "The first human contact with the Allies," readers were reminded, "was via us women."⁹¹ In short, this literature, which was both scholarly and popular, attempted to reappropriate memories of women's experiences for women.

In the context of the feminist movement, this effort served two functions. First, it was a corrective to a historiography that alternately overlooked women and discussed them on the basis of negative stereotypes.⁹² In addition, it contributed to a new narrative strategy that, by retelling German women's past, struggled with the dominant female identities that had emerged since 1945—identities that, to feminists, were troubling. By noting that only women's hard work had made possible *all* Germans' survival in the aftermath of the war, for example, younger feminists were able to pose questions of profound importance to their struggle: Why had the Federal Republic not been established along more sexually egalitarian lines? Why had the gendered roles of the 1950s been so terribly conservative? Why had their own mothers, who had proven so competent and independent in the hardest of times, ensuingly embraced a domestic lifestyle that they, the daughters, would experience as a straitjacket?⁹³ At the same time that the new feminist historiography posed troubling questions, it also suggested promising alternatives. Women *had* demonstrated their strength during the "hunger years"; female victims *had* experienced the devastating effects of Nazism, militarism, and patriarchy; a large number of women of the late 1940s *had* rejected traditional limits on their sexual expression. This knowledge provided an intellectual, emotional, and rhetorical basis for calls to rethink the gender roles that had become normative in the Federal Republic.

These images gained a hearing wide enough to allow them to enter mainstream—even official—discussions about the Nazi period and its aftermath. In a major speech on the fortieth anniversary of the end of the war, West German president Richard von Weizsäcker gave special thanks to women, drawing on images of victimhood and rebuilding (but not sexual promiscuity) and noting that women's contributions had typically been forgotten:

World history forgets their suffering, their renunciation, and their quiet strength all too easily. They worried and worked, carried and protected human life. They mourned fallen fathers and sons, husbands, brothers, and friends. In the darkest years, they preserved the

Helke Sander's controversial 1992 film, *BeFreier und Befreite*. See also the companion volume, *BeFreier und Befreite*.

⁹¹ Meyer and Schulze, *Wie wir das alles geschafft haben*, 67.

⁹² Feminist historians, for example, had to contend with a popular conception that an irrational, politically naïve female electorate had been swayed by Hitler's sexual power. This image stemmed in part from film clips of women swooning at Nazi rallies; it was challenged by fairly basic research into voting patterns. See especially Annemarie Tröger, "Der Dolchstosslegende der Linken: Frauen haben Hitler an die Macht gebracht," in *Frauen und Wissenschaft: Beiträge zur Berliner Sommeruniversität für Frauen* (Berlin, 1976), 350–52.

⁹³ See footnote 5, as well as Helma Sanders-Brahms' film, *Deutschland Bleiche Mutter*, 1980; also the discussion of the film in Kaes, *From "Hitler" to "Heimat"*, 160. Sanders-Brahms seeks simultaneously to reclaim a uniquely female history and to make a claim for the appropriateness of female imagery to represent recent German history—at least that part of German history that began with the hardships of war.

light of humanity from extinction. At the end of the war, without prospects of a secure future, they were the first to lend their hands to place one stone on another, the Women of the Rubble in Berlin and all over . . . Because of the war, many women remained alone and spent their lives in loneliness. But if the people did not crack inside under the destruction, the devastation, the horrors and the inhumanity, if they slowly came back to themselves after the war, then we owe it first of all to our women.⁹⁴

By enabling women to claim a laudatory past, the new historiography became an important source of identity for West German feminists.

At the same time, efforts to read women back into history posed a challenge to certain strands of West German national identity: a national identity that had been built, in part, on the universalization of experiences that were now being reclaimed for women alone. If women were raped by men—and not Germany by the Soviet Union—this had certain implications for West Germans' ability to think of their nation as victimized (and continually threatened anew) by the superpower to the east. This was doubly the case if a feminist discussion of rape demanded that increased attention be paid to German men's rape of eastern women during the war. If fraternization had been a form of emancipation for women unwilling to be tied down by German men who expected a dominant role despite their inability to provide financial or emotional support—and not a moral decline associated with foreign influence—then this implied a reconsideration of the "moral order" of the 1950s, in which the reconstruction of the family had been linked to a recovery of national strength.

Even for feminists, however, such narratives of women's experience could be troubling as well as liberating. They emerged in the context of a larger feminist exploration of the Nazi era, an exploration that emphasized misogynist population policies, the restriction of young women's horizons, discriminatory employment policies, and women's participation in the resistance against Nazism.⁹⁵ To feminists who combined their abhorrence of female subordination with criticism of German

⁹⁴ Richard von Weizsäcker, "Zum 40. Jahrestag der Beendigung des Krieges in Europa und der NS-Gewaltherrschaft," rpt. in *Eine Rede und ihre Wirkung: Die Rede des Bundespräsidenten Richard von Weizsäcker vom 8. Mai 1985*, Ulrich Gill and Winfried Steffani, eds. (Berlin, 1987), 178.

⁹⁵ On women in the resistance, see Hanna Elling, *Frauen im deutschen Widerstand 1933–45* (Frankfurt am Main, 1978); *Women in the Resistance and in the Holocaust*, Vera Laska, ed. (Westport, Conn., 1983); Gerda Szepansky, *Frauen leisten Widerstand, 1933–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983). Szepansky's companion volume, listed in footnote 21, shows women in a wider variety of roles. On population politics, see esp. Gisela Bock, *Zwangssterilisation im Nationalsozialismus* (Opladen, 1986); Gabriele Czarnowski, *Das kontrollierte Paar: Ehe- und Sexualpolitik im Nationalsozialismus* (Weinheim, 1991); Gisela Bock, "Racism and Sexism in Nazi Germany: Motherhood, Compulsory Sterilization, and the State," in *When Biology Became Destiny*, 271–96. On employment, see Tröger, "Creation of a Female Assembly-Line Proletariat." On lesbians as "forgotten victims," see Ilse Kokula, "Zur Situation lesbischer Frauen während der NS-Zeit," *Beiträge zur feministischen Theorie und Praxis*, 25 (1989): 29–36; Claudia Schoppmann, *Nationalsozialistische Sexualpolitik und weibliche Homosexualität* (Pfaffenweiler, 1991) (which, however, finds that Nazi misogyny rather than specific persecution of lesbians most shaped lesbians' experience during the Nazi period). Most (but not all) of the essays concerning the Nazi period in *Mutterkreuz und Arbeitsbuch: Zur Geschichte der Frauen in der Weimarer Republik und im Nationalsozialismus*, Frauengruppe Faschismusforschung, ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1981), examine how the Nazi regime worsened women's status. See also Annette Kuhn and Valentine Rothe, *Frauen im deutschen Faschismus*, 2 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1982–83); Charles Schüddekopf, *Der alltägliche Faschismus: Frauen im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1982); Marianne Lehker, *Frauen im Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt am Main, 1984); *Frauen unterm Hakenkreuz*, Maruta Schmidt and Gabi Dietz, eds. (Berlin, 1983).

unwillingness to take responsibility for some of the most horrible crimes in human history, the new historiography seemed dangerously apologetic. It appeared to describe German women persistently as victims and heroines, only rarely as accomplices, and never as perpetrators.⁹⁶ To be sure, the new women's history articulated a new dimension of the perfidy of the Nazi regime: it was deeply sexist as well as racist and militaristic. Nevertheless, this historiography seemed to fit all too well with a troubling new wave of representations of the lives of "ordinary people" during the Nazi years, in which "ordinary people" experienced good times and bad but, in any case, were governed by forces beyond their control.⁹⁷ Profound suspicion of this trend in the historiography was sharply intensified as English-speaking feminist historians, who more often identified with refugees from and persecutees of Nazism than with women of the rubble, became a significant presence in the debate. Barely had the narratives offered by West German feminists made a significant impact on discourses of the past when they were roundly challenged. That this challenge came not from anti-feminists but from feminist scholars attested to the dynamism of feminist scholarship, but this was small comfort to feminists who found their identity as victims of patriarchy and Nazism challenged by accusations of apologism. A second generation of feminist histories thus emerged, emphasizing German women's contributions to the life of Nazi state and society. The bitterness of the ensuing dispute echoed that of the almost-contemporaneous Historians' Debate and served as a reminder that this was not an ivory-tower matter.⁹⁸ The battle for German women's past was more than an attempt to renegotiate the significance of chapters of women's past that had been universalized to apply to West Germany as a whole—and thus reinterpret a national history. Once joined, the battle was also one for the identity of West German women and feminists.

THE HISTORY OF MEMORIES of women's experience during Germany's "crisis years" shows that, in considering social memory, we need more than an awareness of the distinctions between counter, popular, and official memories. We also need to understand their interconnections. First, these interconnections help to explain the internal dynamics of social memory. Counter-memories of a subordinate group, for example, might evolve into popular or official memories of a dominant culture if

⁹⁶ *Opfer und Täterinnen*, Angelika Ebbinghaus, ed. (Nördlingen, 1987); Renate Wiggershaus, *Frauen unterm Nationalsozialismus* (Wuppertal, 1984); Christina Thürmer-Rohr, *Vagabundinnen* (Berlin, 1987); *Mittäterschaft und Entdeckungslust*, Christina Thürmer-Rohr, et al., eds. (Berlin, 1989); Karin Windaus-Walser, "Gnade der weiblichen Geburt? Zum Umgang der Frauenforschung mit Nationalsozialismus und Antisemitismus," *Feministische Studien*, 6 (November 1988): 102–15; *Töchter-Fragen: NS-Frauen-Geschichte*.

⁹⁷ The resonance of this interpretation of "ordinary Germans'" place in history was demonstrated by the extraordinary popularity of the West German TV mini-series *Heimat*, first shown in 1984. Kaes, *From "Hitler" to "Heimat"*, 161–92.

⁹⁸ See footnotes 39 and 40 on the Historians' Debate and footnote 16 on the feminist historians' debate. Useful overviews of the latter are provided in Grossmann, "Feminist Debates about Women and National Socialism," and in Saldern, "Victims or Perpetrators?" Consider also the debate surrounding the film *BeFreier und Befreite in Berlin 1945: War and Rape—"Liberators Take Liberties,"* Stuart Liebman, ed., special issue of *October*, 72 (April 1995).

their group specificity can be minimized or reinterpreted to communicate a message with some resonance for the larger population. Counter-memories of women's history of rape gave way to popular and official memories of a German history of rape through a process of degendering. Counter-memories of relationships between German women and American GIs, by contrast, were not degendered, neither did they give way to a popular or public history of good occupation-era relations between Germans and Americans in general. Instead, they were demonized to describe relationships utterly devoid of moral integrity, still gendered but bearing a symbolic value for understanding the demise of Germany as a whole.

Such shifts in the "location" of memory are significant, and studies that focus on official monuments *or* popular culture *or* counter-memory run the risk of systematically missing large parts of the story. This is all the more so since "shifts in location" do not follow a clear chronological sequence, with one "location" replacing another. Counter-memories of rather ordinary relationships between German women and occupation soldiers coexisted with popular memories of fraternizers as the most odious symptom of an utterly degraded society. Counter-memories of a female civilian life in the endangered cities coexisted with popular memories that drew on dramatic but ungendered images of cities in flames to describe a Germany victimized by war. No single blueprint describes the ways memories shift their "location" or when and how different memories of the same history can coexist in different locations, serving different functions in each.

How memories function in varying locations depends instead on the second, and more significant, aspect of the interconnections among various forms of memory: their relationship to larger social and political problems. In the case examined here, two such problems both played a role in the evolution of social memory and were resolved, at least partially and temporarily, by shifts in the "location" of certain memories. The first was the formation of a legitimate national identity in the aftermath of Nazism and in the multiple contexts of the Cold War, the economic miracle, and the desire to regain national sovereignty. The second was the distribution of power and privilege between the sexes in light of women's prominence during the "hour of the women" and the persistent demographic imbalance. Through memories of women during the "crisis years," the histories of women's status in the Federal Republic and of the development of a distinct West German national identity were intertwined.

Whether or not memories of the women of the rubble would contribute to increased status for women or a positive image for West Germany, for example, could not be determined by the intrinsic nature of the image itself: it was open to multiple interpretations and uses. Instead, the prospect of unemployed men in a poor economy initially hindered the transformation of the women of the rubble into a population of well-paid, well-promoted, and well-respected working women. Thus the woman of the rubble became the Woman of the Rubble: a cultural symbol rather than a member of the labor force. As a symbol, however, the Woman of the Rubble was not merely reactive. Once the economic miracle was under way, she assisted the formation of a legitimate national identity built on economic success. With the Woman of the Rubble, the "economic miracle" could trace its origins to

a time prior to the (Allied-initiated) currency reform of June 1948, the Marshall Plan, or the boom from the Korean War. According to the history implied by the Woman of the Rubble, the economic miracle had begun instead with "Zero Hour" and the hard work of Germans, pulling themselves up by their bootstraps in the worst of times. And, as a cultural symbol, the Woman of the Rubble's message about women's work was as powerful as her message about Germans' work—and had tangible results for attitudes regarding the degree to which women should be welcomed into the labor market. Women worked only under the most terrible of circumstances, according to the story of the Woman of the Rubble; their contributions in those times were most laudable, but no woman in her right mind would want to return to such times, and no society that wanted to treat its women well would promote women's work if this was what women's work meant. Understanding the evolution of memories of the Woman of the Rubble can help us to understand how those memories shaped both national identity and women's status.

Although this essay has explored a case study, certain patterns may prove to apply more generally. One is the universalization of histories specific to subpopulations in cases where those histories offer a positive identity to the whole. In the first decade after World War II, the identity of victim was appealing to West Germans; women's forms of victimization were especially fitting to the political context of the Cold War and the physical environment of destroyed cities. Likewise, a rags-to-riches success story was attractive, and the Women of the Rubble offered a version of this story that minimized the importance of the outside benefactor. Memories of fraternization, by contrast, offered scant material for the development of a positive identity for the larger community. Accordingly, they were much more narrowly universalized to apply to the nation only as it lay subordinate to outside domination.

A second pattern is the relationship between the social position of the group to which certain memories initially refer and the extent to which the memories continue to have implications for that group. In the context of a culture that subordinated women, women were not able to reap material or political benefits from their original "ownership" of images of victimhood and heroic rebuilding. They did, however, pay tangible penalties for memories of sexual disorder.

Finally, the feminist-inspired reexamination of memories of women's experience during the crisis years illustrates both the fluid nature of social memory and the implications of this fluidity for national identity and social hierarchies. Feminist-initiated challenges to West German collective memory did more than reflect changes in national identity and social hierarchies, as they emerged in the dual context of leftist challenges to West German identity and feminist efforts to alter gender relations. Once under way, they helped to shape the further development of both phenomena.

This process will, no doubt, become yet more complex in coming years. Much has changed since the 1980s: the incorporation into the Federal Republic of the former Democratic Republic, which had a distinct narrative of the relationship between the Nazi era and East German national identity; the very process of unification, which has created its own discourses of victimization, rebuilding, and past moral failures; the divergent histories of women in the two German states; the different lenses with

which East and West German feminists view their pasts and contemporary situations. All call for renewed negotiation of national identity, feminist identity, social memory, and the relationship between these and the German past.

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The Economic Crisis of 1968 and the Waning of the “American Century”

ROBERT M. COLLINS

IN EARLY 1968, THE MOST SERIOUS ECONOMIC CRISIS since the Great Depression shook the Western world. The disruption exposed a variety of economic ills plaguing the U.S. and world economies, some of recent vintage but others with roots that reached back a decade or more. The problems, both long-term and short-run, were tightly intertwined, and they culminated in March in a speculative run on gold that *Time* magazine called “the largest gold rush in history, a frenetic speculative stampede that . . . threatened the Western world.”¹

Among policymakers in Washington, the mood was appropriately tense. “Everybody was just petrified,” recalled Undersecretary of the Treasury Joseph W. Barr. “It was a hair-raising period in which we literally had to watch the gold markets day by day and hour by hour.” At the National Security Council, Edward Fried, a specialist in international monetary affairs, feared “that this was not something that was any longer under control.” President Lyndon B. Johnson’s national security adviser, Walt W. Rostow, briefed the president on the stakes “at a most important moment in postwar history”: a misstep, he wrote, “could set in motion a financial and trade crisis which would undo much that we have achieved in these fields in the past twenty years and endanger the prosperity and security of the Western world.”²

It is one of the more intriguing features of the history of the 1960s that, despite its drama and apparent significance, the economic crisis of 1968 has been so completely lost to sight. Its eclipse began almost immediately. The basic issues involved in the crisis—the balance of payments, the gold exchange standard, international monetary affairs and the regime that administered them—were complex, and their esoteric nature was, to much of the public, both intimidating and incomprehensible. When *Time* ran a cover story on the crisis, it noted apologetically that “such subjects are often considered too complicated to have wide reader

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¹ *Time* (March 22, 1968): 24.

² Joseph W. Barr Oral History Memoir (hereafter, OHM; all such references are to written transcripts), Tape 2, p. 8, Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library, Austin, Texas (hereafter, LBJL); Edward Fried OHM, p. 19, LBJL; Walt Rostow to LBJ, memo, March 15, 1968, National Security File, Memos to the President (Rostow), Box 31, LBJL.

appeal.”³ More important, the economic crisis was simply overwhelmed in the popular mind by the other events that gave the momentous year 1968 its particular historical resonance—the seizure of the U.S.S. *Pueblo*, the Tet Offensive, the New Hampshire primary and Johnson’s withdrawal from the presidential campaign, Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination and the racial unrest that followed, Robert Kennedy’s murder, campus rebellions, including the dramatic shutting down of New York’s Columbia University, the Poor People’s March on Washington, the presidential nominating conventions in Miami and Chicago, and the most violent fighting of the entire Vietnam War.

Thus overwhelmed at the time, the economic crisis of 1968 has since been similarly overshadowed in both popular and scholarly reconstructions of the 1960s. *Time*’s twentieth-anniversary retrospective on what it called the annus mirabilis of 1968 failed even to include the March crisis on its two-page time line.⁴ The scholarly literature on the 1960s continues the omission. Studies that focus tightly on the year 1968 generally slight the gold crisis, and broad synthetic studies of the era often omit the economic turmoil of 1968 entirely.⁵ Similarly, most economic histories pay little attention to the events of 1968.⁶ The gap exists even in the excellent specialized scholarship that chronicles the rise and fall of the Bretton Woods

³ *Time* (March 29, 1968): 13.

⁴ *Time* (January 11, 1988): 16–27.

⁵ Studies focusing on 1968 include David Caute, *The Year of the Barricades: A Journey through 1968* (New York, 1988); Charles Kaiser, *1968 in America: Music, Politics, Chaos, Counterculture, and the Shaping of a Generation* (New York, 1988); and Robert V. Daniels, *Year of the Heroic Guerrilla: World Revolution and Counterrevolution in 1968* (New York, 1989). Broad studies of the 1960s include William L. O’Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960s* (Chicago, 1971); Godfrey Hodgson, *America in Our Time* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976); Allen Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York, 1984); Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York, 1987); Kim McQuaid, *The Anxious Years: America in the Vietnam-Watergate Era* (New York, 1989); John Morton Blum, *Years of Discord: American Politics and Society, 1961–1974* (New York, 1991); and David Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York, 1994).

Lyndon Baines Johnson, *The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency, 1963–1969* (New York, 1971), devotes considerable attention to the crisis of 1968 and its antecedents, but the credibility gap that compromised LBJ’s presidency seems to have dogged him into history as well. In general, scholars have failed to follow his lead. A significant exception is Irwin Unger and Debi Unger, *Turning Point, 1968* (New York, 1988), reissued as *America in the 1960s* (St. James, N.Y., 1993), which gives perceptive attention to the 1968 gold crisis. Irving Bernstein, *Guns or Butter: The Presidency of Lyndon Johnson* (New York, 1996), published when the present essay was in press, provides a splendid account of tax policy but neglects the several other dimensions and the policy consequences of the 1968 developments.

⁶ See, for example, Robert Aaron Gordon, *Economic Instability and Growth: The American Record* (New York, 1974); Herbert Stein, *Presidential Economics: The Making of Economic Policy from Roosevelt to Reagan and Beyond* (New York, 1984); Bernard D. Nossiter, *Fat Years and Lean: The American Economy since Roosevelt* (New York, 1990); Tom Kemp, *The Climax of Capitalism: The US Economy in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1990); and Joseph Finkelstein, *The American Economy: From the Great Crash to the Third Industrial Revolution* (Arlington Heights, Ill., 1991). A recent journalistic exception is Hobart Rowen, *Self-Inflicted Wounds: From LBJ’s Guns and Butter to Reagan’s Voodoo Economics* (New York, 1994), 3–39. There are, additionally, two first-rate essays on economic policy in the Johnson years, but neither focuses on the crisis of 1968. However, both have informed the present article in important ways and remain essential starting points for any consideration of the political economy of the 1960s. See Donald F. Kettl, “The Economic Education of Lyndon Johnson: Guns, Butter, and Taxes,” in *The Johnson Years, Volume 2: Vietnam, the Environment, and Science*, Robert A. Divine, ed. (Lawrence, Kan., 1987), 54–78; and Burton I. Kaufman, “Foreign Aid and the Balance-of-Payments Problem: Vietnam and Johnson’s Foreign Economic Policy,” in Divine, *Johnson Years*, 2: 79–109. The process of economic policymaking in the Johnson administration is described well in James E. Anderson and Jared E. Hazeltin, *Managing Macroeconomic Policy: The Johnson Presidency* (Austin, Tex., 1986).

international monetary regime. In these studies, the problem is relative neglect rather than complete omission, with the 1968 crisis serving mainly as a prelude to the suspension of dollar convertibility in 1971 and the institution of a new regime of floating exchange rates in 1973, and a not terribly significant prelude at that.⁷

The present essay seeks to return the 1968 economic crisis to the historiographical discussion of that pivotal year and the era surrounding it. It is important to do so for several reasons. First, the episode serves as a frame through which we can view with unusual clarity the interplay of forces that determined the shape of the national and world political economy, as the postwar economic regime and the economic golden age it had engendered in the United States came to a close. The crisis marked the beginning of the end of America's postwar economic boom and the initial recasting of the postwar order to accommodate an emergent, more troubled economic reality. To analyze the crisis is to begin to understand how and why that transition occurred.

Second and equally important, the crisis figured significantly in the most important political and public-policy decisions of the time. The ideology driving the Kennedy and Johnson presidencies was an amalgam of growth economics and government activism both at home and abroad that I have elsewhere labeled "growth liberalism."⁸ Growth liberalism sought to update the nation's still potent reform tradition for the era of affluence, influence, and optimism well captured in Henry Luce's prescient conceit, the "American Century." But, by the late 1960s, growth liberalism's combination of growth-inducing tax cuts, an escalating war in Vietnam, and increased social spending at home had overstrained economic institutions and capabilities. The economic crisis of 1968 provided irrefutable proof of that strain and figured prominently in the decisions to cap U.S. escalation in Vietnam and rein in the Great Society initiatives at the top of LBJ's presidential agenda. Those decisions—and the problems that elicited them—left growth liberalism in disarray and the American Century in retreat.

Finally and most broadly, to illuminate these events and developments, their interconnections, and their consequences is to assert the significance of political economy for an understanding of the 1960s. At a time when the record of the 1960s is understood largely in terms of political protest and cultural rebellion, and when both political and economic history are more generally overshadowed by other scholarly approaches, it may be salutary to reaffirm that in history, as in the present, political economy still matters.

⁷ Alfred E. Eckes, Jr., *A Search for Solvency: Bretton Woods and the International Monetary System, 1941–1971* (Austin, Tex., 1975); Fred L. Block, *The Origins of International Economic Disorder: A Study of United States International Monetary Policy from World War II to the Present* (Berkeley, Calif., 1977); David P. Calleo, *The Imperious Economy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982); John S. Odell, *U.S. International Monetary Policy: Markets, Power, and Ideas as Sources of Change* (Princeton, N.J., 1982); and Joanne Gowa, *Closing the Gold Window: Domestic Politics and the End of Bretton Woods* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983). The specialized study that devotes the closest attention to the "great gold rush of 1967–1968" is Robert Solomon, *The International Monetary System, 1945–1981*, updated edn. (New York, 1982). Solomon participated in much that he analyzes in his capacity as an official at the Federal Reserve Board. His treatment focuses tightly (and penetratingly) on the systemic aspects of the crisis, with less attention than the present essay to the domestic political context and consequences of events.

⁸ Robert M. Collins, "Growth Liberalism in the Sixties: Great Societies at Home and Grand Designs Abroad," in *The Sixties: From Memory to History*, David Farber, ed. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1994), 11–44.

THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF 1968 was dramatic but essentially no surprise. What made the crisis so daunting, and so difficult to resolve, was not its suddenness but rather the way it tied together a number of serious problems that fed off one another in a perverse synergy. The most deeply rooted such problem concerned the United States' chronic balance-of-payments deficit.

The immediate context for the balance-of-payments difficulty extended back in time to the gathering of seven hundred delegates at the Mount Washington Hotel in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, in 1944. The Bretton Woods conference created the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, erecting on that foundation a new monetary system that would order the world economy for over a quarter-century. The Bretton Woods regime outlawed discriminatory currency practices and exchange restrictions and established pegged exchange rates. In practice, the U.S. dollar was pegged to gold at \$35 an ounce, and all other IMF members then pegged their currencies to the dollar. The United States committed itself to exchange gold for dollars at the rate of \$35 per ounce upon the demand of foreign governments; the other IMF members agreed to keep their currencies from deviating from their respective dollar parities by more than 1 percent in either direction. The IMF administered an international fund to provide short-term credit for the financing of balance-of-payments deficits, with the understanding that fundamental (that is, large and chronic) deficits might legitimately occasion a change in par value. The overall result of the Bretton Woods innovations was a system based on two major forms of international money—gold and foreign exchange, mostly U.S. dollars and British sterling.⁹

The United States began to suffer chronic balance-of-payments deficits early on under the new order, as four years of surpluses (1946–49) gave way in 1950 to a string of deficits that ran into the 1960s (with the exception of 1957, when the unusual impact of the Suez Crisis helped generate a surplus).¹⁰ At first, the U.S. deficits seemed benign, since they were relatively small and appeared to have the salutary effect of pumping dollars into an international economy troubled since the end of World War II by a shortage of dollars, the currency needed by the rest of the world for the purchase of U.S. goods for postwar reconstruction. But, by the end of the 1950s, the deficits began to appear more ominous to technicians, academics, and policymakers alike as they grew in size.

Basic social, political, and economic trends contributed to the growth of the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit. The maturation of America's own consumer culture made tourism an industry, and spending by American tourists abroad contributed increasingly to the payments deficit. The Cold War occasioned higher expenditures for foreign aid and heavy overseas military deployments. The economic resurgence of Europe and, to a lesser extent at this point, Japan increased both American imports from these areas and the outflow of capital, as overseas investment

⁹ Introductions to the Bretton Woods regime include Eckes, *Search for Solvency*, chap. 6; Odell, *U.S. International Monetary Policy*, 80–88; Solomon, *International Monetary System*, chap. 2; and Michael D. Bordo, "The Bretton Woods International Monetary System: A Historical Overview," in *A Retrospective on the Bretton Woods System: Lessons for International Monetary Reform*, Bordo and Barry Eichengreen, eds. (Chicago, 1993), 3–85.

¹⁰ Alvin H. Hansen, *The Postwar American Economy: Performance and Problems* (New York, 1964), 74–75.

opportunities became more appealing. President John F. Kennedy expressed the problem succinctly in early 1961: "The surplus of our exports over our imports, while substantial, has not been large enough to cover our expenditures for United States military establishments abroad, for capital invested abroad by private American businesses and for government economic assistance and loan programs."¹¹ By the early 1960s, the feared dollar shortage had become a dollar glut.

The dollar glut highlighted several tensions inherent in America's de facto role as central banker for the world under the Bretton Woods regime. First, the system came to depend on the outflow of dollars generated by U.S. balance-of-payments deficits to provide the increased liquidity needed to finance expanding world trade. But those same chronic deficits made foreign governments and central banks increasingly reluctant to hold more of the dollars cascading overseas, and by 1959 other nations had begun to ask the U.S. Treasury to convert their dollar holdings into gold. Hence, ending U.S. payments deficits threatened a world liquidity shortage; continuing them risked a hemorrhaging of the U.S. gold stock.¹² Second, the United States found itself beset by the conflicting demands of international monetary stability on the one hand and domestic economic well-being on the other. A classic remedy for chronic balance-of-payments deficits is deliberately to restrain the domestic economy in order to bring the nation's international account into equilibrium. President Dwight D. Eisenhower made that sacrifice for the sake of the international monetary system when he engineered a large budget surplus and thereby induced a mild recession in 1960, chiefly to "help reassure other nations as to America's ability to pay her debts and lessen their desire to convert their dollars into gold."¹³ The commitment of the Democratic administrations of the 1960s to economic growth, full employment, and government activism foreclosed this option, however. Thus the ascendancy of growth liberalism increased the likelihood that the inherent conflict between international responsibilities and domestic aspirations would result in a serious crisis, as it did in 1968.

President Kennedy worked hard to reconcile domestic economic growth with international monetary stability. Within two weeks of his inauguration, he proposed a balance-of-payments program that included both rhetoric and action. The substantive measures were a mixed bag. The administration asked America's European allies to shoulder more of the burden of the Cold War by increasing their own foreign-aid expenditures and purchasing military equipment in the United States. The federal government sought to promote American exports in a number of ways, including tying them to U.S. loans to underdeveloped countries. It increased short-term interest rates to attract and hold volatile capital and restricted foreign borrowing from the American capital market. The administration also placed new, lower limits on the amount of goods American tourists could bring

¹¹ U.S., President, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1962), John F. Kennedy, 1961, 58.

¹² This tension is often referred to as Triffin's dilemma, after the Yale economist Robert Triffin, who gave the problem its classic formulation. See Triffin, *Gold and the Dollar Crisis: The Future of Convertibility* (New Haven, Conn., 1960).

¹³ Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years*, Volume 2: *Waging Peace, 1956-1961* (Garden City, N.Y., 1965), 460, n. 7.

home duty-free. None of the initiatives was earth shattering, but in combination they brought some improvement.¹⁴

Lyndon B. Johnson built on JFK's initiatives by introducing voluntary programs designed to limit direct investment overseas and further reduce bank lending and by continuing to try to cut military expenditures abroad. "These things worked reasonably well," in the judgment of LBJ's undersecretary of the treasury for monetary affairs, Frederick Deming, "but [then] Viet Nam came along."¹⁵ Deming was right on both counts: by 1965, the balance-of-payments deficit measured on a liquidity basis had been reduced to \$1.3 billion from its 1960 high of \$3.9 billion; but the onset in 1965 of all-out fighting in Vietnam quickly negated such progress. The cost of maintaining U.S. forces in Southeast Asia added substantially to foreign payments, and the inflation unleashed by the war fueled a dramatic increase in imports. By 1967, the balance-of-payments deficit was again running at the level of 1960, nearly \$4 billion.¹⁶

The Vietnam War, then, constituted the second source of the economic crisis of 1968. It aggravated the balance-of-payments problem and sparked off a round of inflation that twisted the economy out of shape, with consequences that would still be felt decades later. "There's no dimension of the American economy in the last three-and-a-half years," asserted LBJ's last chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) in 1969, "which hasn't been touched by Viet Nam; Viet Nam changed the entire budget posture. It took all the elbow room away."¹⁷

Put simply, federal spending for the Vietnam War and the Great Society domestic agenda overheated the U.S. economy, which was already enjoying an expansion spurred by the impact of the 1964 tax cut. In the fourth quarter of 1965, the gross national product rose by the largest amount in U.S. history. The rate of inflation (as measured in consumer prices) that had averaged 1.3 percent per year for the period 1961–1965 increased to 2.9 percent in 1966, fell back to 2.3 percent for the first half of 1967, and then shot up to 3.8 percent for the second half of 1967 and 4.4 percent for the first four months of 1968.¹⁸

By the end of 1965, the danger of a serious inflation had become clear, if not entirely unmistakable. In December, the Federal Reserve Board reacted by hiking the discount rate—the rate that banks pay on loans from the system—in order to apply some braking pressure to the economy. Later that month, Gardner Ackley, chair of the CEA, wrote to Johnson, "The only conclusion I can reach is that an increase of individual and corporate income tax rates should be planned, whatever the FY 1967 budget may be (within the limits we have heard discussed) . . . From

¹⁴ On the Kennedy program, see Hansen, *Postwar American Economy*, 76–77; Amy Elisabeth Davis, "Politics of Prosperity: The Kennedy Presidency and Economic Policy" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1988), 186–210, 384–428; and Robert V. Roosa, *The Dollar and World Liquidity* (New York, 1967), 3–39.

¹⁵ Frederick Deming OHM, Tape 2, p. 7, LBJL.

¹⁶ U.S. Department of the Treasury, *Maintaining the Strength of the U.S. Dollar in a Strong Free World Economy* (Washington, D.C., 1968), 9, 47.

¹⁷ Arthur Okun OHM, Tape 2, p. 4, LBJL.

¹⁸ The statistics are from Arthur Okun, Cabinet Meeting Minutes, May 29, 1968, Cabinet Papers, Box 13, LBJL.

an economic standpoint, it needs to be done as soon as possible.”¹⁹ The timing of Ackley’s assessment, one of the first intimations that the Keynesian growth liberalism of the 1960s was stretching the U.S. economy dangerously thin, was unintentionally ironic, for on December 31 *Time* magazine put John Maynard Keynes on its cover, the first time a person no longer living had been so honored. Achieving a unique mark of popular acclaim, the Keynesian creed had already begun its long retreat into disrepute.

At first, Johnson resisted calling for a major tax increase. He sought instead to pursue a policy of guns and butter funded by the growth that the new economics had already unleashed. Not until August 1967—more than a year and a half after Ackley had advised LBJ of the compelling need for a tax increase—did the administration present a concrete plan for a temporary 10 percent surcharge on both corporate and individual income taxes to deal with what Johnson now called “the hard and inescapable facts.”²⁰

Just why the administration dawdled has been a matter of considerable speculation and debate. In his published memoirs, Johnson defended his foot-dragging on the tax front by emphasizing the lack of support for a tax increase in Congress, the business community, organized labor, or his own Cabinet. The CEA’s Arthur Okun recalled, “Anybody who wanted to slow things down was a killjoy.” In 1966 and 1967, both the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* opposed a major tax increase. As late as January 1968, a Gallup poll found 79 percent of the public opposed to raising taxes.²¹ Ackley has since contended that Johnson’s political pessimism was both genuine and determinative:

I have no question that he [LBJ] was convinced that a tax increase was needed, badly needed, right at the beginning of 1966; and that if he didn’t get it, the economy really was going to go to hell and all kinds of problems . . . And he was also convinced that he couldn’t get a tax increase if he tried. I’m sure also, that he wasn’t really very enthusiastic about trying, but I really think he was convinced that he couldn’t get it, no matter how hard he tried, and that an attempt to get it would do more harm than good.²²

The difficulty of the task did not, however, fully explain LBJ’s reluctance to fight for a tax hike. There is little doubt that Johnson realized the seriousness of the problem. But he was playing for the highest of stakes: the fate of his Great Society. To force the issue of a tax hike would allow critics of the Vietnam War to savage the administration; it would also encourage conservatives to demand that the Great

¹⁹ Gardner Ackley to Johnson, memo, December 27, 1965, White House Central Files, Confidential File, FI 4, LBJL.

²⁰ U.S., President, *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1968), Lyndon B. Johnson, 1967, 2: 733. For a good discussion of LBJ’s efforts in 1966 to control inflation without a tax hike, see Joseph A. Califano, Jr., *The Triumph and Tragedy of Lyndon Johnson: The White House Years* (New York, 1991), 137–48. Regarding the struggle to develop a tax program, see Harvey C. Mansfield, Sr., *Illustrations of Presidential Management: Johnson’s Cost Reduction and Tax Increase Campaigns* (Austin, Tex., 1988); Henry Fowler OHM, Tape 3, p. 9, LBJL; and “Chronology of President Johnson’s Tax Proposals, 1965–66,” Aides Files, Joseph Califano, Box 54, LBJL.

²¹ Johnson, *Vantage Point*, chap. 19; Arthur M. Okun, *The Political Economy of Prosperity* (Washington, D.C., 1970), 71. On the important role played by the chief economic editorialists of the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, see Walter Heller OHM, Tape 2, pp. 47–48, LBJL. The Gallup poll is in the *New York Times*, January 24, 1968.

²² Gardner Ackley OHM, Tape 1, p. 32, LBJL.

Society programs be cut back lest they interfere with the financing of the war. So Johnson hesitated on taxes and fudged on the cost of the war. His judgment was partially validated when his long-delayed tax bill, introduced in August 1967, was immediately bottled up in Congress by those who wished to make the administration trim its domestic spending.

Having hesitated on the tax issue for a disastrously long time, Johnson now found himself stymied by the determination of Representative Wilbur Mills, the Democratic chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, to exact cuts in domestic spending as the price for congressional action on the administration's tax proposal. It was a clash of legislative titans. Mills had entered Congress in 1939, and by the mid-1960s was perhaps the most powerful figure on Capitol Hill.²³ Mills saw Johnson as a wastrel, a spender of the New Deal stripe: "I thought I knew the President well enough to know that if we gave him ten billion dollars more money to spend, that he would spend it if we didn't tie his hands to where he couldn't spend it."²⁴ The issue was, Mills believed, a fundamental one. To increase taxes without simultaneously cutting expenditures would "have a serious long-range impact upon the direction of our economy." He feared that the president's path "would mean bigger and bigger government with a smaller and smaller range of freedom of activity for the private sector."²⁵

Mills's critique was more than the reflexive howl of a powerful but provincial fiscal conservative. Indeed, behind his insistence on spending cuts as the price for a tax increase lay a sophisticated attempt to decouple the defining elements of growth liberalism, to separate growth economics from liberal activism. Mills believed he had been burned by the Kennedy-Johnson tax cut of 1964, which he had ultimately come to support as an application of Andrew Mellon's free-enterprise tax policy of the late 1920s—tax reduction that would produce economic growth by unleashing the productive power of the private sector.²⁶ To Mills's dismay, the Eighty-ninth Congress in 1965 and 1966 had passed a host of Great Society initiatives, and expenditures had "taken off like the Apollo spaceship . . . to . . . the Moon." Instead of constraining federal activism, the 1964 tax cut had underwritten an unprecedented expansion of governmental programs. The heating up of the Vietnam War had exacerbated the problem, and Mills excoriated LBJ's guns-and-butter policy: "I just do not believe," he observed, "that when we are in a war that is costing us \$25 to \$30 billion a year we can carry on as usual at home."²⁷

For Mills, the heart of the matter was the overreach of growth liberalism. "Like you," he wrote to a constituent in October 1967, "I have raised the same questions of whether . . . this country is strong enough to be able to police every corner of the world, fight limited wars, attempt to raise the living standards of the peoples of the

²³ See, for example, "Our Congressmen—Who Is Best? Who Is Worst?" *Pageant Magazine* (November 1964): 6–14; and Julius Duscha, "The Most Important Man on Capitol Hill Today," *New York Times Magazine*, February 25, 1968.

²⁴ Wilbur Mills OHM, Tape 1, p. 38, LBJL. See also p. 21 for similar sentiments.

²⁵ Wilbur Mills, speech, "Expenditures and Taxes in the Context of Today's Problems," November 20, 1967, Cabinet Papers, Box 11, LBJL.

²⁶ Duscha, "Most Important Man on Capitol Hill Today," 72.

²⁷ Wilbur Mills, speech, "Some International and Domestic Aspects of Tax and Expenditure Policy," December 3, 1968; Wilbur Mills, speech at Hazen, Arkansas, March 15, 1968, both in Box 420, Wilbur Mills Papers, Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas.

underdeveloped areas of the world, satisfy our needs of our people at home and go to the moon all at the same time without the creation of unstable deficits."²⁸ Consequently, Mills fought Johnson not only to cut current expenditures but also to influence the future by cutting both the old and new obligational authority that constituted the pipeline for future spending.²⁹

Mills brought to his side a majority of the Ways and Means Committee, which in October 1967 voted 20 to 5 to table Johnson's 10 percent surcharge proposal temporarily. LBJ's budget director, Charles L. Schultze, had confidently predicted to the president that Mills and his committee were playing "chicken" in an "eyeball-to-eyeball" confrontation with the administration, and that Mills would blink first.³⁰ But the chairman's gaze proved pitiless as the sun, and the Vietnam inflation worsened dramatically in the last quarter of 1967. By exacerbating the chronic balance-of-payments problem and fueling a dangerous inflation, the Vietnam War worked a double whammy on the U.S. economy. In doing so, the war also weakened the U.S. dollar. That weakness emerged dramatically in the last months of 1967 to challenge policymakers on yet another front.

The assault on the dollar was the third and most immediate of the sources that in their interaction caused the economic crisis of 1968.³¹ Ironically, the assault was ignited by the travails of another currency, the British pound. The pound had been weak and vulnerable to raids by speculators through much of the 1960s. In Frederick Deming's words, "You've got a major confidence crisis in sterling about every fall on the fall, so to speak, and there was in '64, '65, '66, and then it culminated in '67."³² When the pressure against sterling crested in mid-November 1967, Deming, the treasury undersecretary for monetary affairs, was already in Paris for regularly scheduled meetings with senior treasury and central bank officials of the major industrial powers (the so-called Group of Ten), and he led an effort to mobilize multilateral support for the pound.³³ But the attempt failed, and on November 17 the British ambassador informed Johnson that the British would on the following day announce a 14.3 percent devaluation.

The British devaluation touched off a frenzy in the gold market. Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler had earlier warned Johnson that one result of devaluation would be "that the gold market would come under very great pressure—and might

²⁸ Wilbur Mills to B. Freeland, October 19, 1967, Box 509, Mills Papers.

²⁹ Wilbur Mills, "Statement . . . on the Necessity for Establishing Controls over the Future Course of Federal Spending," October 6, 1967, Box 425, Mills Papers; and Mills to H. Hodge, June 25, 1968, Box 509, Mills Papers.

³⁰ Charles L. Schultze to Johnson, memo, September 16, 1967, Aides Files, Califano, Box 54, LBJL.

³¹ The discussion that follows draws heavily on "The Gold Crisis, Nov. 1967–March 1968," undated manuscript, and "Gold Crisis—1967: Chronology and Annotated Index of Documents," undated manuscript, both in National Security File, National Security Council History (hereafter, NSCH), Box 53, LBJL.

³² Frederick Deming OHM, Tape 2, p. 18, LBJL. A high-level British perspective on the 1967 sterling devaluation episode is found in Harold Wilson, *A Personal Record: The Labour Government, 1964–1970* (Boston, 1971), chap. 23.

³³ The Group of Ten was created in 1961 to enlarge the lending resources of the International Monetary Fund. Its members—the United States, Britain, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, Canada, and Japan—agreed to provide additional money to the IMF and to communicate together regarding developments in the international monetary system.

explode.”³⁴ Demand for gold was already strong because of the uncertainty generated by the summer’s Six Day War in the Middle East, because industrial use was rising faster than new production, and because the Soviets had refused in both 1966 and 1967 to sell gold on the world market.³⁵ The chronic weakness of the pound caused further movement away from paper money into gold, and Britain’s devaluation provided the final spark that caused the gold market to explode just as Fowler had feared. The so-called gold pool—formed in 1961 by the United States and eight other countries to sell gold when the demand was too great or buy gold when the supply was too great in order to keep its price in the London gold market close to the official \$35 per ounce—intervened to stabilize the gold market and from November 20 through 27 incurred losses of \$641 million (of which the U.S. share was 59 percent).³⁶

The devaluation of sterling and the financial unrest that followed sent tremors of fear through the U.S. economic establishment. Alfred Hayes, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York, worried that the gold pool was at the point of disintegrating.³⁷ Fed chairman William McChesney Martin, Jr., observed, “It is the first time in all my 16 years with the Fed that I have seen all the important bankers and directors agree that we face a crisis ahead.” “The real question,” Fowler told the Cabinet, “is can we keep confidence in the dollar. The answer affects all the world.”³⁸

The United States responded to the British devaluation and its aftermath with a three-pronged defense of the dollar. First, the president made clear the American commitment to keep the price of gold at \$35 an ounce. Second, the administration worked to get other nations to agree to maintain their existing exchange rates in order to prevent a chain reaction of competitive currency realignments. Third, Secretary Fowler called on the bipartisan leadership to build confidence in the dollar: “No single act could more effectively restore and maintain confidence in the dollar, and shore up our balance of payments position—both short and long term—than the passage of an expenditure reduction and tax increase package at this Session of Congress.” “Markets don’t wait,” he added pointedly.³⁹

³⁴ Henry Fowler to Johnson, memo, November 12, 1967, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

³⁵ Fowler to Johnson, memo, November 13, 1967, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

³⁶ Ackley to Johnson, memo, November 27, 1967, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL. The gold pool has been described by one of the policymakers who helped create it as “a little bit like a cartel, but in the interests of the world monetary system.” For more on the arrangement, see Robert Roosa OHM, Tape 1, pp. 23–26, LBJL.

³⁷ “Memorandum of Conversation: Highlights of Meeting of Deming Group with Secretary Fowler on Gold Policy,” November 24, 1967, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL. Deming, however, flew to Frankfurt and on November 26 negotiated a renewed agreement among the seven remaining members of the gold pool (Belgium, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Britain, and the United States—France, an original member, had dropped out earlier in 1967) to maintain a firm line on the gold price in London. See Ackley to Johnson, memo, November 27, 1967, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

³⁸ Cabinet Meeting Minutes, November 20, 1967, Cabinet Papers, Box 11, LBJL. For similar sentiments, see E. Ernest Goldstein OHM, Tape 3, p. 2, LBJL.

³⁹ Press release, “Statement by the President,” November 18, 1967, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL. The overall strategy and Fowler’s quoted remarks are from “Notes on the President’s Meeting with Bipartisan Leadership,” November 20, 1967, Meeting Notes File, Box 2, LBJL. See also “Notes on the President’s Meeting with the Leadership,” November 19, 1967, Meeting Notes File, Box 2, LBJL.

Fowler's remarks underscore how intertwined the problems of the balance of payments, the Vietnam War, and the strength of the dollar had become by the end of 1967. The war and the administration's apparent inability to get the tax hike needed to dampen domestic demand heightened international concern about the U.S. balance of payments, and that concern in turn weakened the dollar by encouraging heavy sales of dollars and purchases of gold in the international market. It was this terrible interlocking combination of problems that became the stuff of the economic crisis of 1968.

THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY SYSTEM recovered from the British devaluation episode, but it quickly fell prey to further shocks. The week of December 4–8 saw the return of relative calm to the gold market, as the determination of the gold pool countries to hold the line “down to the last bar [of gold]” temporarily stanching their losses and resulted in a net gain for the week of \$9 million. In the next week (December 11–15), gold pool losses rocketed back up to \$548 million, and Rostow notified the president that “the gold market has come to a boil again.” Once again, the gold pool wavered under the pressure. Later, Hubert Ansiaux of the Belgian central bank told William McChesney Martin that “we [the Belgian, German, Italian, Dutch, and Swiss members of the gold pool] were strongly of the opinion until yesterday night [December 14] . . . to recommend that we should stop our intervention in the London market.” But the gold pool partners agreed to soldier on, provided the United States make public a new program for dealing with the balance-of-payments deficit.⁴⁰

On New Year's Day, 1968, Johnson announced a new balance-of-payments program that strengthened existing initiatives in the areas of loans, investment, and trade and called on Americans to limit overseas travel and spending.⁴¹ The initial public response was strongly positive, and a week after the announcement Ackley reported “widespread optimism that speculation in gold should be substantially halted.” “But,” he added, “in fact, the gold market could flare up over anything.”⁴² Indeed, Johnson's plan of action soon confronted new realities that threatened to tie the threads of the balance of payments, Vietnam, and the vulnerable dollar into a knot beyond undoing.

The bad news seemed endless. On the payments front, the latest statistics were grim. The Council of Economic Advisers had informed the president in late December 1967 that the fourth-quarter outflow had been nearly \$2 billion, threatening “to turn the year into a disaster” by creating a deficit that “may

⁴⁰ “Gold Pool Activity,” attachment I to “The Gold Crisis, Nov. 1967–March 1968,” manuscript, n.d.; Rostow to Johnson, memo, December 12, 1967; and summary of telephone call, Hubert Ansiaux to William McChesney Martin, Friday, December 15, 1967, all in National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL. See also Rostow to Johnson, December 15, 1967, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

⁴¹ U.S., President, *Public Papers*, Johnson, 1968–69, 1: 8–13; “The Balance of Payments Program of New Year's Day, 1968,” manuscript, n.d., and “The President's Balance of Payments Message of January 1, 1968: Chronology and Annotated Documents,” both in National Security File, NSCH, Box 54, LBJL; and Frederick Deming OHM, Tape 2, pp. 8–16.

⁴² Ackley to Johnson, memo, January 6, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 54, LBJL.

challenge 1960's unhappy record of \$3.9 billion."⁴³ The economic fallout from Vietnam was equally troubling. Inflation worsened, with consumer prices rising 0.3 percent in January—the fourth straight monthly increase of that magnitude—and the wholesale price index up 0.4 percent in January and 0.6 percent in February. "Price increases," warned the Bureau of Labor Statistics, "are becoming more pervasive throughout the economy."⁴⁴ Moreover, the surprise Tet Offensive at the end of January raised the distinct possibility that even more U.S. troops would be committed to the struggle, with any such commitment likely necessitating calling up the reserves and a general mobilization for war. Meanwhile, the administration began to despair over passage of its tax surcharge proposal, with one official describing the attitude in the House as "one of almost anarchistic willingness to pull down the temple around their ears on the grounds that our budgetary expenditures are out of control."⁴⁵ The tax-hike difficulty was all the more vexing because, as Rostow acknowledged, "it has become a symbol in Europe of what the U.S. itself is willing to do."⁴⁶

On the dollar and gold front, still other problems frustrated the administration's New Year's plan. American efforts to calm the gold market continued to be hampered by the failure of new gold production to meet the liquidity requirements of the expanding world economy. The leveling off of new gold production, rising industrial use, and heavy speculative demand combined to draw down the total monetary gold stock; at the same time, the increasing hesitancy of other nations to hold reserves in dollars made it impossible to depend on that reserve currency to meet the world's expanding liquidity needs. The end result of this liquidity crunch was greater pressure on the dollar, as speculators increasingly bet that the United States (and the rest of the world) would be forced to raise the price of gold to provide a one-time addition to liquidity.⁴⁷ A second problem vexing U.S. policymakers and intensifying the risk of crisis involved the legal requirement that the United States allocate sufficient gold reserves to "cover" 25 percent of the nation's domestic note issue (essentially, the paper money in circulation). This amounted to approximately \$10 billion of the nation's gold supply that could not legally be used to fulfill the commitment to dollar convertibility.⁴⁸ Attempts were under way to remedy both problems, liquidity and the gold cover, but in the first months of 1968 they had not yet come to fruition, and that fact added to the economic volatility of the moment.

The crisis suddenly came to a head in March. "The gold market broke out again last week," Fowler told the president on March 4. "After a few weeks of quiet, gold pool losses last week came to \$123 million, including \$88 million on Friday. Today losses were \$53 million. We face the prospect of increasingly heavy sales during the rest of the week." On Friday, March 8, Rostow reported that the gold pool had that

⁴³ Ackley to Johnson, memo, December 21, 1967. See also "Minutes of the Cabinet Committee on Balance of Payments," December 21, 1967, both in National Security File, NSCH, Box 54, LBJL.

⁴⁴ *New York Times*, March 1, 1968.

⁴⁵ Rostow to Johnson, March 14, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

⁴⁶ Rostow to Johnson, January 23, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

⁴⁷ Ernest Goldstein to Johnson, memo, January 24, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 54, LBJL; and Rostow to Johnson, memo, February 14, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

⁴⁸ "The Gold Crisis," National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL; Joseph Barr OHM, Tape 2, pp. 9–10, LBJL; and Frederick Deming OHM, Tape 2, pp. 30–34, LBJL.

day suffered its third largest loss ever, \$179 million.⁴⁹ The speculative spiral was out of control. McGeorge Bundy had once quipped that “only the greedy, the frightened, country folk and the Frenchmen love gold”—if true, then it was those groups who now dictated events. On Tuesday, March 12, Rostow told the president, “My own feeling is that the moment of truth is close upon us.”⁵⁰

On Wednesday, March 13, losses for the day totaled approximately \$200 million, and Federal Reserve chairman Martin called his European counterparts to alert them that the United States might seek to close the gold markets.⁵¹ The administration postponed action so that Congress would have time to pass the pending gold-cover legislation; Thursday, March 14—which Fowler later called “one of the most hectic days of my life”—became the day of decision. As LBJ met twice with his economic advisers, losses for the day reached nearly \$400 million. After much debate, the administration, fearful that another day’s losses might run to \$1 billion, asked the British to shut down the London gold market on Friday and invited the central bankers of the gold pool countries to Washington for an emergency meeting over the weekend. When it proved impossible to reach some of the foreign officials by phone, Secretary of State Dean Rusk instructed the duty officers at embassies and consulates across Europe to contact them “at once, waking them if necessary.” Rusk closed with a flourish, “You must track down these men at all costs.”⁵² The melodramatic tone was fitting.

HAVING PREVAILED ON THE BANK OF ENGLAND to close the London gold market and having invited to Washington the governors of the central banks of the gold pool nations, Johnson quickly sought to drive home the message that the price of gold would be held. In a March 15 telegram to West Germany’s chancellor Kurt Kiesinger, LBJ observed, with a certain populist vengeance, “The speculators are banking on an increase in the official price of gold. They are wrong.”⁵³ The United States had blinked, unwilling to play the game “to the last bar,” but it also refused to give the speculators what they wanted—devaluation. The alternative was to shore up the Bretton Woods system, and that the administration proceeded to do.

The crisis atmosphere of March 1968 produced several immediate changes that, together, returned the international monetary system to working order. The first of these was the implementation of a “two-tier system” for gold transactions. The so-called Washington Communique issued at the end of the weekend meetings made it clear that the gold market would henceforth be separated into an official market, where monetary gold for central banking purposes would be governed by

⁴⁹ Fowler to Johnson, memo, March 4, 1968; and Rostow to Johnson, memo, March 8, 1968, both in National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

⁵⁰ McGeorge Bundy quoted in “The Dollar Is Not as Bad as Gold,” *Time* (January 12, 1968): 16; Rostow to Johnson, memo, March 12, 1968, Diary Backup, Box 92, LBJL.

⁵¹ The discussion that follows relies heavily on “The Gold Crisis,” National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

⁵² Henry Fowler OHM, Tape 1, p. 33, LBJL; Dean Rusk to American Consul, Frankfurt, and others, telegram, March 15, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

⁵³ Johnson to Kurt Kiesinger, telegram, March 15, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL. The administration’s rationale for opposing any increase in the official price of gold is found in T. Page Nelson to Hunt, February 16, 1968, Henry Fowler Papers, Box 83, LBJL.

dollar-gold convertibility at \$35 an ounce, and a private market, where gold for industrial and speculative purposes would be governed by the basic laws of supply and demand.⁵⁴ As one Zurich banker put it, "The central bankers are saying to the speculators: 'Take it to the dentist.'"⁵⁵ In effect, the central bankers were also saying that in the future they would meet their reserve and liquidity needs through a new kind of "paper" international reserve asset rather than through buying more gold. The concept behind the two-tier system was not newly minted at the March 1968 conference; Guido Carli of the Bank of Italy had advanced the idea back in November 1967. But two things had changed in the interim. The plans for the new "paper gold" reserve asset, on which any two-tiered arrangement would rely, were now much further advanced. And, as Arthur Okun has contended, the experience of the crisis itself had an important effect: "I don't think we could have gotten the other countries onboard if we had opted for . . . [the two-tier system] earlier. They had bled a little, and they knew that some accommodations had to be made. They wanted to stop their losses of gold . . . and they became very enthusiastic about this."⁵⁶

A second immediate change to which the March crisis contributed mightily was the removal of the American gold cover. The Washington Communique noted specifically and approvingly that the removal of the gold cover "makes the whole of the gold stock of the nation available for defending the value of the dollar." This, too, was a change long discussed. As early as 1961, President Kennedy had been advised to seek repeal of the gold-cover commitment, but he feared that any such proposal by him would be wrapped around his neck politically as "Democratic funny-money finagling."⁵⁷ Resistance to the suggested change centered on the fact that the gold cover dated back to the creation of the Federal Reserve system and so enjoyed the imprimatur of both time and financial probity.

Johnson asked Congress to remove the cover in his State of the Union address on January 17, 1968, but winning congressional approval proved difficult, and again the March crisis played a role. Treasury Undersecretary Joseph Barr recalled that on the day the Senate voted on the measure, at the peak of the gold crisis, Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield (Democrat-Montana) called to report that he was no longer sure he had the votes. "So Fowler and I and Bill Martin . . . sat down with the leadership on both sides . . . explained to them that the crisis was getting worse and worse, and that if we did not pass that bill that day, we might be forced to renege the next day on our promise to deliver gold." Finally, at 7:30 in the evening, the Senate approved the repeal of the gold cover by a 39–37 vote. In the future, all of the nation's gold stock would be placed behind its commitment to maintain the price of gold and value of the dollar.⁵⁸

The third immediate result of the March crisis was a renewed and strengthened

⁵⁴ "Communique," March 17, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL. See also the discussion in Solomon, *International Monetary System*, 119–24. Robert Solomon was a participant at the Washington meeting and helped draft its final communique.

⁵⁵ *Time* (March 29, 1968): 80.

⁵⁶ Arthur Okun OHM, Tape 1, p. 23, LBJL. On Guido Carli's role, see Frederick Deming OHM, Tape 2, p. 29, LBJL.

⁵⁷ "Communique," March 17, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL; Theodore C. Sorensen, *Kennedy* (New York, 1965), 407.

⁵⁸ U.S., President, *Public Papers*, Johnson, 1968–69, 1: 33; Joseph Barr OHM, Tape 2, p. 10, LBJL.

commitment to a reform already in the works—the creation of a new form of international reserves, the Special Drawing Rights (SDR), designed to serve as a form of paper gold to meet the liquidity needs of an expanding world economy. Indeed, it was, as the Washington Communique explicitly stated, the prospect of the SDR that allowed the creation of the two-tier system. With the SDR on the horizon, the central bankers of the gold pool states could agree that the existing stock of monetary gold was sufficient and that they would no longer need to buy gold from the market.⁵⁹ The international reserves needed for future economic growth could come from the new paper gold, which would be used alongside real gold and the dollar for settling international accounts.

It is clear that the concept of the SDR was already well advanced by the time of the March crisis. The congressional Joint Economic Committee had in 1962 urged the creation of new methods for routinely increasing international liquidity, and discussions on the matter continued among both the Group of Ten and the International Monetary Fund in the mid-1960s. The IMF approved an outline proposal for the creation of the Special Drawing Rights at its meeting in Rio de Janeiro in September 1967, but working out the final details proved to be a difficult and contentious task.⁶⁰ Early in 1968, *Time* reported, “There is one big hang-up: these ‘S.D.R.s’ will probably not be activated until the U.S. and Britain markedly reduce their balance of payments deficits.” *Business Week* agreed that “the plan can’t be ratified before next year at the earliest.”⁶¹ More devoted to the primacy of gold than other nations, France in particular seemed to be dragging its feet.

Once again, the March crisis had an effect, more accelerative than causal in the case of SDRs but significant nonetheless. A Group of Ten meeting in Stockholm at the end of March finally settled the SDR issue. In the judgment of Treasury Secretary Fowler, the gold crisis of mid-March had pointed up the danger of continuing to depend on increased supplies of gold at \$35 an ounce as the monetary system’s source of additional liquidity: “The gold crisis was draining away from, and reducing, the quantity of gold held in the reserves of Central Banks. So there was a source of diminishing liquidity. This underscored and, indeed, highlighted the need for the Special Drawing Rights facility.”⁶²

U.S. policymakers believed that the Washington Gold Accord of mid-March and the innovations that underpinned it—the two-tier system, the full commitment of the U.S. gold stock, the development of the SDR—were necessary expedients that provided much-needed breathing room; but, as Arthur Okun, LBJ’s new chairman of the CEA, pointed out, the accord was “futile unless we get a tax increase.” In the end, Wilbur Mills triumphed. Johnson ended the long struggle by signing the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 into law on June 28, 1968—two and a half years after CEA chairman Gardner Ackley had first warned of economic overheating.⁶³ The administration gained a retroactive 10 percent surcharge on

⁵⁹ “Communique,” March 17, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

⁶⁰ Odell, *U.S. International Monetary Policy*, 129; Solomon, *International Monetary System*, 128–50; and Frederick Deming OHM, Tape 2, pp. 34–45, LBJL.

⁶¹ “Dollar Is Not as Bad as Gold,” 17; “Gold Fever Rises to Record Heat,” *Business Week* (March 16, 1968): 31.

⁶² Henry Fowler OHM, Tape 3, p. 31, LBJL.

⁶³ Arthur Okun to Johnson, memo, March 23, 1967, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL.

individual and corporate income taxes but at the price of agreeing to \$6 billion in immediate spending cuts for fiscal year 1969, a reduction of \$10 billion in new obligational and loan authority for fiscal year 1969, and a future \$8 billion rescission in unobligated balances of obligational and loan authority carried over from previous years.

The March gold crisis contributed significantly to the final outcome of the tax-hike struggle. The tax compromise was a difficult one for Johnson and the liberals in his administration to accept, for it cut to the heart of the Great Society—the reductions would come from domestic programs as well as non-Vietnam defense expenditures. Wilbur Mills believed that the dramatic impact of the March gold crisis helped LBJ accept the hard bargain that Mills and his allies had forced upon him: “President Johnson . . . was scared almost out of his body when he woke up to the fact that people in Europe were having trouble exchanging dollars for foreign currency.” For his part, Johnson agreed that the crisis provided an important impetus, but he emphasized its impact on *his* opposition: “The international crisis had done what we could not do: arouse the American public and many congressional leaders to the need for decisive action.” Mills did indeed subsequently report that the “severe run on the dollar in the international market during the early months of 1968” and the “drastic outflow of gold” were “important to . . . [the Ways and Means Committee] in reaching a decision to agree to the surtax proposal.” In retrospect, the March crisis moved both sides toward a resolution of the fiscal impasse. Treasury Undersecretary Deming correctly observed that “the prime mover in getting action was the fact that the international monetary system seemed to be going to hell in a handbasket.”⁶⁴

In this fashion, the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression was resolved. Changes—significant but not truly radical—were made to buttress the Bretton Woods regime, and hard choices were decided on in the name of fiscal responsibility. In the short run, the innovations seemed to work. Johnson touted the development of the SDR as a “historic step” that “will prepare us for the era of expanding world trade and economic opportunity that unfolds before us.” At the end of July, Okun reported to the president that “there is less of a crisis atmosphere now than at any time in the past year”; in September, he noted that the “economy is advancing strongly” and that “the unhealthy boomy pace of the first half has already moderated.” Ironically, the balance of payments improved dramatically over the course of 1968. The New Year’s program and the tax hike helped to some extent, as did the unrest in Europe when France suffered its May riots and the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia. As a result, Joseph Barr (who replaced Fowler as treasury secretary in December 1968) recalled, “all the money ran out of Europe and came to the United States so we ended up really in amazing statistical fashion.”

On the outcome of the tax struggle, see Kettl, “Economic Education of Lyndon Johnson,” 70–71; and Charles Zwick OHM, Tape 2, pp. 5–9, LBJL.

⁶⁴ Wilbur Mills OHM, Tape 1, p. 35, LBJL; Johnson, *Vantage Point*, 451; Wilbur Mills, speech at England, Arkansas, August 27, 1968, Box 420, Mills Papers; Frederick Deming OHM, Tape 1, p. 34, LBJL.

By the end of the year, the United States enjoyed a small surplus in its balance of payments, calculated on both the liquidity and the official transactions basis.⁶⁵

Looking back, however, it is clear that the resolution of the 1968 economic crisis bought breathing room but settled little. An analysis of how the basic sources of the crisis played out in its aftermath makes the point. The balance of payments quickly turned downward again, as even the trade account (basically, exports and imports of goods and raw materials), long a source of U.S. strength, sank into deficit in the face of stagnating productivity at home and increased global competition.⁶⁶ The Vietnam War continued to generate inflationary pressures that would plague the economy, and policymakers, into the 1970s and beyond. Johnson's tax surcharge proved to be too little too late and appears to have had only a small effect on consumer and business spending.⁶⁷ Moreover, it was offset, much to the chagrin of Wilbur Mills, by the easing of credit by monetary authorities in the latter half of 1968.⁶⁸ Finally, despite the revamping during 1968, the Bretton Woods international monetary regime was doomed by the continued economic and political resurgence of Europe and Japan; and, after another global monetary crisis in 1971, President Richard M. Nixon closed the gold window, thereby ending the era of dollar-gold convertibility. By 1973, a new regime based on floating exchange rates had taken shape.⁶⁹

Thus the 1968 crisis illuminated trends that could be accommodated and moderated but not arrested or reversed. It both revealed and contributed to the passing of postwar U.S. economic hegemony; and it marked the beginning of an awkward transition from the postwar boom to a new era of economic stagnation cum inflation—stagflation—that emerged unmistakably by the mid-1970s. (Indeed, the suggestion of such a transition puts the Nixon presidency in a new light and offers a new context and criterion for evaluating its record, in addition to those provided by Watergate and the Cold War.)⁷⁰

THE 1968 ECONOMIC CRISIS had a similarly significant impact in the wider world of political economy, where economics connects with the political culture and the social fabric. By early 1968, LBJ's attempt to fight a war in Southeast Asia while

⁶⁵ U.S., President, *Public Papers*, Johnson, 1968–69, 1: 545–46; Okun to Johnson, memo, July 29, 1968, White House Central Files, EX FI 9, Box 53, LBJL; Arthur Okun, Notes for Cabinet Meeting, September 5, 1968, Cabinet Papers, Box 14, LBJL; Joseph Barr OHM, Tape 1, p. 28, LBJL.

⁶⁶ Gordon, *Economic Instability and Growth*, 179–85. Conventional wisdom dates the decline in productivity growth in the 1970s, but most scholars find the postwar decline beginning in the mid to late 1960s. See William J. Baumol and Kenneth McLennan, "U.S. Productivity Performance and Its Implications," in *Productivity Growth and U.S. Competitiveness*, William J. Baumol and Kenneth McLennan, eds. (New York, 1985), 7; and Edward N. Wolff, "The Magnitude and Causes of the Recent Productivity Slowdown in the United States: A Survey of Recent Studies," in Baumol and McLennan, *Productivity Growth and U.S. Competitiveness*, 32.

⁶⁷ Robert Eisner, "Fiscal and Monetary Policy Reconsidered," *American Economic Review*, 59 (December 1969): 897–905; and Eisner, "What Went Wrong?" *Journal of Political Economy*, 79 (May–June 1971): 629–41.

⁶⁸ Wilbur Mills OHM, Tape 1, p. 12, LBJL.

⁶⁹ Solomon, *International Monetary System*, 176–234.

⁷⁰ See Thomas L. Friedman, "A Nixon Legacy Devalued by a Cold War Standard," *New York Times*, May 1, 1994.

building the Great Society at home had stretched the U.S. political economy to the breaking point. The economic crisis that culminated in March coincided with the shock of the Tet Offensive in Vietnam, which began on the last two days of January but continued to dominate the war action through February and March. The combined weight of these economic and military reversals finally wrecked Johnson's guns-and-butter policy. As a result, the administration was forced to cap both the long escalation of the Vietnam War and the expansion of the Great Society.

The Tet Offensive, Secretary of Defense Clark Clifford later recalled, "really . . . threw gasoline on the fire."⁷¹ Communist forces struck at district headquarters, provincial capitals, and cities and towns across the length of South Vietnam. Although the military tide turned quickly when the Americans and South Vietnamese counterattacked and inflicted devastating losses on the Communists, especially on the irregulars of the Vietcong, the impact of the enemy's initial success proved impossible to erase. The Tet Offensive crystallized doubts and reservations that had been gathering for months and years among both policymakers and the general public. The war was far from over; any light at the end of the tunnel—in General William Westmoreland's unfortunate phrase—was much dimmer than optimistic official assessments had suggested; clear-cut military victory now seemed either impossible or unacceptably costly.

As if to punctuate the bad tidings, Westmoreland, the U.S. commander in Vietnam, and General Earle Wheeler, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in February requested the commitment of an additional 205,000 troops to Vietnam.⁷² The request for more troops touched off a controversy within the administration that became a public debate when word of the proposal was leaked to the press, resulting ultimately in a fundamental reassessment of U.S. policy in Vietnam. Coming at precisely the moment when the economic crisis of 1968 came to a head in the March run on gold, the reexamination of war policy involved economic considerations fully as much as political calculation and military strategy.

The economic implications of the troop request were troubling. To provide the requested reinforcements for Vietnam would require the rebuilding of the military's seriously depleted strategic reserve as well, and so the Westmoreland-Wheeler request would necessitate the call-up of over a quarter-million reservists, increased draft calls, and the extension of terms of service for many already in uniform—together, the addition of 511,000 to the active duty armed forces by June 30, 1969. This was the war mobilization long sought by the military and thus far assiduously avoided by Johnson. The cost would be \$2.5 billion in fiscal year 1968 and \$10 billion in fiscal year 1969, raising the annual price of the war by roughly 40 percent. The adverse impact on the balance of payments was projected

⁷¹ Clark Clifford OHM, Tape 4, p. 33, LBJL.

⁷² Earle Wheeler to Johnson, memo, February 27, 1969, Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings, Box 2, LBJL. The origins of the February 1968 troop request have been the stuff of controversy. See "The Origins of the Post-Tet 1968 Plans for Additional American Forces in RVN," November 9, 1970, Declassified and Sanitized Documents from Unprocessed Files, Box 3, LBJL; William C. Westmoreland, *A Soldier Reports* (Garden City, N.Y., 1976), 350–59; Mark Perry, *Four Stars* (Boston, 1989), 173–89; and Clark Clifford with Richard Holbrooke, *Counsel to the President: A Memoir* (New York, 1991), 472–83.

to be \$500 million.⁷³ Moreover, all such costs were *additions* to a basic defense budget whose projections for fiscal year 1970 had already been labeled “a shock” by Budget Director Charles Zwick. “Now this on top of the already enormous burden we were carrying,” Clark Clifford subsequently recalled, “the dollar had gone through a period of vulnerability in the early part of ’68, and in the spring this would put a lot more pressure on it, put a lot more pressure upon our balance of payments problem, which was already acute, so that all these matters began to come in that day by day caused me growing concern.”⁷⁴

Other top policymakers shared the defense secretary’s anxiety about the economic cost of the war. Before leaving office at the end of February 1968, Clifford’s predecessor, Robert McNamara, had noted the importance of doing “whatever we can to prevent the financial requirements [of any proposal for post-Tet Vietnam reinforcements] from ruining us in foreign exchange in our domestic economic situation [*sic*].”⁷⁵ Secretary of State Rusk cautioned, “We have . . . got to think of what this troop increase would mean in terms of increased taxes, the balance of payments picture, inflation, gold, and the general economic picture.”⁷⁶ Treasury Secretary Fowler observed that events in Vietnam and developments in “the international financial picture” were “interacting” and warned that the troop increase would hurt both the economy and the dollar and likely necessitate further cuts in Great Society programs, especially those dealing with poverty and urban problems.⁷⁷ Even LBJ’s resolutely hawkish national security adviser, Walt Rostow, admitted that, without a tax increase, the proposed Vietnam build-up “may be very tough on the dollar.”⁷⁸ U.S. policymakers clearly recognized a connection between the future prosecution of the war in Southeast Asia and the economic crisis that had emerged in the early months of 1968.

As word of the troop request leaked out to the press, observers outside government made the connection as well. “The gold crisis . . . and a continuing threat to the dollar,” wrote Hobart Rowen in the *Washington Post*, “are bringing President Johnson face to face with basic questions on Vietnam war policy. It is now clear that there are real limits to our financial resources.” Writing in *The New Republic* that the sending of more troops to Vietnam would risk “a collapse . . . of the international monetary system,” Edwin Dale announced: “Someone had better tell the President, in so many words, that if he puts into Vietnam the number of

⁷³ “Notes of the President’s Meeting with Senior Foreign Policy Advisers,” March 4, 1968, Tom Johnson’s Notes of Meetings, Box 2, LBJL.

⁷⁴ Charles Zwick to Johnson, March 2, 1968, Clark Clifford Papers, Box 1, LBJL; Clark Clifford OHM, Tape 3, p. 15, LBJL.

⁷⁵ “Notes of the President’s Meeting with Senior Foreign Policy Advisers,” February 9, 1968, Tom Johnson’s Notes of Meetings, Box 2, LBJL.

⁷⁶ “Notes of the President’s Meeting with Senior Foreign Policy Advisers,” March 4, 1968, Tom Johnson’s Notes of Meetings, Box 2, LBJL.

⁷⁷ Fowler to Johnson, memo, March 1, 1968, National Security File, NSCH, Box 53, LBJL; “Difficulties and Negative Factors in the Course of Action,” n.d., Tab. G, Box 1, Clifford Papers, LBJL. See also Henry Fowler, “Economic and Financial Problems and Measures,” memo, March 3, 1968, Box 1, Clifford Papers, LBJL.

⁷⁸ Rostow to Johnson, March 11, 1968, National Security File, Memos to the President (Rostow), Box 30, LBJL.

troops that now seem required to restore and improve the situation there, he may throw away the fruits of a generation of brilliant economic progress.”⁷⁹

Johnson received just that message on a number of occasions in March when he sent his immediate advisers to take the pulse of Congress on the troop request and related Vietnam issues. When Clifford and Wheeler canvassed key congressional leaders, they found little support for either a major troop commitment or a large reserve call-up. Both hawks and doves feared the economic consequences of an escalation. Clifford subsequently reported that Stuart Symington, a Democratic senator from Missouri and Cold War stalwart, “thinks we should get out. He thinks the dollar will depreciate.” Johnson’s successor as Senate majority leader, the dovish Mike Mansfield, explained in a memo forwarded to the president that expanding the U.S. role in Vietnam would mean “more inflation, more balance of payments complication, and possibly financial panic and collapse.”⁸⁰

Still casting about for advice in late March, Johnson convened a group of elder statesmen known as the “Wise Men.” The members of the group constituted a virtual “who’s who” of the foreign policy establishment. They had advised him before on the war (with “hawkish” results), and he turned to them again to gauge just how much opinion had changed in the wake of recent events. One key member was McGeorge Bundy, former national security adviser to both Kennedy and Johnson. Bundy, too, recognized the connection between the economic and the political. “I now understand,” he wrote to Johnson, “that the really tough problem you have is the interlock between the bad turn in the war, the critical need for a tax increase, and the crisis of public confidence at home.” The most imposing, and imperious, of the Wise Men, Dean Acheson, conveyed a similar opinion personally to Johnson in mid-March and spoke forcefully when the Wise Men met with the president on March 26. The United States, Acheson asserted, could not prevail in Vietnam in a reasonable time with the means available. That fact, he reasoned, “together with our broader interests in SEA [Southeast Asia], Europe, and in connection with the dollar crisis, requires a decision now to disengage within a limited time.” For Acheson, as for others, the matter of resources and limits had become critical. “The gold crisis,” the former secretary of state wrote a friend, “has dampened expansionist ideas. The town is in an atmosphere of crisis.” Clark Clifford subsequently observed, “Speaking almost *ex officio* as the leader of the foreign policy establishment, and with his customary authority, Acheson had an unquestionable impact on the President.”⁸¹

In the end, the decision on the troop request was Lyndon Johnson’s to make.

⁷⁹ Hobart Rowen, “Gold, Dollar Threats Affecting War Policy,” *Washington Post*, March 24, 1968; Edwin L. Dale, Jr., “The Gold Rush,” *The New Republic*, March 23, 1968.

⁸⁰ Clifford, *Counsel to the President*, 498; “Notes of the President’s Meeting with His Foreign Advisers at The Tuesday Luncheon,” March 19, 1968, Tom Johnson’s Notes of Meetings, Box 2, LBJL; Mike Mansfield, “Reports of Requests for an Additional 200,000 Men in Vietnam,” memo, March 13, 1968, Meeting Notes File, Box 2, LBJL.

⁸¹ Bundy quoted in Larry Berman, *Lyndon Johnson’s War: The Road to Stalemate in Vietnam* (New York, 1989), 193; Dean Acheson, “Confidential Memorandum: DA’s Views Regarding Vietnam as of March 26, 1968 (As Expressed at the State Department and White House on March 26, 1968),” Series IV, Box 67, Dean Acheson Papers, Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut; Dean Acheson to John Cowles, March 14, 1968, Series IV, Box 88, Acheson Papers; Clifford, *Counsel to the President*, 518.

And, for LBJ, the economic context of Vietnam decision-making proved inescapable and mattered greatly: "We were struggling with one of the most serious financial crises of recent years," he later wrote. "These monetary and budgetary problems were constantly before us as we considered whether we should or could do more in Vietnam. It was clear that calling up a large number of troops, sending additional men overseas, and increasing military expenditures would complicate our problems and put greater pressure on the dollar."⁸² Mindful of such economic concerns, an improving military situation in Vietnam, and the declining political support at home for both the war and his presidency, Johnson decided in a tentative and halting fashion over the course of March to scale back dramatically any deployment of additional forces to Vietnam or mobilization of reserves.⁸³

By the time Johnson met with Rusk and Generals Wheeler and Creighton Abrams (who was soon to replace Westmoreland as U.S. commander in Vietnam) on March 26, the basic decisions for a reorientation of U.S. war policy had been made, and the tone of the meeting was elegiac. Their common endeavor was about to take a new turn, and Johnson seemed to need to explain to his generals why he had not met the military's request for a dramatic escalation of the war. He also sought to assure them that the new course had been forced on him by dastardly enemies and large, impersonal forces, rather than by his past mistakes or theirs. "It is the civilians [in the Pentagon]," he told Wheeler, Abrams, and Rusk, "that are cutting our guts out." Press leakers and Georgetown liberals, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, Edward and Robert Kennedy, an uncooperative Congress—all suffered the president's opprobrium. But, in a revealing lament, Johnson laid bare the larger forces dictating so fundamental a shift in his Vietnam policy.⁸⁴

The political economy of the war, Johnson told his generals, had turned against them. "Our fiscal situation is abominable," he reported. The fate of the tax bill remained uncertain, and the administration faced a possible deficit of over \$30 billion. Such a large shortfall would force interest rates up and endanger both the British pound and the dollar. "Unless we get a tax bill . . . [the situation] will be unthinkable." But LBJ's predicament did not end there. The price of congressional approval for his tax increase would likely be the sort of concomitant spending cuts demanded by Mills. Johnson expected to be forced to make half the cuts in non-Vietnam defense expenditures. "That will cause hell with Russell [Senator Richard Russell, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee]. If we don't do that we will have hell. What happens when you cut poverty, housing and education?" Every way Johnson turned, his choices looked grim.⁸⁵

The request for Vietnam reinforcements and a large-scale mobilization only exacerbated the administration's plight. "That would cost \$15 billion. That would hurt the dollar and the gold [*sic*]," Johnson explained. "How can we get the job

⁸² Johnson, *Vantage Point*, 406.

⁸³ A first-rate scholarly account of the Tet decisions is David M. Barrett, *Uncertain Warriors: Lyndon Johnson and His Vietnam Advisers* (Lawrence, Kan., 1993), chap. 4. Detailed firsthand accounts include Johnson, *Vantage Point*, chap. 17; and Clifford, *Counsel to the President*, chaps. 27–28.

⁸⁴ "Notes of the President's Meeting with General Earle Wheeler, JCS, and General Creighton Abrams," March 26, 1968, Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings, Box 2, LBJL.

⁸⁵ "Notes of the President's Meeting with General Earle Wheeler, JCS, and General Creighton Abrams," March 26, 1968, Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings, Box 2, LBJL.

done?" he asked plaintively. "We need more money in an election year, more taxes in an election year, more troops in an election year and more cuts in an election year." There was, he added pointedly, "no support for the war."⁸⁶

Johnson concluded the meeting with his military leaders by asserting, "I would give Westmoreland 206,000 men if he said he needed them [to stave off a disastrous defeat] and if we could get them."⁸⁷ But Westmoreland could not honestly couch his request in such terms. And the president realized that to fulfill such a request would be to risk further disasters both economic and political. In the end, the lessening of the immediate military pressure in Vietnam as the Communist gains of the Tet Offensive were rolled back, the difficulty in envisioning a likely scenario for American military victory by doing "more of the same," the erosion of popular support for the war, and the realization that the costs of further escalation were unacceptable at a time when the economy's performance and institutional underpinnings were already overstrained all came together to seal LBJ's decision to try a new tack in Vietnam.

On March 31, 1968, Johnson announced that the new troop commitment to Vietnam would be limited to 13,500 additional support troops to bolster the 11,000 combat troops already airlifted to Vietnam immediately after the Tet attack.⁸⁸ Johnson also reported that new emphasis would be placed on expanding South Vietnam's role in its own defense. To help secure a political resolution of the war, he named a new peace ambassador, Averell Harriman, and ordered a bombing halt over most of North Vietnam. Although American forces would remain in combat in Vietnam for nearly five more years, the long, gradual escalation of U.S. involvement was at last capped. Henceforth, emphasis would shift from prosecution of the war to extrication from it. The decision to halt the escalation of the war was as much economic as it was political or military.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ "Notes of the President's Meeting with General Earle Wheeler, JCS, and General Creighton Abrams," March 26, 1968, Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings, Box 2, LBJL.

⁸⁷ "Notes of the President's Meeting with General Earle Wheeler, JCS, and General Creighton Abrams," March 26, 1968, Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings, Box 2, LBJL.

⁸⁸ A limited reserve call-up of 20,000 men took place shortly thereafter, in May 1968. Stanley Resor OHM, p. 19, LBJL. Resor was secretary of the army from 1968 to 1971.

⁸⁹ This interpretation appears fleetingly in David Halberstam, *The Best and the Brightest* (New York, 1972), 604, but scholars have since pursued at least four other emphases in explaining the March 1968 decision to deescalate. Don Oberdorfer, *Tet!* (Garden City, N.Y., 1971), views the policy shift as the inevitable, or at least predictable, result of the shock generated by the Tet Offensive. Several studies emphasize the palace revolt of a handful of administration doves led by Clark Clifford. See Townsend Hoopes, *The Limits of Intervention: An Inside Account of How the Johnson Policy of Escalation in Vietnam Was Reversed* (New York, 1969); and Herbert Y. Schandler, *The Unmaking of a President: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam* (Princeton, N.J., 1977). The significance of the defection of the so-called Establishment is stressed in Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas, *The Wise Men: Six Friends and the World They Made; Acheson, Bohlen, Harriman, Kennan, Lovett, McCloy* (New York, 1986). For the impact of the antiwar movement, see Melvin Small, *Johnson, Nixon, and the Doves* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1988), 129–32; Tom Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle over Vietnam* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), 4, 261; and Tom Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir* (New York, 1988), 501.

For the dimension of political economy presently under discussion, see Lloyd Gardner, "Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam: The Final Months," in *The Johnson Years, Volume 3: LBJ at Home and Abroad*, Robert A. Divine, ed. (Lawrence, Kan., 1994), 198–238. Halberstam notes correctly that the war never cost more than 3.5 percent of the gross national product, and he concludes that it was not the war but rather "the essentially dishonest way in which it was handled" that "destroyed the economy" (*Best and the Brightest*, 610).

IN 1968, THE ECONOMIC CRISIS also directly influenced developments at home. As he moved to cap the escalation of the war in Southeast Asia, Johnson came under increasing pressure to throttle back his domestic reforms as well. On the Saturday morning in mid-March when central bankers from the gold pool nations gathered at the Federal Reserve Building in Washington to salvage the international monetary regime, the president spoke to a meeting of business leaders across town at the Sheraton Park Hotel: "We must tighten our belts. We must adopt an austere program . . . Hard choices are going to have to be made in the next few days. Some desirable programs of lesser priority and urgency are going to have to be deferred."⁹⁰ The continuing failure to resolve the nation's fiscal impasse and the threatened collapse of the international monetary order forced on the administration exactly the sort of "discipline of stringency" that LBJ's guns-and-butter policy had sought to avoid.

Admittedly, economic woes were not the only impediment to the expansion of the Great Society in early 1968. Administrative difficulties, hardening racial attitudes on all sides, and the apparent intractability of problems such as poverty contributed to the slowing of the administration's reform surge. The War on Poverty had proven to be politically divisive even among old-line Democrats, and Johnson's own reform ardor sometimes showed signs of flagging. He was convinced that the poverty warriors of the Office of Economic Opportunity were personally disloyal.⁹¹ Moreover, in the spring of 1968, the president occasionally voiced bitter disappointment at the disaffection (and, by implication, the ingratitude) of blacks and the young, two groups he felt had benefited most from his reform efforts in civil rights, poverty, and education.⁹²

Personal pique notwithstanding, however, Johnson remained committed, in both word and deed, to his Great Society vision. In late 1967, he told reporters that he wanted to leave as his legacy "a social consciousness in concrete." He had not enjoyed complete success in moving his programs through Congress, he admitted, but, "It's only half-time now; there is still another session of the 90th Congress to go."⁹³ As 1968 began, Johnson continued to press, in the words of a key aide, "almost frenetically" for further reform. During the first two months of the year, he sent to the Hill the largest manpower program and most ambitious housing bill in U.S. history. He asked for a \$290 million increase in appropriations for the Office of Economic Opportunity's poverty program and in April signed into law the fair housing legislation he had been seeking since 1966.⁹⁴ The pace of reform, though no longer dizzying, remained substantial.

The face and substance of reform were changing, however, as financial exigency

⁹⁰ U.S., President, *Public Papers*, Johnson, 1968-69, 1: 404.

⁹¹ Daniel P. Moynihan, *Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding: Community Action in the War on Poverty* (New York, 1969); Wilbur Cohen OHM, Tape 3, p. 10, and Tape 4, pp. 5, 9, LBJL.

⁹² See, for example, "Notes on Meeting of the President with Senator Robert Kennedy, April 3, 1968"; and "Memorandum of Conversation: The President, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Theodore Sorensen, Charles Murphy, and W. W. Rostow, 10:00 a.m., April 3, 1968," both in Diary Backup, Box 94, LBJL.

⁹³ "Notes of the President's Meeting with Lyle Denniston, Bob Walters, and Jack Horner of the Washington Evening Star," November 15, 1967, Tom Johnson's Notes of Meetings, Box 1, LBJL.

⁹⁴ Califano, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 258; U.S., President, *Public Papers*, Johnson, 1968-69, 1: 46-53, 248-63, 509-10.

chipped away at the administration's reformist resolve even before economic events reached crisis proportions in March 1968. In formally requesting his tax surcharge from Congress in August 1967, Johnson had tried to sweeten the deal by promising to make spending cuts. Britain's devaluation of the pound in November increased the pressure on the administration to trim expenditures. At a special meeting called to assess the devaluation, Johnson told his Cabinet, "This weekend has made it even more obvious that we must try to slash and stick with reductions in the Budget if we are to save the Great Society and try to get a Tax Bill . . . if we are not to suffer seriously." Speaking of "a new era of economic challenge," he exhorted his department heads to "sharpen your pencils and be prepared." Joseph Califano, LBJ's chief domestic aide, urged the president to emphasize to the Cabinet that "this program of cuts is designed to *preserve* the Great Society programs" from those who would use the failure to reach a compromise on the tax bill as an excuse to roll back earlier Great Society triumphs entirely.⁹⁵ In short, the administration remained committed to reform, but, under the pressure of a variety of forces, not the least of them economic, the definition of that commitment shifted increasingly from expanding reform to preserving it.

The reorientation from expansion to preservation was halting and uncertain. Sometimes, Johnson talked as though the two goals were interchangeable, but when on occasion he paid lip service to both in the same breath, the tension between them became evident. "There is a philosophy in the Congress," Johnson told his Cabinet in December 1967, "that we have done enough . . . that we should slow down and tighten up what we have done rather than undertake any new legislation . . . I don't agree." But he added immediately, "Whatever else we do, we have got to have a price tag on everything we come up with . . . We have got to know what every new proposal costs and who will pay for it . . . All of you have got to ask that question. We are all good at saying what we need but we don't know who will pay for it."⁹⁶

The shift from expanding the Great Society to fighting to preserve it touched off a season of political contention for the administration and its liberal constituency. The issuance in February 1968 of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders report on the urban riots of the previous summer constituted an opening round. The commission, headed by Illinois governor Otto Kerner, called for a massive expansion of governmental programs to deal with the ravages of white racism; its report made over 150 recommendations, which Johnson estimated privately would add between \$75 and \$100 billion to the federal budget over several years.⁹⁷ The commission's implicit indictment of previous efforts stung Johnson, and he instructed Califano to pass the word that the report was "destroying the President's interest in things like this."⁹⁸ Johnson's pique was familiar to those who

⁹⁵ U.S., President, *Public Papers*, Johnson, 1967, 2: 733–40; Cabinet Meeting Minutes, November 20, 1967, Cabinet Papers, Box 11, LBJL; Joseph Califano to Johnson, November 20, 1967, Cabinet Papers, Box 11, LBJL.

⁹⁶ Cabinet Meeting Minutes, December 6, 1967, Cabinet Papers, Box 12, LBJL. See also Sargent Shriver to Johnson, December 22, 1967, Aides Files, Califano, Box 8, LBJL. On Johnson's backing and filling at this point, see Califano, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 255–56.

⁹⁷ *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (New York, 1968); *New York Times* (March 2, 1968): 15; Cabinet Meeting Minutes, March 13, 1968, Cabinet Papers, Box 13, LBJL.

⁹⁸ LBJ quoted in Califano, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 261.

worked with him, a reaction to which he often succumbed and which he also often overcame. More daunting were the fiscal realities the president now confronted. "I am more practical," he told a delegation of black editors and publishers, "than some of those who wrote the report and some of the staff who sent it to me. First thing we have got to do is find the money. They didn't touch upon that problem. It's like saying we need sirloin steaks three nights a week, but only have the money to pay for two steaks." "I will never understand," he wrote later, "how the commission expected me to get this same Congress to turn 180 degrees overnight and appropriate an additional \$30 billion for the same programs that it was demanding I cut by \$6 billion."⁹⁹

Organized labor pressed Johnson in a similar fashion. The American Federation of Labor cautioned against any "moratorium on domestic progress" and called instead for "a resurgence of a national determination to create an ever-better society in America." The AFL-CIO program for 1968 included legislation to make the federal government the employer of last resort and denounced the very idea of cuts in social spending. Nor was the AFL-CIO leadership sympathetic to the administration's fears regarding the international economy. Califano reported to Johnson that AFL-CIO president George Meany and his staff "believe the worst [consequence of] separating the dollar from gold would be to shake up international trade for a year or two without any serious repercussions here at home."¹⁰⁰ In the end, the union agreed that the need for a tax increase was overwhelming, and it therefore grudgingly and silently acquiesced in the \$6 billion spending cut demanded by Mills and others as the quid pro quo for congressional action.¹⁰¹

Liberals carried the fight to the administration's inner councils. Califano kept up a steady drumbeat urging Johnson to "fight both the Congress and [Treasury Secretary] Fowler on anything like a \$6 billion expenditure cut." Johnson's legislative liaison, Barefoot Sanders, shaken by the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the rioting that followed in early April, warned the president, "If, in the face of *more numerous and more vocal calls* for additional government action, the government appears to do less, by cutting appropriations in order to solve the financial crisis, we run the risk of leaving these people who want more done without any hope for accomplishing their programs within either the Democratic or Republican parties." Following Sanders's lead, Califano promptly took the offensive by suggesting that any budget cuts come from such "low priority areas" as the supersonic transport airplane program, the Apollo program, and federal highway expenditures. He implored Johnson to ask for an even greater tax hike and to direct an additional \$3 to \$5 billion to "relatively quick impact [social] programs." "The argument against [such a course]," he admitted, "is the balance of payments, the tax bill and Wilbur Mills." But perhaps the conventional wisdom of the Treasury Department regarding the relationship between the balance of payments, fiscal

⁹⁹ "Notes on Meeting with Negro Editors and Publishers," March 15, 1968, Diary Backup, Box 93, LBJL; Johnson, *Vantage Point*, 173.

¹⁰⁰ George Meany to Johnson, December 29, 1967, Aides Files, Califano, Box 8, LBJL; Califano to Johnson, March 28, 1968, Aides Files, Califano, Box 16, LBJL. See also Victor Riesel, "Inside Labor: Inside the White House; Labor Chiefs Warn LBJ; Budget Slash Plays into Hands of Kennedy and McCarthy," syndicated column dated May 16, 1968, in Aides Files, Califano, Box 17, LBJL.

¹⁰¹ Califano to Johnson, May 29, 1968, Aides Files, Califano, Box 17, LBJL.

policy, and domestic priorities was based on false assumptions that had over time hardened into a "mythology" opposed to social welfare. Califano suggested that LBJ undertake "a thorough reassessment in the balance of payments and domestic priorities area—a reassessment of the same magnitude you have gone through with respect to Vietnam."¹⁰² But Johnson's angry marginal comments on Califano's memo were unambiguous: "No!" "I don't agree." "Tell him to forget it—" "Ha! Ha!" "Forget it."¹⁰³

In the end, Califano and his fellow Great Society all-outers failed to persuade LBJ on the issue of domestic priorities. Frightened by the March gold crisis, Johnson decided that the tax surcharge was "the most urgent issue facing the country" next to Vietnam. "I knew," he later wrote, "that any call for increased spending would give my opponents the excuse they sought to call me a reckless spender and kill the tax bill. If that happened, it could bring on an uncontrollable world monetary crisis of 1931 proportions and consequences." Moreover, the president realized that any such crisis would incite conservatives to destroy the Great Society rather than merely contain it. As Okun advised, "If a moderate expenditure cutback can achieve the tax bill, it would offer the best possible protection for our social programs."¹⁰⁴

Johnson thus found himself fighting a two-front war. As he struggled against a recalcitrant Congress to minimize the expenditure reductions demanded for the passage of the tax hike, he also fought to gain the support of liberals for whatever expenditure-reduction deal he would finally strike. In both campaigns, Johnson used what Califano characterized as "Okun's Chamber of Horrors" approach.¹⁰⁵ Importuning Mills to agree to a compromise spending limitation, Johnson told the Ways and Means chairman that "whether he realized it or not, the country's economy was about to go down the drain and we had to write a tax bill that we could both live with."¹⁰⁶

Johnson carried the same message to his friends. In mid-May, he exposed the liberals in his Cabinet to a dire analysis by the chairman of the CEA. "If the political realities are a tax bill with a \$6 billion cut or no tax bill," Okun told them, "if that is the choice . . . I am ready to say by a definite margin that our economy is much better off with this overdose of fiscal restraint than none at all." He drew heavily on the recent crisis experience to drive home his point: "The international consequences of a tax bill failure would be very great indeed. It could be a calamity. We could have a sharp rise in speculation in the American dollar and another gold run." The bitter choice then, Okun warned, might be between suspending the convertibility of the dollar or increasing the price of gold. "We could get a real explosion in the world financial community . . . It may undermine all our gains and jeopardize the complete world political situation." Okun's conclusion was self-evident, but Johnson drew him out even further. "Therefore?" asked the president. Okun

¹⁰² Califano to Johnson, April 3, 1968, Aides Files, Califano, Box 17, LBJL; Barefoot Sanders to Johnson, April 5, 1968, Diary Backup, Box 95, LBJL; Califano to Johnson, April 10, 1968, Aides Files, Califano, Box 16, LBJL.

¹⁰³ LBJ quoted in Califano, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 282–83.

¹⁰⁴ Johnson, *Vantage Point*, 451; Okun to Johnson, April 27, 1968, Diary Backup, Box 97, LBJL.

¹⁰⁵ Califano to Johnson, May 20, 1968, Aides Files, Califano, Box 54, LBJL.

¹⁰⁶ Johnson, *Vantage Point*, 453.

answered, "Take a tax bill with the \$6 billion cutback. It's hard advice to give but I think it's the best advice. It is the only advice I can give."¹⁰⁷ Swallowing hard, Johnson and the liberals took it.

The Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 forced on the administration's domestic agenda a discipline of stringency not unlike that already visited upon the administration's war policy. Wilbur Mills took satisfaction in what he perceived to be "the anguished cries of Federal administrators who are feeling the sharp bite of these legislative incisors."¹⁰⁸ Yet the outcome was more complicated than Mills's crowing allowed. The administration worked hard to shield its most critical social programs from budget cuts; Congress could agree to trim only slightly less than \$4 billion from fiscal 1969 expenditures, and the president refused to make further reductions on his own.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, aggregate social welfare spending continued to rise, in 1969 and throughout the Nixon years. But the 1968 episode did constitute a sea change, because it shifted the emphasis from an expansion of the Great Society to its preservation. In fiscal year 1969, federal social welfare expenditures (in constant dollars) grew at a rate less than half that of 1965.¹¹⁰ As historians Irwin and Debi Unger have written, "In June 1968 the Great Society, already badly wounded at the hands of its friends and enemies alike, lost its forward movement and its inner spirit."¹¹¹ What was left was not the powerful reform surge of mid-decade but only its inertia.

In its aftershocks, the economic crisis of 1968 left a deep imprint on both U.S. foreign affairs and domestic policy, on the history of a momentous year and a remarkable era. Growth liberalism—the interpenetration of liberal politics and growth economics—was a defining feature of the 1960s and the apotheosis of the postwar optimism that undergirded the notion of an American Century. In 1968, growth liberalism came a cropper and the American Century came to an end. The forces at work were many, the pattern of causation complex. But matters of political economy were central. The experience and consequences of the economic crisis of 1968 remind us that the history of the 1960s was not written entirely in the streets.

¹⁰⁷ Minutes of Special Cabinet Meeting, May 14, 1968, Cabinet Papers, Box 13, LBJL.

¹⁰⁸ Wilbur Mills, Remarks to Little Rock Rotary Club, August 29, 1968, Box 420, Mills Papers.

¹⁰⁹ Califano, *Triumph and Tragedy*, 288.

¹¹⁰ Sar A. Levitan and Robert Taggart, *The Promise of Greatness: The Social Programs of the Last Decade and Their Major Achievements* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 21.

¹¹¹ Unger and Unger, *America in the 1960s*, 45.

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Review Article
Prescott's Paradigm: American Historical Scholarship
and the Decline of Spain

RICHARD L. KAGAN

I believe the Spanish subject will be more *new* than the Italian, more *interesting* to the majority of readers, more *useful* to me by opening another & more practical department of study, & *not* more *laborious*, in relation to the authorities to be consulted, and not more *difficult* to be discussed, with the lights already afforded me by judicious treatises on the most intricate parts of the subject, and with the allowance of the introductory year for my novitiate in a new walk of letters. The advantages of the Spanish topic, on the whole, overbalance the inconvenience of the requisite preliminary year.

For these reasons, I subscribe to the history of Ferdinand and Isabel.¹

WITH THESE WORDS, entered into a private memorandum on January 19, 1826, William Hickling Prescott—a wealthy New Englander with a taste for letters—inaugurated the writing of Spanish history in the United States. Equally important, Prescott's decision to investigate the achievements of the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabel, represented a milestone within American historical scholarship itself. While Americans in the early nineteenth century read European history—primarily as interpreted by Edward Gibbon, David Hume, William Robertson, and Voltaire—no American scholar had yet dared, as Prescott proposed, to utilize original documents in order to write something *new* about the history of any nation other than the United States. Not until the end of the nineteenth century did other American historians, medievalists mostly, duplicate the kind of original synthesis envisioned by Prescott in 1826 and subsequently realized in his *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabel* (1837), a work still well worth reading today.

As a historian, Prescott (1796–1859) was not particularly innovative, either in terms of method, philosophy, or technique, yet he was one of the most widely read authors of his day. Influenced primarily by Gibbon (whom he found nonetheless “circumloquacious” and disliked because of his “egotism” and “skepticism”) and by

This essay owes much to the constructive comments and criticisms provided by Sara T. Nalle, J. G. A. Pocock, Orest Ranum, Gabrielle Spiegel, the participants in the Conference on Historical Scholarship in the United States (held at the Università degli Studi di San Marino, in June 1995), and the members of The Seminar at Johns Hopkins University.

¹ *The Literary Memoranda of William Hickling Prescott*, C. Harvey Gardiner, ed., 2 vols. (Norman, Okla., 1961), 1: 68.



Portrait of William H. Prescott (1796–1859), late in life, with his famous noctograph. He acquired the device in London in 1816, initially referring to it as “a new invented machine by which blind people were enabled to write.” Engraving by D. H. Pound after a photograph by Whipple and Black. Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Abbé Mably (whose rules of history he admired), Prescott sought to write history that was “romantic” yet also “useful,” studded with what he called “general reflections” of a philosophical bent. Whether in his history of Ferdinand and Isabel

or his later books on the conquests of Mexico (1843) and Peru (1847), Prescott attempted to incorporate insights gleaned from documents, contemporary chronicles, and other sources into what he described as "a continuous closely connected narrative" centering on "political intrigue."² Yet Prescott also wanted his books to be "very interesting" and accessible to a wide audience. In terms of his aims and method, therefore, Prescott resembled his contemporaries: George Bancroft, Francis Parkman, and other historians of the "romantic" school. Nevertheless, Prescott emerged, in America at least, as the Lycurgus of Spanish history and as the scholar who shaped both the character and direction of historical research in Spanish studies for well over a century. This essay examines the specific nature of Prescott's contribution and the extent to which his ideas about the juxtaposition of Spanish decadence and American progress—summarily referred to here as "Prescott's paradigm"—still exert influence over Spanish historical scholarship, particularly of the early modern era, in the United States.

TO BEGIN WITH, it is interesting that an individual of Prescott's background—Boston, Unitarian, money, Harvard—even contemplated a subject dealing with Spanish history.³ No American had ever done so before, not even Thomas Jefferson, who otherwise collected Spanish books and encouraged study of "the language, manners, and situation" of both Spain and Portugal.⁴ In general, early nineteenth-century America's impression of Spain was colored by the Black Legend, first popularized by Dutch and English Protestant writers during the sixteenth century. One variant of this legend, traceable to Bartolomé de las Casas's condemnation of Spanish atrocities in the New World, described Spaniards as barbaric bigots with an insatiable lust for gold. Another variant, rooted in the early seventeenth-century treatises of *arbitristas* ("economic projectors") such as Pedro Fernández de Navarrete, portrayed Spanish society as one sunk in the depths of decline: a nation that wasted the silver it had mined in the Indies on monasteries and religious wars without bothering to invest it productively in commerce.⁵

To a large extent, young America's antipathy toward Spain owed much to the

² Gardiner, *Literary Memoranda*, 1: 51, 66, 97. These memoranda are invaluable for understanding Prescott's methodology and approach to history, a subject that historians have yet fully to explore.

³ For his biography, see George Ticknor, *The Life of William Hickling Prescott* (Boston, 1864); Stanley T. Williams, *The Spanish Background of American Literature*, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1955), 2: 78–121; and, most recently, C. Harvey Gardiner, *William Hickling Prescott: A Biography* (Austin, Tex., 1969). Also useful is the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 39 (1959), which contains a biographical sketch ("William Hickling Prescott: The Man and His Work") by R. A. Humphreys and other articles celebrating Prescott's achievement.

⁴ Thomas Jefferson to John Rutledge, Paris, July 18, 1788, cited in Edward Dumbauld, *Thomas Jefferson: American Tourist* (Norman, Okla., 1946), 148. Jefferson's Spanish books are catalogued in *Thomas Jefferson's Library: A Catalog with the Entries in His Own Order*, James Gilreath and Douglas L. Wilson, eds. (Washington, D.C., 1989).

⁵ The phrase "Black Legend" was coined by the Spanish scholar Julián Juerías in *La leyenda negra: Estudios acerca del concepto de España en el extranjero* (Madrid, 1914). The most recent survey of Black Legend history is Ricardo García Carcel, *La leyenda negra: Historia y opinión* (Madrid, 1992). English titles on the subject include Charles Gibson, *The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New* (New York, 1971); William S. Maltby, *The Black Legend in England: The Development of Anti-Spanish Sentiment, 1558–1660* (Durham, N.C., 1971); and Philip W. Powell, *Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World* (New York, 1971).

British: to the Scottish historian John Campbell (1708–1775), who painted a rather negative portrait of “Old Spain” in his *Concise History of the Spanish America* (1741) as well as in other works,⁶ and especially to his compatriot, William Robertson (1721–1793), whose *History of America* (1777) commented at length on the Spanish indifference to agriculture and commerce and the extent to which “the enormous and expensive fabric of their ecclesiastical establishment . . . greatly retarded the progress of population and industry.”⁷ American authors repeated these observations, adding several of their own. Jedidiah Morse’s *American Universal Geography* (1793), a popular school text, taught several generations of young Americans that Spaniards (and Portuguese) were not only “bigotted Catholics” subject to “despotic monarchy” but lazy, indolent people prone to “the practice of every vice.”⁸ Other textbooks depicted Spaniards as “a poor, lazy, idle, dirty, ignorant race of almost semi-savages.”⁹

Beginning in the 1820s, writers of the romantic school helped temper this negative image. Washington Irving (1783–1859) and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882), though critical of Spain and its institutions, were favorably disposed to the Spaniards and their culture. For these writers, who fastened on the more traditional aspects of Spain’s rural economy, the country was “picturesque” because it was both exotic and backward—a quintessential Other, still medieval, still subject to Moorish and other “Oriental” influences. On a visit to Madrid and Seville in 1827, for example, Longfellow remarked, “There is so little change in the Spanish character, that you find everything as it is said to have been two hundred years ago.”¹⁰ Irving, on the other hand, who had been invited to Spain in 1826 to translate certain Columbus documents that had recently come to light, offered an Orientalist interpretation of the Spanish character. With reference to Madrid’s inhabitants, he observed that “these people preserve the Arab look and manner.” Irving’s first glimpse of Andalucía elicited an equally fanciful comment: “country like a historic map—full of history and romance, where the Moors and Christians have fought.”¹¹

For the *arbitristas*, see J. H. Elliott, “Self-Perception and Decline in Early Seventeenth-Century Spain,” in his *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700* (New Haven, Conn., 1989), 241–61.

⁶ John Campbell also wrote about Spain in *The Present State of Europe* (London, 1753), 304–56, as well as in volumes 20–22 of *The Modern Part of the Universal History*, 44 vols. (London, 1759–66), which Prescott read in 1827–28; Gardiner, *Literary Memoranda*, 1: 88, 94.

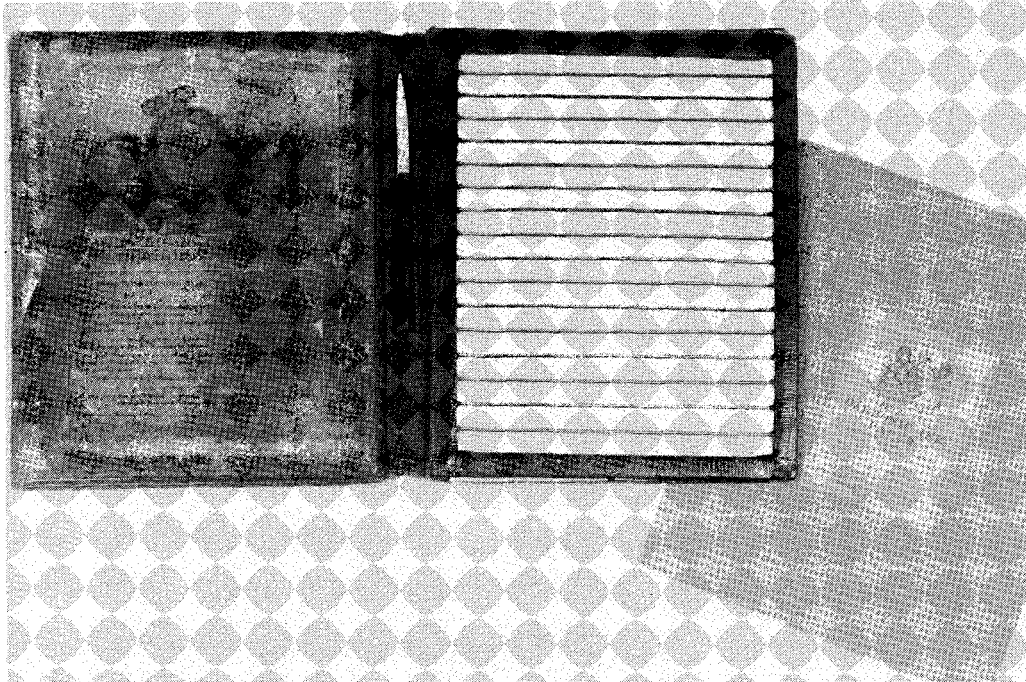
⁷ William Robertson, *History of America*, 7th edn. (London, 1776), Book 8, p. 245. Prescott, who first read this book in 1827, noted that “Robertson’s extensive subject is necessarily deficient in connection,” but he praised the author for his “sagacious reflections,” “clear & vigorous diction,” and for his “interesting, philosophical, and elegant narrative.” Gardiner, *Literary Memoranda*, 1: 82–83.

⁸ Jedidiah Morse, *The American Universal Geography*, 3d edn., 2 vols. (Boston, 1796), 2: 394, and 6th edn., 2 vols. (Boston, 1816), 2: 349. See also the entries for Spain in Morse’s *Geography Made Easy*, 5th edn. (Boston, 1796).

⁹ Quoted in Sister Marie Leonore Fell, *The Foundations of Nativism in American Textbooks, 1783–1860* (Washington, D.C., 1941), 37. See also Frances FitzGerald, *America Revised: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston, 1979), 49.

¹⁰ *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, Andrew Hilen, ed., 6 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 1: 222. In 1833, Longfellow, who taught literature at Bowdoin College, published an essay, “Spanish Language and Literature,” in the *North American Review*, 36 (1836): 316–34. Longfellow was subsequently professor of modern languages at Harvard from 1834 to 1855. For his interests in Spanish literature, see Iris L. Whitman, *Longfellow and Spain* (New York, 1917); and Williams, *Spanish Background*, 2: 152–79. For the various meanings attached to the term “oriental,” see Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1978).

¹¹ *The Complete Works of Washington Irving*, Wayne R. Kime and Andrew B. Meyers, eds. (Boston,



Prescott's noctograph was the invention of Ralph Wedgewood, Jr. As Prescott wrote, "It consists of a frame the size of . . . a sheet of paper, traversed by brass wires . . . with a sheet of carbonated paper . . . pasted on the reverse side. With an ivory or agate stylus the writer traces his characters between the wires on the carbonated sheet, making indelible marks, which he cannot see, on the sheet below." Photo courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Young Prescott's idea of Spain must have been somewhat similar. Although he never visited the country, Prescott regarded it as one whose people had suffered from the evil effects of both monarchical absolutism and Roman Catholicism. This also was his view of Portugal. In 1815, only twenty and just out of Harvard, Prescott stopped off in the Azores en route to London in order to seek treatment for an ailment that had deprived him of much of his sight. A brief visit sparked the following comment: "Whatever opinion I had formed of the Portuguese, I could have no idea of the debasement which our capacities may suffer when cramped by arbitrary government and Papal superstition."¹²

Under the circumstances, it seems somewhat odd that Prescott, who was determined to follow a literary career, opted to write about Spain. He entertained other alternatives: a "history of the revolution of Ancient Rome which converted the republic into the Empire," a "biographical sketch of eminent geniuses, with criticisms on their productions and on the character of their ages," a study of Italian literature during the Renaissance. By December 1825, however, only a year or so after he started reading Spanish history and literature, the Spain of Ferdinand and

1984), Vol. 4, *Journals and Notebooks*, 140. Irving had been invited to Madrid by Alexander Hill Everett, the American consul, to translate the first volume of Manuel Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los viajes y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los españoles desde el fin del siglo XV*, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1825–37).

¹² *The Papers of William Hickling Prescott*, C. Harvey Gardiner, ed. (Urbana, Ill., 1964), 8.

Isabel attracted him more and more: "I shall probably select [Spain], as less difficult than [Rome], & as more novel and entertaining than the [biographies]." ¹³ In addition, Spain offered a connection with America's origins, a linkage that was already apparent to Irving and that led to his highly romanticized but enormously successful biography of Christopher Columbus (1828). Prescott, more of a historian than Irving, also understood that Spain afforded numerous opportunities for philosophical reflection. He summarized the many advantages—as well as the possibilities—of such an inquiry in a memo to himself in early January 1826. These included "a retrospective picture of the constitutions of Castile & Aragon; of the Moorish dynasty—the causes of its decay & dissolution? Then I have the Inquisition, with its bloody persecutions,—the conquest of Granada a brilliant passage,—the exploits of the 'Great Captain' in Italy, a proper character for romance as well as history,—the discovery of a new world, my own country—the new policy of the monarch towards the overgrown aristocracy &c &c." ¹⁴

Here, in short, were all the elements an "entertaining" and "interesting" narrative required: battles against Moors, the exploits of courageous captains, the discovery of continents and oceans. Prescott was clearly, as David Levin has argued, a romantic. ¹⁵ Yet, as the above list suggests, Prescott knew his Livy, his Tacitus and Polybius as well, and, in keeping with the work of Gibbon, Abbé Raynal, Robertson, and other "philosophical" historians, he sought to determine the forces that destined certain societies for greatness, others to decadence and decay. With respect to his Spanish project, he noted these concerns in a short memo of 1828: "How many of the seeds of the subsequent decay of this great empire are to be fairly imparted to the constitutions of Ferdinand and Isabel? Could not a skilful contrast show that they are mainly imputable to the defective policy of the succeeding monarchs? [that is, the Habsburgs]." ¹⁶

What is not immediately apparent in these notes but was evidently paramount in Prescott's mind was the comparison between the relative fortunes of America and Spain. Toying with the prospect of writing a history of America, Prescott recurrently reflected on the factors that were helping to make America great. So, when he decided in January 1826 to write about the Spain of Ferdinand and Isabel, he was also writing about the young United States. In both countries, Prescott detected the enlightened leadership, the sound government, national will, and the dynamism necessary for monumental achievement. Prescott was undoubtedly thinking of the United States when, in a review of Irving's *Conquest of Granada*, he described late fifteenth-century Spain: "It was the season of hope and youthful enterprise, when the nation seemed to be renewing its ancient energies, and to prepare like a giant to run its course." ¹⁷

¹³ Gardiner, *Literary Memoranda*, 1: 65.

¹⁴ Gardiner, *Literary Memoranda*, 1: 66.

¹⁵ David Levin, *History as Romantic Art: Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, and Parkman* (Stanford, Calif., 1959).

¹⁶ Gardiner, *Literary Memoranda*, 1: 97.

¹⁷ William H. Prescott, *Biographical and Critical Miscellanies* (New York, 1845), 118. His review of Irving first appeared in 1829. Prescott resented Irving's intrusion into a subject he regarded as his own, once confiding to a friend that Irving "helped himself to two of the biggest and fattest slices" in the Catholic Monarchs' reign. See *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott 1833–1847*, Roger Wolcott, ed. (Boston, 1925), 204, Prescott to Jarold Sparks, February 1, 1841.

For all his pro-Spanish sympathies, Prescott could not escape the Protestant prejudices of his age. He believed that Spain had two deep-seated weaknesses from which America was exempt. One was Catholicism, cruelly manifested in the Inquisition that his avowed heroes, the Catholic Monarchs, had helped to create.¹⁸ His memo book reads: "The reign of Ferdinand and Isabel will thus form an epoch lying between the anarchy of the proceeding period and the despotism & extravagant schemes of the succeeding, during which epoch the nation attained its highest degree of real prosperity; although the seeds of its most degrading vice, religious bigotry, were then implanted. ([W]ere they not before?)"¹⁹ Spain's other fatal flaw was royal absolutism, the inherent defects of which were manifested less by the Catholic Monarchs than by their Habsburg successors, most notably Philip II (1556–1599), whose biography Prescott published in 1855. For Prescott, a staunch proponent of liberty, the "tranquility that naturally flows from a free and well-conducted government, and the "spirit of independence" embodied in the United States, Philip II was evil incarnate: "[he] ruled . . . with an authority more absolute than that possessed by any European prince since the day of the Caesars." Prescott, moreover, faulted Philip for having "nurtured schemes of mad ambition" that undermined the dynamism and energy Ferdinand and Isabel brought to Spain, forcing the nation into "a state of paralytic torpor" that contributed, directly and inevitably, to its economic and political decline. Even more reprehensible was Philip's narrow brand of Catholicism, a religion that "admitted no compromise" and led the monarch to embrace persecution and its handmaiden, the Inquisition, as his principal weapon.²⁰ Firm in the belief that progress required liberty in the guise of democratic institutions, freedom of worship and of expression, and laissez-faire economics, Prescott blamed Philip for having denied Spain the opportunity to join the modern world.

For Prescott, then, an unhealthy combination of political despotism and religious bigotry set Spain and America on two fundamentally different paths. America, as a republic, enjoyed the energy, enthusiasm, and the "bold commercial spirit" that liberty engendered—the qualities nations required for lasting success. In Prescott's view, medieval Spain had exhibited most of these qualities in the guise of "free institutions," "liberal and equitable forms of government," "independence of character," "lofty enthusiasm," and "patriotism." However, in the course of the sixteenth century, the Habsburg monarchy, aided by the Inquisition, conspired to crush Spain's ancient "liberties," creating a huge gulf between the American continent and the nation that had helped to discover it. In the United States, liberty ensured both individual enterprise and national prosperity. In Spain, its absence

¹⁸ Prescott's view of the Inquisition was undoubtedly influenced by Juan Antonio Llorente, *A Critical History of the Inquisition of Spain* (London, 1823). This book, originally published in French, *Histoire critique de l'inquisition d'Espagne* (Paris, 1817–18), was first mentioned by Prescott in 1826. See Gardiner, *Literary Memoranda*, 1: 74, 96.

¹⁹ Gardiner, *Literary Memoranda*, 1: 140.

²⁰ William H. Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second of Spain*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1855), 1: 3, 145, 554. Many of Great Britain's nineteenth-century Hispanists held similar views of Spain, the Inquisition in particular. See, for example, Richard Ford, *A Hand-Book for Travellers in Spain and Readers at Home* (1845), Ian Robertson, ed., 3 vols. (Carbondale, Ill., 1966), 1: 418–21. The history of British Hispanism, along with the American, remains to be written, although the latter may be approached through Williams, *Spanish Background*.

created economic backwardness, intellectual stagnation, political weakness, and moral decay, each compounded by the sloth and corruption that the riches of empire brought in its wake.²¹ In the Middle Ages, Spaniards were energetic, hard-working, their future still bright. But, by the end of the sixteenth century, all this had changed, and Prescott offered a particularly gloomy assessment of the country's future near the end of his *Philip the Second*:

folded under the dark wing of the Inquisition, Spain was shut out from the light which in the sixteenth century broke over the rest of Europe, stimulating nations to greater enterprise in every department of knowledge. The genius of the people was rebuked, and their spirit quenched, under the malign influence of an eye that never slumbered, of an unseen arm ever raised to strike. How could there be freedom of thought, where there was no freedom of utterance? Or freedom of utterance, where it was dangerous to say too little as to say too much. Freedom cannot go along with fear. Every way the Spanish mind was in fetters.²²

What I call "Prescott's paradigm" is an understanding of Spain as America's antithesis. Most of the elements contained in this paradigm—anti-Catholicism, criticism of absolutism, support for commerce and individual liberty—were to be found in the work of many Enlightenment writers, but Prescott bundled them into a single package that offered a means of approaching Spanish history through the lens of U.S. history. Just as Prescott cherished the notion of "American exceptionalism," the idea that his own country possessed a unique history that destined it for greatness, Spain was equally exceptional but seen from the inverted perspective of a nation separated from the European, that is, Protestant, mainstream and consequently bereft of the progress and prosperity that flowed in its wake. Earlier New England writers, Cotton Mather and Samuel Sewall among them, had also espoused a negative view of Spain, but Prescott was the first to adopt a truly comparative perspective, setting the trajectories of the two nations side by side. Medieval Spain provided Prescott—and presumably other Americans who shared his Whiggish political views—with an example of a society in which individual liberties had been productively channeled into nation-building, a heroic enterprise that offered ready comparison with America's colonial era and, for Prescott at least, one that may also have served as a refuge from the dangerous populist tendencies Jacksonian democracy had unleashed.²³ But Spain's principal attraction was that its history, especially in the Habsburg era—the period Prescott regarded its nadir—represented everything his America was not. America was the future—republican, enterprising, rational; while Spain—monarchical, indolent, fanatic—represented the past. As it developed, however, Prescott's paradigm was less a clear analytical model of analysis than a series of assumptions and presuppositions about the

²¹ Prescott's negative view of empire, derived in part from Adam Smith, helps to explain his determined opposition to the Mexican War and the annexation of Texas. See, for example, Wolcott, *Correspondence*, 627, Prescott to George Sumner, April 1, 1847, where he refers critically to "our mad ambition for conquest." See also the letter to Sumner cited below in footnote 23.

²² Prescott, *History of the Reign of Philip the Second*, 2: 446.

²³ For Prescott's political views, see Gardiner, *William Hickling Prescott*, 95, 166–68. That history offered Prescott a refuge from domestic politics became patently clear in 1846, when in the midst of writing *History of the Conquest of Peru* and with specific reference to the Mexican War, Prescott wrote the following to George Sumner: "I am sick of our domestic troubles . . . I take refuge from them in Peruvian hills, where the devildoms I read of—black enough—have at least no reference to ourselves." Wolcott, *Correspondence*, 597, May 15, 1846.

inherent backwardness of Spanish culture, the progressiveness and superiority of the United States. Yet this particular formulation, especially when combined with pervasive belief in national character engendered by the rise of nineteenth-century nationalism, exerted a powerful influence on the way succeeding generations of U.S. scholars thought and wrote about Spain.²⁴

PRESCOTT'S JUXTAPOSITION of America (the new) and Spain (the old) was undoubtedly among the many reasons why *Ferdinand and Isabel* sold so well. Prescott himself could hardly believe the book's success, and at one point, shortly after the publication of his *Conquest of Mexico* in 1843, he wrote to a Spanish friend, "My countrymen . . . seem to me more in love with Spanish history than the Spanish themselves."²⁵ The old adage that opposites attract may also explain why other nineteenth-century American scholars found themselves drawn to Spain. Romanticism provided an additional lure. George Ticknor (1791–1871), for example, Harvard's first professor of modern languages, visited Spain in May 1818, only to find it woefully backward—"Imagine a country so deserted and desolate, and with so little travelling and communication, as to have no taverns"—and lacking in both "cultivation and refinement," an absence he attributed to "the long, long, oppression of tyranny and inquisition." By contrast, Ticknor found the common people both natural and graceful. Even their "resting positions," he wrote, were "picturesque."²⁶ Harvard's third professor of modern languages, James Russell Lowell, held an equally romantic view of Spain and its people. Writing in 1878, he declared to a friend, "You can't imagine how far I am away from the world here—I mean the modern world. Spain is as primitive in some ways as the books of Moses and as oriental." As for the people, Lowell echoed Irving when he wrote that "they are still orientals to a degree one has to live among them to believe . . . they don't care about the same things that we are fools to believe in [ledgers]." Lowell concluded that hard-working Americans preferred the economic benefits associated with the "mill-pond," while Spaniards preferred the peaceful pleasures derived from the "brook."²⁷

Lowell's letters from Spain never mentioned those aspects of Spanish society—railroads, industry, commerce—that smacked of modernity. The Spain he and other American scholars wanted to see was the Spain of the Middle Ages, the sole era in

²⁴ For the myth of national character, with particular reference to Spain, see Julio Caro Baroja, *El mito del carácter nacional* (Madrid, 1970).

²⁵ Wolcott, *Correspondence*, 428, Prescott to Pascual de Gayangos, December 21, 1843. The book, first translated into Spanish in 1846, also enjoyed commercial success in Spain. However, its reception there, its influence on subsequent Spanish historiography, and its particular attraction for *liberales* sympathetic to Prescott's anti-clericalism and hostility to absolutism await detailed study.

²⁶ George Ticknor, *Life, Letters and Journals of George Ticknor* (Boston, 1876), 198–99.

²⁷ *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, Charles Eliot Norton, ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1893), 2: 235, Lowell to Thomas Hughs, November 17, 1879; 2: 241, Lowell to W. D. Howells, May 2, 1879. Lowell was professor of modern languages at Harvard from 1855 until 1877, when he was named minister to Spain. For his life, see Martin Duberman, *James Russell Lowell* (Boston, 1966). Lowell's friend Henry Adams regarded Spain as equally out of date after he visited the country in 1879. See *The Letters of Henry Adams*, J. C. Levenson, ed., 6 vols. (Cambridge, 1982–88), 2: 379–83. Francis Parkman had a similar reaction during his visit in 1887. See *Letters of Francis Parkman*, Wilbur R. Jacobs, ed., 2 vols. (Norman, Okla., 1960), 2: 200.

which, as Prescott had described it, Spaniards enjoyed the benefits of liberty. Medievalism of this sort pervaded most nineteenth-century American scholarship about Spain, initially manifesting itself in Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (1849).²⁸ Ticknor's was the first critical survey of a European literature ever written by an American scholar.²⁹ It was also replete with Prescottian language, freely employing such romanticized terms as "enthusiasm," "spirit and activity," "vigor and promise" to describe the temper of Spain's Middle Ages. For Ticknor, such qualities made for great literature, and he probably had Sir Walter Scott in mind when he presented the popular ballads and chronicles of the period as Spain's greatest literary accomplishments, its true Golden Age. And Ticknor, like Prescott before him, saw Spain's early cultural florescence as doomed to decay. In his words, "that generous and manly spirit which is the breadth of intellectual life of any people was stifled and restrained"—by the corrosive forces of courtly life, by corrupt and despotic government, by the Inquisition. From his perspective, glimmers of Spain's "old spirit" briefly survived in early seventeenth-century theater, but even the stage soon succumbed to the forces that crushed Spain's "heroic temperament." The work of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca notwithstanding, Ticknor's seventeenth century was more iron than gold, an era in which "life . . . was evidently passing out of the whole Spanish character."³⁰

William H. Prescott died in 1867, but his paradigm lived on. It lay at the core of John Lothrop Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856), an immensely popular work that presented the Spain of Philip II as the enemy of democracy, the nation opposed to the (liberal) forces shaping the modern world. Motley (1814–1877), another wealthy Bostonian, was close to Prescott and was both helped and influenced by his older friend. He shared Prescott's presuppositions. Motley vilified aristocrats ("extravagant and dissipated"), elevated both commoners and commerce ("the mother of freedom") to lofty rank, and presented Spaniards as the personification of religious intolerance and hate. Motley thus found it relatively easy to describe the principal shortcomings of his villain, Philip II:

He was entirely a Spaniard. The Burgundian and Austrian elements of his blood seem to have evaporated, and his veins were filled alone with the ancient ardour, which in heroic centuries had animated the Gothic champions of Spain. The fierce enthusiasm for the Cross, which in the long internal warfare against the Crescent had been the romantic and distinguishing feature of the national character, had degenerated into bigotry. That which

²⁸ On nineteenth-century medievalism in the United States, see T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Anti-Modernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1889–1920* (New York, 1981), 141–81; John Fraser, *America and the Patterns of Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1982), esp. 36–40; and Robin Fleming, "Picturesque History and the Medieval in Nineteenth-Century America," *AHR*, 100 (October 1995): 1061–94.

²⁹ Ticknor's literary achievement is summarized in Williams, *Spanish Background*, 46–77. Note that the first comprehensive survey of French literature by American scholars was William A. Nitze and E. Preston Dargan, *A History of French Literature* (New York, 1922).

³⁰ George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, 3d edn., 3 vols. (Boston, 1866), 1: 413, 417, 433. In comparison, Frederick Boutewerk's *History of Spanish Literature*, published initially (in German) between 1805 and 1817 (first English edn., 3 vols., London, 1847), noted that Spain's literary "spirit" survived until 1665, when it finally succumbed to a "vicious system of government" (3: 254).

had been a nation's glory now made the monarch's shame . . . Philip was to be the latest and most perfect incarnation of all this traditional enthusiasm, this perpetual hate.³¹

Philip's foil, and the hero of Motley's narrative, was the Dutch leader William of Orange, an individual whose "political genius," "eloquence," and patriotism practically made him an American, a figure comparable to George Washington.³² It follows that the United Provinces appeared in the pages of Motley's history as a miniature United States. Just as Washington had led his people in their struggle for freedom against Great Britain, William led the Dutch in their battle for liberty—and thus the future—against the forces of the past embodied in the Spaniard and epitomized in the person of Philip II.

If Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* strengthened the negative Spanish stereotype inherent in Prescott's paradigm, the next and indeed last generation of America's gentlemen-historians inscribed it in stone. Their ideas about Spanish backwardness and decadence came to the fore in various books and essays published at the same time as the Spanish-American War of 1898, a short but decisive conflict that simultaneously ended Spain's imperial era while initiating that of the United States. Many of these publications presented Spain's defeat as inevitable, the foreordained outcome of three centuries of decline and decay.³³ The most nuanced and, in a way, most Prescottian explanation for Spain's defeat came from Henry Charles Lea (1825–1909), the Philadelphia businessman turned church historian who developed a special interest in the corrosive effects of "clericalism" on humanity. Already known for his scholarly *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (1887–88), Lea became interested in Spanish history largely to determine what he described as "the profound modification wrought in the Spanish character by the Inquisition."³⁴ He published a preliminary book on the subject in 1890 and in 1898 was preparing what later became his monumental four-volume *History of the Inquisition of Spain* (1906–07), when he was asked by the editor of *The Atlantic Monthly* to offer his interpretation of Spain's defeat. Lea seized the opportunity to convey his ideas on the Inquisition to a wide audience.³⁵

Lea's essay, "The Decadence of Spain," published in July 1898, began on a distinctly triumphal note, attributing Spain's defeat to a national character distinguished by a "blind and impenetrable pride" and a "spirit of conservatism which rejected all innovation in a world of incessant change." Spaniards, he wrote, were incapable of adapting to "modern industrialism." Nor could Lea resist the opportunity to criticize the Catholic church. Whatever the defects in Spain's "national trait," "clericalism" served only to make them worse, as it ignited a "ferocious spirit of intolerance" that rendered the Spaniards "unfit" for self-government, led to the expulsion of the Jews, helped to create the Spanish

³¹ John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 3 vols. (1883; rpt. edn., London, 1906), 1: part 1, chap. 2, p. 132.

³² Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 2: part 6, chap. 7, pp. 449, 454.

³³ This literature is best approached through Williams, *Spanish Background*, 1: 113–17; and Powell, *Tree of Hate*, 122–25.

³⁴ Lea to W. E. H. Lecky, April 9, 1888, quoted in E. S. Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea* (Philadelphia, 1931), 328.

³⁵ Lea by this date had also published several scholarly articles on Spanish history, including "The First Castilian Inquisitor," which appeared in the premier issue of the *AHR*, 1 (1896): 46–50.

Inquisition, and eventually “benumbed the intellectual development of the people.” Lea, moreover, knew exactly where such misfortunes would lead. “While the rest of the civilized world was bounding forward in a career of progress, while science and the useful arts were daily adding to the conquests of man over the forces of nature, and rival nations were growing in wealth and power, the Inquisition condemned Spain to stagnation.” Finally, to add yet another familiar scapegoat to the story of Spanish decadence and defeat, Lea concluded with a ringing attack on Habsburg absolutism and the extent to which “ineffective governance” prevented the nation from developing the “liberal institutions” necessary to lead it into the modern world. “There was,” he wrote, “no national political life, no training in citizenship, no forces to counterbalance the follies and prejudices of the king and his favorites.”³⁶

At the dawn of the twentieth century, therefore, political events seemingly confirmed Prescott’s contention that Spain and America inhabited different worlds. Most scholars accepted this premise; so did the popular press. Even Archer M. Huntington (1870–1955), founder of New York’s Hispanic Society of America (1908), benefactor of the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress, and a connoisseur otherwise interested in promoting Spanish art and culture, accepted “Spain” and “modernity” as antithetical concepts. Like Irving, Huntington’s Spain was romanticized. “In Spain,” he wrote, “fanaticism is natural, chivalry a necessity.”³⁷ Yet Huntington resembled Prescott to the extent that he took seriously the general trajectory of Spanish history, especially the reasons for what he perceived as the nation’s failure to modernize along Western lines. Prescott’s influence, for example, may be detected in the list of the ingredients Huntington concocted to explain Spanish decadence: “Pride, a weak monarch, a dissolute court, religious intolerance, all these are admirable starting points from which to prove a nation’s decline.” To this master recipe, Huntington added one vital ingredient: “Spain lacks the trading spirit . . . the great primitive developing agency,” the very absence of which condemned Spain to centuries of isolation and decay.³⁸ To escape this era, Huntington, like Prescott and Ticknor before him, took refuge in Spain’s Middle Ages, especially in *El Cid*, a heroic figure whose *Poema* he endeavored to translate. It follows that the art of medieval Spain figured as the centerpiece of the museum that Huntington outfitted in New York. For similar reasons, the first American historians of Spanish art—Charles Caffin, Georgiana Goddard King, A. Kingsley Porter, Chandler Post, and John Kenneth Conant—also displayed a distinct preference for the Middle Ages. An exception was Charles B. Curtis, who in 1883 had published a catalogue of paintings by Diego de Velázquez y Sylva and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. Curtis viewed Spain’s seventeenth century in wholly romantic terms, claiming that, upon first visiting Madrid, “I found myself carried in

³⁶ Henry Charles Lea, “The Decadence of Spain,” *Atlantic Monthly*, 82 (1898): 36–46. Lea’s subsequent book on the Inquisition reaffirmed his belief in the negative effects of the Holy Office on Spanish society. See *A History of the Inquisition of Spain*, 4 vols. (New York, 1906–07), esp. 4: 438, 472–513. For Lea’s scholarship in general, see Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea*; Williams, *Spanish Background*, 1: 153–57; and Edward Peters, “Henry Charles Lea and the ‘Abode of Monsters,’” in Angel Alcalá, ed., *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* (Boulder, Colo., 1987), 577–608.

³⁷ Archer M. Huntington, *Note-book on Northern Spain* (New York, 1898), 2.

³⁸ Huntington, *Note-book on Northern Spain*, 2, 7.

a day to the middle of the seventeenth century. I discovered a country that had preserved almost unchanged their habits, customs, and traditions of a long-buried age."³⁹ In comparison, Chandler Post, Harvard's hard-headed historian of Spanish art, attributed Spain's artistic achievements in the seventeenth century to that "rare artist" (probably Velázquez) with a "rugged, weird, and titanic spirit," one able to free himself from the grave Spanish temperament and the strictures of the Catholic church.⁴⁰

THE PROFESSIONALIZATION of American history, starting in the 1890s, did relatively little to challenge the basic presuppositions about Spanish culture and politics that Prescott and his immediate followers had embedded in the discipline. Admittedly, the university-based historians endeavored to strip away some of the more romantic and overtly anti-Catholic components of Prescott's ideas about Spain, but the topic of Spanish decline, coupled with the notion that the Spanish character was somehow defective, or at least incompatible with modernity, remained paramount, so much so that it left little room for alternate approaches to the Spanish past.

Foremost among the first generation of professional scholars dealing with Spain was the great Harvard historian Roger B. Merriman (1876–1945). Together with Charles Homer Haskins, his medievalist colleague, Merriman in 1903–1904 introduced Harvard's history curriculum to the study of *Kulturgeschichte*, a reform that allowed for the discussion of historical issues and problems only tangentially related to what had previously been the focus of European history at Harvard: the origins of American institutions. One of the first undergraduates to benefit from this reform was Samuel Eliot Morison, who, in 1908, long before he developed an interest in Columbus, wrote an essay, "The Expedition of Cádiz, 1596," which analyzed the count of Essex's daring raid on the Spanish port city. The topic, for an American historian at least, was original, and clearly one that reflected Merriman's influence. However, the young Morison simply repeated entrenched stereotypes when he concluded that "the demoralization of Spain's society, culture and art was both the cause and effect of Spain's military defeat."⁴¹

Spanish decline was also implicit in Merriman's work. His four-volume *Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* (1918–34) began as a series of lectures in 1903, and, when the first volume appeared, Merriman dedicated it, pointedly, to Prescott. Merriman, however, dealt with decline by ignoring it, admitting at the outset that his narrative would end with Philip II and leave "decline and fall" to others. It was a pleasure, he wrote, "to emphasize the other side of the coin." Accordingly, Merriman devoted his study to a detailed analysis of the internal structures that contributed to Castile's imperial expansion. Yet decline

³⁹ Charles B. Curtis, *Velázquez and Murillo: A Descriptive and Historical Catalogue . . .* (New York, 1883), 1.

⁴⁰ Chandler Rathfon Post, *A History of Spanish Painting*, 14 vols. in 20 (Cambridge, Mass., 1930–66), 1: 10. This work was preceded by E. W. Washburn, *The Spanish Masters* (New York, 1884); Charles H. Caffin, *The Story of Spanish Painting* (New York, 1910); Georgiana Goddard King, *Way of St. James* (New York, 1920); John Kenneth Conant, *The Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela* (Cambridge, 1926); and A. Kingsley Porter, *Spanish Romanesque Sculpture* (Florence, 1928).

⁴¹ Cited in Gregory M. Pfitzer, *Samuel Eliot Morison's Historical World* (Boston, 1991), 24.

hovered over the book like a rain cloud, and even Merriman, despite his initial promise, felt compelled to discuss the topic at the end of his final volume. There, he offered a sophisticated, multi-causal analysis that attributed Spanish decline to a series of cultural and political factors, among them the monarchy's refusal to exchange the old idea of imperial preponderance for "national individuality" and what he called "the transfer of energy and genius from conquest and war to literature and art."⁴² Significantly, Merriman's list of factors did not include any reference to Lea's "clericalism" or to defects in the Spanish national character.

But Merriman was ahead of his time. Other American historians who wrote about Spain stayed well within the familiar confines of Prescott's paradigm. The inaugural 1893 issue of the *Journal of Political Economy*, for example, contained an article by Bernard Moses, an economic historian from the University of California, that attributed Spanish decline to such factors as indolence, idleness, and the nation's excess of churches.⁴³ Similarly, Sarah Simons's essay "Social Decadence," published in the 1901 issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, utilized Spain (along with traditional China) as the model of what she defined as "a society which is not capable of maintaining a former level of excellence in social products." Simons, more sociologist than historian, was not herself a Hispanist, but she had no qualms about blaming the church for Spain's deterioration from "an active, enterprising, independent people to the inert, servile race we know today." As she explained it, "The mind of the Spaniard did not want to improve; they were satisfied with their inheritance; they were and still are unable to doubt; and this is the fault of the church."⁴⁴

Simons's anti-Spanish bias was palpable, but her reading of Spain and its people differed only in degree from that of other professional scholars, including some of the first North American historians to specialize in the history of Latin America. References to the "dead hand" of the church and the "vanity" of the Spanish people figure prominently in Clarence H. Haring's important *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (1918). That same year, the first issue of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* appeared, with an article titled "The Institutional Background of Spanish American History." Its author, Charles H. Cunningham, attributed Spanish decline to "the individual inefficiency of the Spaniard from a mercantile point of view."⁴⁵

Prescott's paradigm carried equal weight for the first economic historians to write

⁴² Roger B. Merriman, *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New*, 4 vols. (New York, 1918–34), 4: 678.

⁴³ Bernard Moses, "The Economic Condition of Spain in the Sixteenth Century," *Journal of Political Economy*, 1 (1893): 513–94.

⁴⁴ Sarah E. Simons, "Social Decadence," *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Science*, 18 (1901): 251–79.

⁴⁵ Clarence H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the Time of the Hapsburgs* (Cambridge, 1918), 131, 179; and Charles H. Cunningham, "The Institutional Background of Spanish Economic History," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1 (1918): 24. More balanced assessments of Spain's colonial achievement came from the Yale professor Edward G. Bourne, *Spain in America, 1450–1580* (New York, 1904); and the University of California (Berkeley) professor Herbert E. Bolton, "The Mission in Spanish-American Colonies," *AHR*, 23 (1917): 42–61. Bolton's article, a western historian's response to the Turner thesis on the role of the frontier in American history, actually referred to "Spain's frontiering genius." Although the image of Spain in twentieth-century U.S. scholarship on colonial Latin America requires detailed study, in general it appears that historians of Latin America have resisted use of the paradigm outlined in this essay.

about Spain, most of whom did little more than quantify what they already understood: Spain's seventeenth-century decline. Julius Klein's classic account of the Mesta (1920), the Spanish sheepherders' guild, was a case history of the evils of state intervention in economic affairs. Klein, who studied with Merriman at Harvard, was interested in the economic foundations of newly organized states and studied the Mesta in order to measure the role of a specific raw material—in this case, wool—in nation-building. Klein offered a clear, documented exposition of the Mesta's history, yet his assumptions about the relationship between economic and political phenomena, especially his notion that state intervention in the economy was incompatible with free trade, had a Prescottian ring. Klein was certain, for example, that royal support for the Mesta sparked Spanish regionalism, undermined the "unifying spirit" the nation had possessed during the fifteenth century, and thus contributed to "the general decay of the country" in later times. Like Prescott, moreover, Klein pointedly portrayed the seventeenth century as one of "dismal depression and sordid melancholy" in order to draw attention to the adverse effects arising from the "autocratic government" of Philip II and the "feeble incompetence of his successors."⁴⁶

The ideas embodied in Prescott's paradigm were equally important for the work of Earl J. Hamilton, perhaps one of the most influential economic historians of the 1930s and a scholar whose research on Spanish prices of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is still useful today. Hamilton originally conceived his *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain 1501–1650* (1934) as an effort to analyze the transformative powers of precious metals, a problem that drew him to the question of whether the influx of silver bullion from the Americas had created greater upheavals in Spain than in other parts of Europe. By the time of publication, however, Hamilton added a new issue: the extent to which bullion contributed to "Spanish economic decadence" and whether this decadence was "provincial or national in character." Hamilton, meticulous in his scholarship, pointed out that most "liberal" historians exaggerated Spanish decadence in order "to place absolutism, the Inquisition, the persecution of minorities, and the Moorish expulsions in the worst light." As he saw it, the Germans and the French had grossly and purposefully overestimated the extent of Spain's seventeenth-century decline in order to glorify their own countries' achievements.⁴⁷ Hamilton was right, and in this respect he ranks as one of the first scholars to examine Spain's history comparatively and study the presuppositions underlying its decline. Nevertheless, his book suggests that he was also determined to marshal the statistical evidence necessary to prove what he described—unproblematically—as Spain's "economic decadence." In a subsequent article, "The Decline of Spain" (1938), Hamilton repeated his assertion that economic causes were the primary reasons for Spain's political decline, yet his conception of decline remained equally unprob-

⁴⁶ Julius Klein, *The Mesta: A Study in Spanish Economic History 1273–1836* (Cambridge, 1920), 244, 352. Klein, in a later publication, repeated his contention that the reign of Ferdinand and Isabel marked the beginning of a "long and sordid chronicle of decay and of royal exploitation." See his "Medieval Spanish Guilds," in *Facts and Factors in Economic History* (New York, 1932), 187. Klein by this date was an assistant secretary in the U.S. Department of Commerce.

⁴⁷ Earl J. Hamilton, *American Treasure and the Price Revolution in Spain, 1501–1650* (Cambridge, Mass., 1934), 303.

lematic, and the list of factors he presented had a definite Prescottian ring: "the dead hand of the church," a deterioration in the character of the Spanish monarchs, poor administration, and so forth.⁴⁸

IN THE DECADES IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING the Spanish Civil War, Prescott's paradigm enjoyed continued vitality. If anything, General Franco's victory in 1939 gave it renewed life by reaffirming existing ideas about the endemic backwardness of Spanish culture and political life. Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) had romanticized ordinary Spaniards by depicting them as heroes struggling for political freedom, but the prevailing image of Franco's Spain was that of a nation openly hostile to the democratic values that the United States and its allies fought to defend in World War II. John B. Crow, whose *Spain: The Root and the Flower* (1963) was widely read in college and university classes on Spanish literature and civilization, neatly summarized American postwar attitudes toward Spain with a pithy quotation borrowed from the English author J. B. Trend: "What was lost in the [civil] war was not merely a government, but a whole modern culture."⁴⁹

In this era, American colleges and universities were investing enthusiastically in "Western Civilization" and "area studies" courses (especially on Latin America), as well as the specialized study of individual national histories, particularly those of nations determined either to be of strategic importance for the United States or those considered to have made significant contributions to the emergence of Western democratic institutions and ideas. Prescott's paradigm, however, recently invigorated by the antipathy of most American scholars toward Franco, effectively curtailed America's investment in Spanish history. One early indicator of this indifference was Harvard's failure to appoint a scholar in Spanish history to succeed Merriman, who had died in 1945. Another was the Prescottian portrayal of Spain's "gloomy fanaticism" and "lack of vitality" in books published in William L. Langer's influential series *The Rise of Modern Europe*, the first volumes of which appeared in 1951.⁵⁰ During this era, when Spain was practically a pariah, shunned by most of the Western democracies, one of the few American scholars who seriously engaged its history was John E. Longhurst (University of New Mexico). But Longhurst's books on the Inquisition's persecution of Spanish Erasmians and Lutherans, partially inspired by McCarthyism, reinforced old notions about the ingrained repressiveness of Spanish society.⁵¹

So pervasive were these ideas that, by the 1960s, the American historical establishment virtually ignored Spain, employing the persistence of Spanish fascism together with Spaniards' own explanations of their nation's alleged "difference" as convenient excuses. With few notable exceptions—Wisconsin, the University of

⁴⁸ Earl J. Hamilton, "The Decline of Spain," *Economic History Review*, 8 (1935): 168–79.

⁴⁹ John Crow, *Spain: The Root and the Flower* (1963; rpt. edn., Berkeley, Calif., 1985), 340. Crow, a specialist in Spanish literature, had been educated in pre-Franco Spain.

⁵⁰ Cited here is Carl J. Friedrich, *The Age of the Baroque, 1610–1660* (New York, 1952), 226; and John B. Wolf, *The Emergence of the Great Powers, 1685–1715* (New York, 1951), 123.

⁵¹ The first of Longhurst's books were *Erasmus and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Juan de Valdés* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1950); and *Luther and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Diego de Uceda, 1528–29* (Albuquerque, 1953).

California at Berkeley, and the University of Virginia, where Julian Bishko taught the history of Spain's Middle Ages—instruction in Spanish history (as opposed to Spanish literature and civilization) languished, creating a situation that not only limited opportunities for students to enter the field but assured the survival of Prescottian stereotypes.⁵²

Meanwhile, the scholarly contributions of that handful of Americans who continued to work in the area did little, if anything, to alter the paradigm Prescott had set in place. What little original scholarship there was focused either on the twentieth century, highlighting the Spanish Civil War and the nation's failure to develop stable democratic institutions, or on the eighteenth century and the somewhat abortive experiment of the Spanish Bourbons with Enlightenment.⁵³ Research on Spain's Middle Ages stagnated, and that devoted to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was restricted either to diplomatic history or to traditional Black Legend themes, such as the Inquisition's persecution of Protestants. Of particular influence was Garrett Mattingly's best-selling study, *The Armada* (1959), which, echoing Prescott, presented Elizabethan England as the champion of freedom, a latter-day David destined to triumph over the tyrannical Goliath: Philip II of Spain.⁵⁴

Much American scholarship on Spanish topics during the postwar era fell under the influence of Spanish philosophy, especially that of Miguel de Unamuno (1846–1936) and José Ortega y Gasset (1883–1955), both of whom, like Prescott before them, isolated Spain by portraying it as a nation whose history did not bear comparison with that of other European states. Spanish literary scholars in the United States were especially susceptible to this variant of Spanish exceptionalism, particularly followers of the brilliant Spanish émigré, Américo Castro (1885–1976), whose books taught that Spaniards were constitutionally different from other Europeans owing to their admixture of Christian, Jewish, and Moorish blood and the set of ethnic and religious problems this heritage had engendered. Castro also

⁵² My own experiences reinforce the point. In 1964, when I first considered studying the history of Habsburg Spain, opportunities to do so in the United States were extremely limited, as few research universities had specialists in Spanish history. Notable exceptions were Joan Connelly Ullman (University of Washington) and Stanley Payne (University of Wisconsin), both of whom worked primarily in the twentieth century. Early modernists associated directly with Spain were Richard Herr (University of California, Berkeley), author of *The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1958), Charles H. Carter (Tulane University), a diplomatic historian whose *The Secret Diplomacy of the Habsburgs, 1598–1625* (New York, 1964) had only just appeared, and Ruth Pike, then assistant professor at Hunter College and still writing her *Enterprise and Adventure: The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1966). In order to pursue my studies, I found my way to Cambridge University in England, where I completed my doctoral dissertation in 1968 under the direction of John H. Elliott.

⁵³ Noteworthy U.S. contributions to twentieth-century Spanish history included Stanley G. Payne, *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism* (Stanford, Calif., 1961), as well as his *Politics and the Military in Modern Spain* (Stanford, 1967); Gabriel Jackson, *The Spanish Republic and the Civil War, 1931–1939* (Princeton, N.J., 1965); and Joan Connelly Ullman, *The Tragic Week: A Study of Anti-Clericalism in Spain, 1875–1912* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967). Interest in the eighteenth century increased following the 1958 publication of Richard Herr's important book, *Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain*.

⁵⁴ Garrett Mattingly, *The Armada* (Boston, 1959), 401. Note that in his other books, notably *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London, 1955), Mattingly lauded the many innovations introduced during the Spain of Ferdinand and Isabel. The first major postwar publication on medieval Spain by a U.S. scholar was Robert I. Burns, S.J., *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967).

cultivated an interest in Spain's *converso* population, and under his influence, persecution of this minority of former Jews served as a powerful reminder of Spanish religious intolerance and hate. *Conversos* consequently attracted inordinate attention as the historians and literary scholars who studied them not only diminished the extent to which they successfully assimilated into Spanish society but also exaggerated the negative effects that resulted from their persecution by the Spanish Inquisition.⁵⁵ Ideally, the study of the challenges confronting the *conversos* might have been connected with those of Europe's other ethnic and religious minorities, yet what was described as the "*converso* problem" was customarily presented as solely a Spanish problem and therefore yet another reason why Spain was inherently unique.

The first break from this tendency to view Spain's history in exceptionalist terms occurred late in the 1960s, when a number of scholars, united in their doubts about the utility of national character as a causal factor in history, employed other means to examine Spain's past. Influenced by the emergent *Annales* school of history, these scholars—and I include myself among them—through detailed archival investigation and methods borrowed from the social sciences, endeavored to create a Spain that was at once more vital and more varied than the Prescottian paradigm allowed. Nevertheless, the topics selected, many of which still touched on issues connected to Spain's intellectual stagnation or economic decline, did little to alter the prevailing image of Spain as a country whose contribution to Western history did not merit serious scholarly investigation.⁵⁶

AT PRESENT, SIGNS OF A SHIFT in the paradigm Prescott formulated are somewhat mixed. On the one hand, there are some positive signs, including increases in the number of scholars associated with Spanish history and the continuing availability of financial support for both publication and research on topics relating directly to Spain.⁵⁷ On the other, academic positions in Spanish history are still relatively few, although there is the likelihood of more as North America's Hispanic population looks beyond its more immediate linkages with Spanish America to the culture and history of Spain itself. Whatever the future, the field is starting to attract new

⁵⁵ Many of Américo Castro's ideas about Spanish culture may be found in his influential study, *The Structure of Spanish History*, Edmund L. King, trans. (Princeton, N.J., 1954), a book that elicited considerable criticism. See especially Eugenio Asensio, *La España imaginada de Américo Castro* (Barcelona, 1976).

⁵⁶ Representative titles include Ruth Pike's book on the role of the Genoese in the Atlantic economy (see above, n. 52) and its companion piece, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1972); David R. Ringrose, *Transportation and Economic Stagnation in Spain, 1750–1850* (Durham, N.C., 1970); and my own *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* (Baltimore, Md., 1974).

⁵⁷ The Society for Spanish and Portuguese History, which held its first annual meeting in 1969, currently has over 400 members, of whom approximately 300 are from the United States. Such a figure is dwarfed by that of the French Historical Society, with a membership of almost 2,000. As for funding, the Program for Cultural Cooperation between the Spanish Ministry of Culture and United States Universities, which was founded in 1983 at a base in Minneapolis, offers inducements for the study of Spanish history in the form of publication subsidies and grants for travel and research. For a decade, the Program worked in conjunction with the U.S.–Spanish Joint Committee for Cultural and Educational Exchange, an agency connected with the Council for the International Exchange of Scholars, but the Joint Committee is now defunct.

adherents from increasingly diverse educational and ethnic backgrounds, which augurs well for a more pluralistic and, ultimately, a less Prescottian approach to the study of the Spanish past.

One current approach may be characterized as a shift away from Spanish exceptionalism and its concomitant emphasis on decline as an intrinsically "Spanish" phenomenon. Such an approach began with Hamilton, but it was Merriman's *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* (1937) that offered the first comparative analysis of the political history of seventeenth-century Spain, largely in an effort to determine the extent to which the revolts that rocked Europe's monarchies in the 1640s belonged to an international movement, possibly even a conspiracy. At the time, Merriman was interested in drawing parallels between these revolts and the spread of European fascism, but, over the decades, his study had the effect of reattaching Spanish history to European history. This particular movement gained momentum in the 1960s, owing primarily to the work of the influential English scholar John H. Elliott, who, having rejected the notion that an immutable national character rendered the Spanish incapable of innovation and change, interpreted the erosion of Habsburg power in the 1640s as part of the "general crisis of the seventeenth century."⁵⁸ Elliott's comparative approach to Spanish history gained wide acceptance in France and England—and, somewhat more slowly—in Spain itself. It also attracted adherents in the United States, a sign of movement in the Prescottian paradigm as well as a signal of a fundamental change in the way American scholars think and write about Spain.

One thing is certain: old orientations and presuppositions are definitely under attack. In Spanish art history, for example, the medievalism of the early part of the century is giving way to emphasis on the art of more modern periods, including that of the era generally associated with Spanish decline. This change in focus is accompanied by a willingness to reexamine some of the fundamental premises associated with Spanish seventeenth-century art. Early in the century, Chandler Post argued for Spanish artistic exceptionalism. No country, he believed, was "less responsive to foreign influences than Spain."⁵⁹ Yet recent work on a wide range of topics—individual artists, architecture, palace decoration, artistic genres such as still life—suggests that Spain was anything but isolated from the main currents of European art.⁶⁰ Jonathan Brown, moreover, has written extensively about the art patronage and collecting of Philip IV (1621–1665), emphasizing the extent to which this monarch's preference for painting not only created the largest and most envied art collection in seventeenth-century Europe but also served to make painting, as opposed to sculpture and tapestries, the most respected of all the arts.⁶¹ In this

⁵⁸ Of crucial importance was Elliott's essay, "The Decline of Spain," *Past and Present*, 20 (1961): 52–75, now reprinted in his *Spain and Its World, 1500–1700*, 217–40.

⁵⁹ Post, *History of Spanish Painting*, 1: 23.

⁶⁰ Representative titles include Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting* (Princeton, N.J., 1978), and his *Velázquez, Painter and Courtier* (New Haven, Conn., 1986); Jonathan Brown and John H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV* (New Haven, 1980); William B. Jordan and Peter Cherry, *Spanish Still Life from Velázquez to Goya* (London, 1995); and Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, *Juan de Herrera: Architect to Philip II of Spain* (New Haven, 1993).

⁶¹ Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1995).

perspective, paintings that Prescott might have used as evidence for the decadence of Spain's monarchs are being refigured as markers of the nation's cultural vitality and intellectual interchange, two qualities it supposedly lacked.

Also seen is a willingness to challenge the old teleology of Spanish economic backwardness and decline. David Ringrose, for example, has recently disaggregated the Spanish economy into various "urban networks" and reevaluated its performance (upward) in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries through the use of data that previously escaped attention. His findings are by no means definitive, but they do suggest that the Spanish economy was far more modern—and changing—than earlier historians of the Spanish economy, Hamilton included, would ever have allowed.⁶²

The old teleology is also suffering at the hands of scholars less interested in the ups and downs of the Spanish empire than in the internal character of Spanish society and culture.⁶³ The monolithic "Spain" that Prescott and other historians presented is currently being dismantled as scholars examine it microhistorically, divide it into regions, examine peripheries rather than centers, and peer into the minutiae of everyday life.⁶⁴ Furthermore, Prescott's stereotype of the Spaniard as the cruel conquistador and the indolent priest is gradually giving way to a more varied picture of individuals of vastly different stripes: a Catalan artisan coping with the rigors of plague, a young Castilian girl who dreamed of a better life, university-educated clergymen struggling to educate their parishioners in the rudiments of the faith, Basque shipbuilders diligently attempting to make a profit in difficult times, olive-growing nobles determined to introduce commercial agriculture into southern Spain, and courtiers who, together with other European place-seekers, made the promotion of their family and their friends a primary concern.⁶⁵ Even more pronounced is the growing tendency to temper the old image of omnipotent Habsburg absolutism with that of a monarchy whose power was circumscribed by numerous constitutional and juridical checks.⁶⁶

⁶² David R. Ringrose, *Patterns, Events, and Preconceptions: Revisiting the Structures of Spanish History, 1700–1900* (Cambridge, 1995). David Sven Reher employed a similar methodology in his *Town and Country in Pre-Industrial Spain: Cuenca 1550–1870* (Cambridge, 1992).

⁶³ Representative titles include Ida Altman, *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989); Jodi Bilinkoff, *The Avila of Saint Teresa: Religious Reform in a Sixteenth-Century City* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989); Carla Rahn Phillips, *Ciudad Real, 1500–1750: Growth, Crisis and Readjustment in the Spanish Economy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979); and David Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge, 1983).

⁶⁴ The Catalan periphery has proven especially attractive in view of the many differences between this part of the peninsula and Castile, the region that Prescott and indeed most historians have identified with Spain. Catalonia is the focus of James S. Amelang, *Honored Citizens of Barcelona: Patrician Culture and Class Relations, 1490–1714* (Princeton, N.J., 1986); and Peter Sahlin, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley, Calif., 1989).

⁶⁵ I allude here to James S. Amelang, *A Journal of the Plague Year: The Diary of the Barcelona Tanner Miquel Parets, 1651* (New York, 1991); Richard L. Kagan, *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990); Sara T. Nalle, *God in La Mancha: Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500–1650* (Baltimore, Md., 1992); Carla Rahn Phillips, *Six Galleons for the King of Spain: Imperial Defense in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Baltimore, 1986); Richard Herr, *Rural Change and Royal Finances in Spain at the End of the Old Regime* (Berkeley, 1989); and James Boyden, *The Courtier and the King: Ruy Gómez de Silva, Philip II and the Court of Spain* (Berkeley, 1995).

⁶⁶ Helen Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain: The Habsburg Sale of Towns, 1516–1750* (Baltimore, Md., 1991), examines the checks limiting the exercise of monarchical power in Castile. I expect that the formulation of the Habsburg monarchy as more limited than absolute will soon establish itself as a new orthodoxy.

Today's historians of Spain can therefore be likened to iconoclasts, bent on replacing the old images that had formed the Spain envisioned by their forebearers and, in some cases, their own teachers as well. One young historian, partly on the basis of new evidence gleaned from the Spanish state archives in Simancas, is currently suggesting that Juana I (1479–1555)—the “mad” queen from whom the feeble-mindedness of the later Habsburgs allegedly derived—may not have been nearly as deranged as formerly assumed.⁶⁷ Similarly, recent work on Pedro Ciruelo, a humanist attached to the University of Alcalá de Henares, is challenging the traditional notion that the Inquisition and state censorship successfully crushed all that was innovative and vital in sixteenth-century Spanish thought.⁶⁸ Meanwhile, a Canadian scholar is transforming the bullfight—once emblematic of Spanish cruelty and, for the romantics, of the Spanish picturesque—into a symbol of Spanish commercial enterprise as he documents the way in which nineteenth-century promoters of the corrida changed what had been a popular festival into a commercialized, professionalized, mass-market spectator phenomenon.⁶⁹ But perhaps the most significant shift in Prescott's paradigm involves the study of the role of religion in Spanish history. Of particular interest is the work of scholars who have used the trial records of the Inquisition not, as Lea would have done, to emphasize the institution's cruelty but rather as a vast historical database containing materials that can be used to explore a culture far more complex and heterodox than previously imagined.⁷⁰ In addition, what Prescott, Lea, Hamilton, and others derided as the fanaticism and superstition of Spanish Catholicism is being converted into a vital, constituent force that drew its energy from village society and provided the peasants with ways of managing the difficulties of everyday life.⁷¹

Yet, for all of these signs of a shift in the paradigm, old perceptions die hard. Inherited notions of Spanish exceptionalism, for example, help to explain why so many historians in the United States still write and teach European history as if the continent, as Alexandre Dumas suggested, actually stopped at the Pyrenees. Habits of a similar sort may also be responsible for the tendency of the American scholars who write Spanish history to employ what John Elliott has described as an “excessively ‘internalist’ approach” to their subject.⁷² Too frequently, it seems, Spain remains something of an aberration, a nation inherently different from the rest of Europe, albeit a Europe that is generally (and erroneously) equated with either England or France. With respect to absolutism, for example, a recent study

⁶⁷ Bethany Aram, “Juana ‘the Mad’s’ Signature: The Problems of Invoking Royal Authority, 1505–1507,” unpublished paper. Ms. Aram, whose senior thesis at Yale dealt with Juana, is presently a graduate student in history at Johns Hopkins.

⁶⁸ See Lu Ann Homza, “Religious Humanism, Pastoral Reform, and the Pentateuch: Pedro Ciruelo's Journey from Grace to Law” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1992).

⁶⁹ Adrian Shubert, *At Five in the Afternoon* (Oxford University Press, forthcoming).

⁷⁰ Among a recent avalanche of revisionist works on the Inquisition, notable studies by American authors include Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478–1834* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990); and E. William Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁷¹ See William A. Christian, Jr., *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton, N.J., 1981); and its companion study, *Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain* (Princeton, 1981). Both employ an anthropological approach to Spanish Catholicism, emphasizing its local character and functional importance.

⁷² Elliott, *Spain and Its World*, 69.

rightly highlighted the political fragmentation that resulted in Castile from the Habsburgs' "sale of towns," but it did so without reference either to Central Europe or even to neighboring Portugal, where the local, institutional, and corporate checks on Leviathan were just as important as those in Castile.⁷³ This "excessively 'internalist' approach" describes other questions equally well—discrimination toward women and religious minorities, ethnic and linguistic differences, regional rivalries—all of which are still conceived as if rooted to what Prescott called Spain's national "spirit," what Lea described as its national "trait," or what is now called *españolismo*, Spanishness.⁷⁴ Otherwise, it is difficult to understand why a new and fascinating study of Spanish funeral customs would attribute, if obliquely, Spain's economic decline in the seventeenth century to the excessive investment in postmortem masses arising from Spain's alleged, and supposedly ongoing, collective obsession with death.⁷⁵

The personal stakes involved in Spain's presentation in exceptional terms are none too clear. Yet, for many historians, and possibly many other Americans as well, Spain is a nation whose leaders within living memory declared it hostile to the political and religious pluralism championed by the United States. Spain remains something of an Other, a nation synonymous with the ominous figure of Tomás de Torquemada (as in Mel Brooks' 1981 film, *The History of the World, Part I*) and connected, inextricably perhaps, to Columbus, to Cortés, and the other conquistadors now credited with the extermination of the civilizations as well as the ecology of the New World, as in Kirkpatrick Sale's *Conquest of Paradise* (1991) and other publications occasioned by the quincentenary of 1992. In fact, it turns out that many of the books and celebrations associated with this anniversary did little more than spark a revival of Black Legend themes, thus making it even easier for Americans, even those with little of the anticlericalism evinced by Prescott and Lea, to distance themselves from both Spain and its history. In part, this distancing can be attributed to lack of mass emigration from Spain to the United States, in part to Americans' inability to associate Spain with anything except the pathetic figure of Don Quixote tilting at windmills or the other picturesque elements of its culture: bull fighting, castles, flamenco dancers, and gypsies.⁷⁶ Racism, too, plays a role here, since few Americans truly understand the difference between Spaniards—known traditionally in Latin America as *gachupines* or *peninsulares*—and the Latinos in search of citizenship in the United States. It is no accident, therefore, that a best-selling Spanish olive oil in the United States is marketed under the assumed Italian name of Pompeian. Put simply, a gap still separates the two societies, reinforcing (mutual)

⁷³ I refer to Nader, *Liberty in Absolutist Spain*, which, its lack of a comparative focus notwithstanding, remains an important and provocative book. James Amelang has offered similar criticism of this and other recent books (primarily by American authors) on various aspects of early modern Spain; see *Journal of Modern History*, 65 (June 1993): 357–74.

⁷⁴ Crow, *Spain: The Root and the Flower*, 9.

⁷⁵ Such ideas are expressed in the introduction and conclusion of Carlos M. N. Eire, *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Cambridge, 1995).

⁷⁶ These stereotypes may be found in James Michener's *Iberia* (New York, 1968), but they are by no means unique to the United States. Encouraged by the Spanish Ministry of Tourism during the 1960s in order to attract foreign visitors, they can also be found in Bartolomé Bennassar, *L'homme espagnol* (Paris, 1975); English translation, *The Spanish Character: Attitudes and Mentalities from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979).

misunderstanding and increasing the temptation on the part of all Americans to view Spaniards through a Prescottian lens.

Yet something has definitely changed since Prescott first published *Ferdinand and Isabel* over 150 years ago. In the nineteenth century, this country's historians regarded Spain as their opposite. They looked back to its seventeenth century as the exemplum of everything America was not: backward, enervated, a society in decline. Few scholars understood, or cared to understand, that "decline" was a relative rather than an absolute concept. Even fewer compared Spanish accomplishments, economic and otherwise, to those of nations other than Great Britain, France, Germany, or the United States. Fortunately, such rigid thinking is increasingly a thing of the past, and the changeover is accompanied by the understanding that imperial power is rarely long-lasting. Increasingly popular, therefore, is the view that Spain's American empire—with a life span of more than three centuries—needs to be examined in terms of those factors that contributed to its longevity instead of to its decay. Even so, the image of Spanish decline remains tempting, and, in the guise of Paul Kennedy's best-selling *Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (1987), seventeenth-century Spain, though still at arm's length, has acquired new meaning. Prescott's Protestant bias is absent; so, too, are references to Spaniards' instinctive abhorrence of trade. What remains is the portrait of a mismanaged kingdom top-heavy with military expenditures, and through this image Kennedy transforms a society that Prescott conceived as America's antithesis into a specter of what an over-extended America might soon become.⁷⁷

A FINAL ANECDOTE, trivial perhaps, will serve to illustrate that the topic of Spanish decline retains much of the popularity Prescott described in 1843. About a year ago, during a routine medical exam, my physician, upon learning of my interest in Spain's history, asked me for a quick summary of what I considered the reasons for the nation's decline as a great power. The question, he avowed, was one that he had long considered but never resolved to his satisfaction. As a historian, I tried to explain decline as a relative phenomenon, briefly alluding to Kennedy's book, the seventeenth century's general crisis; I even asked him to consider carefully what he meant by the term decline. The exam was soon over, my shirt buttoned up, but my measured response to the query was clearly inadequate. My doctor's view of Spain is surely different from Prescott's; yet, without saying so directly, what he wanted was an answer with at least one of the elements Prescott would have assigned to Spanish decline: the rise of the Inquisition, the expulsion of the Jews, the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the leadership qualities of the Habsburg monarchs, possibly even Spanishness itself. Generalizations are risky, but the incident does seem to suggest that Spanish history possesses a popular appeal far greater than most universities and colleges are likely to admit. More important, it serves as a reminder

⁷⁷ For Kennedy's discussion of Spanish decline, see Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers* (New York, 1987), 31–55.

that America's identity may still depend on national histories that are both conceived and constructed as antithetical to its own.

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Reviews of Books

GENERAL

JACOB OWENSBY. *Dilthey and the Narrative of History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 193. \$29.95.

This book makes a valuable contribution to the literature on Wilhelm Dilthey by rendering his thought plausible to a poststructuralist readership. This may seem to be a most unlikely project: Dilthey's lifelong quest for foundations of historical knowledge appears to be diametrically opposed to the deconstructionists' passion for dismantling them. But Jacob Owensby argues persuasively that the content of Dilthey's foundation—complex, subtle, and anticonceptualist—was not after all so far removed from Jacques Derrida's notion of *differance*.

Owensby's stated purpose is to provide a systematic rendering of Dilthey's disparate writings based on three themes: "life, narrative, and historical understanding" (p. ix). Under the first heading, Owensby claims that Dilthey's historical knowledge was never purely intellectual; it rested on a "life-nexus" (*Lebenszusammenhang*) of thinking, feeling, and willing. Owensby stresses the continuity between Dilthey's earlier psychological writings and his later hermeneutical ones in this respect. Common to both of them was a perspective of practical interaction between the whole self and the world, which was prior to such isolating distinctions as subject versus object. Owensby rejects Hans-Georg Gadamer's critique of Dilthey on these grounds. This perspective was also different from that of Edmund Husserl, who sought to disconnect the contents of experience from their concrete contexts in order to arrive at rock-bottom in his foundational quest. This is why, according to Owensby, Derrida's critique of Husserl's spurious rock-bottom—the "living presence" of the moment—does not apply to Dilthey. The very untidiness of Dilthey's "present" compared to Husserl's makes it more rather than less amenable to comprehending historical flux. This becomes clear in the discussion of the second major theme, which has to do with Dilthey's famous analysis of temporality. Past, present, and future are never really separable, but involve a plethora of traces and deferrings. Out of these, contours emerge over time that come to constitute personal identity and values. A similar process

takes place at the cultural level. This means, according to Owensby, that life itself has a narrative structure, hence—pace Louis O. Mink and Hayden White—narrative history is not a subjective artifact but a representation of real life. This sets the stage for the third theme, the understanding of others. Again, Owensby emphasizes the similarity to the poststructuralists in Dilthey's insistence on the lack of a single overarching narrative or privileged perspective, but he claims that this does not preclude a degree of objectivity. The interactionist perspective guarantees that subjectivity and objectivity are not opposites in the sense of a toggle switch, but as ends of a spectrum within which historians—and other mortals—operate.

Much of Owensby's exposition will be familiar to Dilthey scholars, but his trenchant comparisons and arguments with more recent philosophers will attract deserved attention. One only wishes he had gone further afield and brought in figures like John Dewey, Jean Piaget, and even Niklas Luhmann. His choices of Husserl, Heidegger, and Derrida bear witness to the sway of the current canon.

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F. R. ANKERSMIT. *History and Tropology: The Rise and Fall of Metaphor*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 244. \$40.00.

F. R. Ankersmit's book comprises five previously published essays (1986–89, unrevised), plus an introduction, conclusion, and aphoristic chapter 1, entitled "Six Theses on Narrativist Philosophy of History." Theses and chapter contents are extensions of positions developed in Ankersmit's book, *Narrative Logic, A Semantic Analysis of the Historian's Language* (1983). As in that book, Ankersmit begins here (p. 34) by distinguishing between "historical research (a question of facts) [*sic*] and historical writing (a question of interpretation)." This concept of research allows him to divide thought about historical work into "philosophy of historical research" and "philosophy of historical writing" (p. 35). Because research has only to do with determining facts, "the most crucial and most interesting challenges facing the historian are found on the level of historical writing (selection, interpretation,

how to see the past),” as if a researcher could proceed a single step toward the “facts” without developing criteria of selection, interpretation, and methodology by means of which “to see the past” (p. 35).

Philosophy of historical writing, or “narrativism,” Ankersmit believes, has brought the main recent “progress” in philosophy of history, particularly by Hayden White, W. H. Walsh, A. C. Danto, and L. O. Mink (pp. 9, 62, 69). These philosophers see that “the historian’s task is essentially interpretative (i.e., to find unity in diversity)” (p. 35). One awaits examples, but Ankersmit’s pages, devoted to debating other philosophers of history about how such discovery should take place, never get around to applying his recommendations. Some thirty historians are mentioned in the book, but Ankersmit does not analyze a single paragraph of their writing. Even when they are quoted with respect to their style or to what they think about narrative, the references are odd enough to cause one to wonder whether the historian’s work has really been perused.

For example, Ankersmit lauds Fernand Braudel’s *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1973) for its synthesis of a “chaotic manifold,” the “economic and political reality” of the sixteenth-century Mediterranean world. But Braudel’s oxymoronic style (“liquid plains,” “watery Saharas”), he concludes, “undermine[s] any fixed notions about the past,” so that Braudel’s book is not a “paradigm of ‘scientific’ historical writing and . . . of historical synthesis,” as it is “ordinarily seen,” but instead illustrates “the disintegration of a metaphorical, synthetic understanding of the past” (p. 226). These assessments clash with Braudel’s assertions, which emphasized the provisional character of his own research findings, even though he also maintained that the findings, however incomplete, represented “realities.” Ankersmit’s judgments also ignore Braudel’s moves beyond linguistic means of communication. Maps, photographs, pictorial reproductions, statistical tables, graphs, and model-building (especially derived from geography and economics) serve not to undo its narrativity but to enlarge it heuristically beyond any “linguistic turn,” any capturing of historical thought by a single mode of inquiry and representation.

Three assumptions run through Ankersmit’s essays that will give historians pause. First, he argues that history is a special kind of discourse, *sui generis*, quite separable from those produced by the social sciences, philosophical disciplines, and other narrative arts like the novel (pp. 36–41 strive to specify such separations). But historical works have been as often concerned with opening as with closing such disciplinary frontiers, from the time of the anthropological Herodotus to that of the demographic David Herlihy, sociological Georges Duby, and novelistic Carlo Ginzburg. Second, the special kind of discourse called history can be analyzed, Ankersmit believes, without considering the process of production of that discourse. In fact, however, the procedures that he finds

peculiar to historical writing interact progressively and regressively throughout research and writing processes, producing a kind of craftlike tinkering to which Braudel, among others, frequently alludes. Finally, since Ankersmit believes that history is a discourse about “the past,” he concludes that the best historiography is that which builds up “individual statements” into “the historical narrative with the largest scope.” The best history is the grandest: it adds meanings together to provide the widest view of a vast, single realm called “the past” (p. 41). Such a prescription applies to little historiographical practice, which rarely offers a single present-minded view about a single, unified set of bygone times. Historical writing, like the research communicated in it, juxtaposes many past-past, past-present, and past-present-future perspectives in contrastive relation to each other.

Ankersmit’s “belvedere” criterion for historiographical excellence (p. 41) may be profitably applied to the claims of handbooks, textbooks, and popular guides to “the past,” but can it be the prime criterion for historical students and researchers? Historical work requires one to think first and last about how to probe multiply divided, contrastive pasts from the perspectives of multiple presents that are progressively identified as work goes on. Only mediately and secondarily does one think about how to convey that probing. There is, certainly, continuous feedback of representational on investigative techniques, but for most historians the end in view is to establish the best possible, although always temporary, state of the question being looked into, and not to create a narrative with the largest scope.

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SUSAN HERBST. *Politics at the Margin: Historical Studies of Public Expression Outside the Mainstream*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 231. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

In this book Susan Herbst presents four diverse case studies in an attempt to further our theoretical understanding of “politics at the margin.” And diverse they are: the Salonnières of the French Enlightenment, the African-American newspaper *The Chicago Defender*, *The Masses* magazine, and the Libertarian Party. Herbst sets out a broad agenda for this brief work, taking on Jürgen Habermas’s notion of the public sphere and how public-opinion polling and survey research (citing Pierre Bourdieu) have ignored the way that opinion is created in smaller groups. In her survey of the relevant thinkers who touch on such questions as community boundaries and power(lessness), Herbst moves with agility through Steven Lukes, Michel Foucault, Robert Bellah, and Ferdinand Tönnies. From this setting of the stage, Herbst jumps to the case studies, where some distillation of the notions of this group of theorists is intended to elucidate the actions of an array of politically marginal groupings. She sees

her contribution as a "template" for other case studies, claiming that a theoretical framework is necessary to understand the nature of these groups.

Unfortunately, neither the theoretical framework nor the case studies themselves ever fully emerge. Herbst has the double burden of providing enough description of each group to make sense of it to the reader, then of relating what she has described to the theoretical bits and pieces she has gathered, but not resynthesized. The result is fragmented and leaves the reader skeptical about the entire project.

The juxtaposition of the French salon with the campaigns of an African-American newspaper in Chicago in the 1930s through 1960s to elect a "Mayor of Bronzeville" as an alternative voice for the black community is certainly innovative but it does not work: the differences across centuries and cultures need to be taken into account, as do the boundaries between political and cultural marginalization, before one can start to generalize. Herbst states simply in her third case study that the "salon" of Mabel Dodge at which writers and artists working for *The Masses* were regular guests was "so similar in character to the more liberal eighteenth century salons" (p. 126), without qualification or further explanation. She asserts ahistorical notions about American newspapers while chiding *The Masses* for its racial and sexual attitudes without considering the larger American context. And the author completely dismisses *The Masses* as "in thrall" to the Communist Party, which simply cannot be said of its early days, despite the testimony of Max Eastman. By emphasizing selected aspects of each marginal group, Herbst must leave out the rich detail necessary to do comparative history.

The lack of historical specificity in the earlier chapters leaves the author ill equipped to explain the contemporary Libertarian Party. This case study seems to be a plea for attention to this specific group rather than explication of why this party is and may remain marginal in the American political spectrum. Had the historical chapters that preceded it been more successful in fashioning the "template" that Herbst proposed to provide, perhaps it could have been possible to better understand marginalization.

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CHRISTOPHER J. BERRY. *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation*. (Ideas in Context.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 271. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.

In this wide-ranging and insightful study, Christopher J. Berry seeks to show that the idea of luxury is deeply implicated in the broader political question of the nature of the social order and changing conceptions of the "good society" from Greek antiquity to the present. Drawing on philosophy, political and economic theory, and intellectual history, Berry argues for the persistence and central importance of the category of luxury

in every society's self-understanding. His analysis suggests that luxury goods do not constitute a separate category distinct from necessities but instead relate to basic human needs and fall into four categories in which needs and desire interact: sustenance, shelter, clothing, and leisure. Berry grounds his conceptual scheme in a historical account that shows how luxury has changed from being a negative term, conceived as threatening to social virtue in classical antiquity and salvation in medieval Christendom, to a positive term in modern times, sanctioning insatiable desire and consumption.

The main reason for the negative evaluation of luxury in classical thought, according to Berry, is that it makes men soft and effeminate and hence incapable of defending themselves and their communities against external enemies and internal conflict. For Plato in particular, desire, unlike need, is insatiable and, if left unchecked, leads to the ruin of society and its citizens. The Romans, too, notably Cato the Elder and Seneca, denounced luxury because it represented the use of wealth to promote private interests at the expense of *virtus*, or the public interest. Christian thinkers in turn, from Augustine to Thomas Aquinas, although they rejected the this-worldly political ideal of classical writers, shared the view that luxury, which they associated principally with carnal lust, was negative because it threatened salvation. What classical and Christian thinkers held in common, Berry emphasizes, and what distinguished both from modern thinkers, was their view of human needs as fixed and the fixed natural life as normative, subject to corruption by change.

This view was first seriously challenged in the seventeenth century by, among others, Thomas Hobbes, Thomas Mun, and Nicholas Barbon, who formulated the characteristically modern position that desires are infinite and that the proliferation of desires is not a cause of corruption but instead the "natural" way of things. Thus Barbon, for example, could argue that fashion and luxury goods can be justified by their promotion of trade and their positive effect on social well-being. This celebration of *homo oeconomicus* followed from what Berry calls the "de-moralisation of luxury" (p. 101), and the new perspective became central to the thinking of Bernard Mandeville, David Hume, and, above all, Adam Smith. Berry emphasizes in their work the depoliticization of the idea of the "public good" that luxury had formerly been presumed to corrupt and the loss of the transindividual character of the public good. As the new era of liberal politics proceeded to give priority to unfettered private economic activity, morality became a matter of private choice and human nature was thought to manifest itself in the material motivations underlying these choices.

Berry devotes an intelligent chapter to the historicist critique of the age-old assumption of the fixity and permanence of human needs by G. W. F. Hegel and Karl Marx. They constructed new temporal teleolo-

gies—the rational state (Hegel) and communism (Marx)—on the argument that human nature and hence human needs and desires, are historically produced and transformed. The closing chapters discuss the interaction of politics, needs, and desires in modern society and contemporary theory, focusing on such questions as the morality of needs and desires, luxury and politics, and how the constantly changing pairing of luxury with necessity bears on the rules governing social identity.

Some readers may find fault with Berry's particular conclusions or his two-track (conceptual and historical) approach. Most, however, are likely to agree that he makes a strong, trenchantly argued case for the indispensability of the category of luxury to any society's self-understanding.

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ROBERT DORAN. *Birth of a Worldview: Early Christianity in Its Jewish and Pagan Context*. (Explorations.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 1995. Pp. ix, 183. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$17.95.

DAVID M. OLSTER. *Roman Defeat, Christian Response, and the Literary Construction of the Jew*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. x, 203.

Christianity has always tended to define itself—or at least its major advocates have defined it—in terms of doctrines. Moderns find the theological battles of the post-Constantinian age astonishing: hundreds of intelligent, well-educated people engaging not only in earnest debate but also intricate imperial politics, conspiracies, and back-alley brawls over the question whether the Second Person of the Trinity was homoiousios with the Father or only homoiousios. Blood spilled and an empire divided, it has often been said, over a diphthong. A contentious Alexandrian presbyter taught stevedores to chant, "There was a time when he was not." Why would dock workers care about the pre-incarnate generation of the Logos?

Readers trying to understand the sea change in Western culture that took place in the late-Roman empire and eventually gave us medieval Christendom are usually presented with two choices. Either one accepts the metaphysical rules as written and plays the doctrinal game as an insider, or, adopting one or another reductionist strategy, one takes the doctrines to be like the slogans of much of our own religious politics, masks for the "real" struggle of politics or economics or class or gender.

Robert Doran offers us another way of looking at the issue. The traditionalist historians of dogma he accuses of holding to "the mustard-seed fallacy": the growth and progress of the church, including its dogmatic system, was simply the natural unfolding of its essential nature, quite autonomous in the world. Yet, although he recognizes the ideological dimensions of

all religious belief, he insists that we have not understood the ancient believers until we understand why the beliefs themselves were so important to them. Doran tries to explain this by showing us that the doctrines helped to construct a world view that, although it incorporated all kinds of taken-for-granted ways of thinking and talking in antiquity, emerged as a new composite window on reality. The doctrinal scheme—in its various "heretical" and "orthodox" permutations—provided the root images by which believers were able to make sense of the world in which they found themselves, with its good and evil, threats and hopes, friends and enemies, rank and level and gender.

Doran does not turn over new earth here, but he assembles the results of much recent work into a clear, brief, and engaging story. The book's origin in the classroom is evident in its style and organization. Doran is obviously a good teacher, and the book will be a valuable addition to the reading list for any course in Western intellectual history.

What happens, however, when the world view, all its parts finally in place, well-oiled and humming along, crashes suddenly into nasty, discomfiting facts of history? That is the issue that David M. Olster scrutinizes.

By the year 600, the former church of the martyrs had made itself ideologically comfortable with the post-Constantinian situation of imperial patronage and engagement in church affairs. "Christian triumphalism" adapted many of the themes of classical Roman apologetic. Victory—not only the martyrs' paradoxical victories but also the triumphs of Roman armies—demonstrated divine power. Divine favor guaranteed victory. The emperor was the chosen earthly vessel for mediating divine favor. Then came the Slavs, the Avars, the Persians, and the Arabs. "Within a generation," Olster writes, "the imperial order collapsed. By 650, Jerusalem, the pilgrimage center of Christianity, had been twice conquered by infidels (Persians and Arabs); the Levant, the Balkans, and Spain were lost; Italy and Africa nearly were lost; and Latin and Greek orthodoxy embarked on the roads that ultimately divided them" (Olster, p. 1).

Olster analyzes the variety of strategies that seventh-century church leaders devised to assure their people that God was still in his heaven and things would somehow soon be right again with the world. They drew freely on themes of Greco-Roman rhetoric, Jewish and Christian apocalypses, the Old Testament, as well as specifically Christian theological traditions. Defeat, said some, was punishment for the moral faults of the emperor, or his heretical beliefs; a better emperor would restore God's beneficence. No, said others, it was everybody's sin: either disobedience to authority or personal immorality; repentance was the way to restoration. Some, however, such as the Patriarch Sophronius of Jerusalem who negotiated his city's surrender to the Arabs in 638, eventually relinquished hope of imperial restoration. The Christians' kingdom was a heavenly one, their victory none but their

sacramental share in the paradoxical victory of the crucified and risen Christ.

As varied as were these desperate strategies to justify the ways of God to people caught in disaster, they had one thing in common: they all defined the Jews as the first and most important enemy of Christendom and, therefore, of God. At the heart of Olster's book is his analysis of a series of "dialogues" between Christians and grotesquely caricatured Jews that were written in the seventh century. Olster's thesis is that "these dialogues offer views of Byzantine social and psychological reaction to defeat, not a record of Judeo-Christian debate" (p. 13). The Byzantine writers of the seventh century thus produced a new and fateful chapter in the history of the Jew as scapegoat. Olster has given us an uncommonly lucid window into their world and their minds.

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VACLAV SMIL. *Energy in World History*. (Essays in World History.) Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1994. Pp. xviii, 300. Cloth \$48.95, paper \$19.95.

This work should be of interest to all historians. Vaclav Smil provides a narrative of changing technical processes and energy uses in human societies from prehistory to the present. A wealth of information is clearly and concisely summarized, well organized, and supplemented by helpful and intelligible figures, graphs, and illustrations. This is information that most historians seldom read because it is more technical and quantitative than their usual intellectual fare. Yet Smil writes so clearly and has the material so well arranged and interconnected that the book can be read straight through with interest. All technical terms, such as "work" or "energy units," are presented early in the book and are not used unnecessarily in the narrative. The figures and illustrations are tied directly to the text and are unusually interesting and helpful. Many are drawn to scale, so we see at a glance in figure 4.20, for example, how sailing ships have evolved, or in figure 5.4 how steamships developed. In figure 5.25 there is an intelligible graph of how urban populations changed world-wide from 1800 to 1990. We see immediately that most rich countries reached plateaus of urban populations at 70 percent, and that the rapid increase of very large cities continues unabated. More technical discussions are placed in appendixes to each chapter. These provide specific quantitative data, again explicitly tied to the narrative in the text.

The problem for most historians is what to do with all this clearly presented technical information. Smil gives us some general guidance in his last chapter, but it is clear that each historian must interpret this information in the context of individual historical experience. Smil is careful to avoid deterministic claims for interpreting history on the basis of technical data. He cautions that it is "profitable and desirable to view energy use as a principle factor in the analysis of

human history. But not as *the* principle factor . . . To generalize, across millennia, that higher socioeconomic complexity requires higher and more efficiently used inputs of energy is to describe indisputable reality . . . The only rewarding and revealing way to assess energy's importance in human history is to find a path that neither succumbs to the simplistic, deterministic explanations buttressed by recitals of countless energy imperatives—nor belittles energy use by reducing it to a marginal role compared to other history-shaping factors" (p. 243). Smil's appreciation of human complexity and his balanced approach avoid simplistic assertions. He rejects the common assumption equating high energy use with a high level of civilization, for example. "This biased approach excludes the whole universe of creative—moral, intellectual, and esthetic—achievements that have no obvious connection with any particular levels or modes of energy use" (p. 252). Levels of energy consumption obviously relate to the satisfaction of basic human needs within different societies. But, in the many examples he provides, Smil shows that in most cases energy considerations have been of secondary importance to human decisions.

This, it seems to me, is the primary importance of Smil's book. Historians who have no appreciation of the ways in which technical processes and energy consumption have changed over the centuries, and of how these changes relate to different cultures, have missed an important factor in their attempts to understand human actions in the past. Smil's book makes the factor of energy use accessible to all historians, regardless of their specific specialties or interests. To ignore the importance of energy in world history is to diminish the richness of the histories we write.

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NICHOLAS THOMAS. *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994. Pp. xi, 238. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$16.95.

Nicholas Thomas informs us at the outset of this book that he is more interested in colonial representations—in colonialism as a "cultural process"—than in questions of political domination or economic inequity. But his provocative introduction to what is in effect a series of essays soon lays to rest fears this is yet another labored exercise in obscurity and angst-ridden self-interrogation that is currently standard fare for those who count themselves among the postmodern *cognoscenti* interested in colonial and postcolonial issues. In fact, Thomas's central purpose is to challenge the notion of a "single, enduring colonial discourse" (p. 171) that has been the focus of much of the textual analysis associated with the postmodernist project in colonial studies.

In the opening sections of this volume and his analysis of slices of case-study evidence in the chapters

that follow, Thomas argues forcefully that there was not one but multiple colonial discourses that varied according to occupational sites, time periods, and the colonial locale in question. He also returns repeatedly in the early sections and the concluding chapter to an exploration of the ways in which colonial representations persist in contemporary culture, even though (as he demonstrates in considerable detail) they have been reworked and often completely inverted in response to shifts in the political, economic, and cultural contexts in which they are formulated and received. Most historians would strongly endorse Thomas's repeated call for fuller contextualization and for serious attention to historicization in studies of colonial discourses and representations. His stress on the specifics of localized colonial encounters, rather than generalities gleaned from close readings of a rather predictable set of texts authored mainly by the colonizers, is particularly noteworthy because Thomas is an anthropologist. Thus, he writes from the perspective of a discipline some of whose practitioners have done much in recent years to introduce singular and allegedly enduring discourses, representations, and essences into the historiography of colonialism.

Historians wrestling with these issues, however, are likely to be disappointed by Thomas's failure to heed his own prescriptions in the case-study sections, which focus on Fiji and the South Pacific, and by his apparent lack of mastery of the relevant historical literature on the wide range of topics related to colonization that he raises. Thomas virtually ignores most of the now substantial literature on the "new history" of colonialism that has revolutionized the field in the last thirty years or so. This makes it possible for him to lament the lack of serious historical work on Native Americans in the United States, and to devote most of his coverage of their current representations to an admittedly perceptive critique of the film *Dances with Wolves*. Even works (such as Robert Berkhofer's *White Man's Indian* [1978]) that effectively address precisely the sorts of issues Thomas wishes to pursue are not cited in the footnotes. He appears unaware that his arguments regarding the shifts in European attitudes toward non-Western peoples from ethnocentrism grounded in religious beliefs to racism allegedly supported by scientific procedures have been confirmed by numerous studies in recent decades, beginning with Margaret Hodgen's *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1964). Thomas's dismissal of the impact on this process of gauges of human worth based on technological achievement runs counter to much recent work and his own assertions in places (p. 109). Because all of the South Pacific cultures, which provide most of Thomas's examples, were lumped together by nineteenth-century Europeans as primitive or savage, it is not surprising that levels of technological proficiency would not be as prominent a standard as they proved to be in, for example, China, India, Japan, and the Middle East.

More generally, Thomas's case-study evidence is

almost wholly drawn from South Pacific colonies that he admits were "unusual" or "highly marginal" (pp. 154, 158). He makes little or no use of other critical works by history-minded anthropologists on this culture zone, most notably those by Marshall Sahlins, that have recently stirred up controversies that bear in important ways on many of the questions Thomas strives to foreground. His random comparisons to other colonial areas are necessarily decontextualized and as a result often misleading.

Even though Thomas—at least in this book—does not practice what he advocates, his critique of the directions, both postmodern and world-systems structuralist, that the study of colonialism has taken in recent decades is both timely and worth serious consideration. His demonstrations of the ways in which colonial representations persist in the postcolonial era and the questions he boldly raises regarding contemporary quests for indigenous authenticity provide much needed cautions for those struggling to recover the voices and experiences of peoples and cultures shattered by the juggernaut of Western colonialism.

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IAN K. STEELE. *Warpaths: Invasions of North America*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 282. \$25.00.

Ethnohistorians have been of two minds on the issue of war between Europeans and Indians. In order to avoid the triumphalism of the European success in the New World that has so often characterized the history of Indian-white relations in the past, they have emphasized other aspects of the interethnic relationship. Diplomacy, trade, and the acculturative interchange have with good reason become more important than the clash in the wilderness. But at the same time, because ethnohistorians are often "shrill and sanctimonious" (to quote Ian K. Steele from his preface) in their determination to indict Europeans for their invasion of America, they have been wont to stress the brutality and violence fostered by the newcomers to the New World. Steele has attempted to tell the military story with attention to its ethnohistorical context and to do so with economy, insight, and dispassion.

The book has three parts. The first treats five early arenas of conflict: St. Augustine, Jamestown, Quebec, New England, and Albany. This section transfers the Europeans to a new setting and describes the circumstances in which they fell into conflict with the native people. The action is largely Indian versus European although there are signs of the international complications that will soon dominate New World hostilities. The second part carries the story into the interior of the continent and introduces the first stages of the Franco-British imperial struggle. The contestants,

however, are largely indigenous: Indians who have survived the virgin soil epidemics and early conflicts with the settlers that so seriously reduced the native population and Europeans who have been born in the colonies and are thus permanent inhabitants of America. The last part deals with the climactic struggle between France and Britain in the New World, which in the early stages repeated the desultory scenario that had long described that conflict because America had never been central to the interests of either Britain or France. When Britain placed those interests in the forefront of its international policy, the war ended quickly. As long as America remained a secondary extension of the European struggle, the Indians held the initiative in preserving their own independence. But with the full force of European power brought to bear in America their significance and autonomy receded.

Steele contends, as have many others in recent years, "that European invasions of North America were not automatically a disastrous parade of irresistible disease, alluring consumerism, and overwhelming martial superiority" (p. 110). The argument, so far as it goes, seems sound. The Europeans did not simply stroll into the continent and brush the native people aside. The conquest was an arduous enterprise, often quite chancy, and it took the better part of three centuries. But something needs to be said for hindsight. Disease, demographic trends, technological superiority, and a general cultural vigor made it virtually certain that Europeans would establish a permanent home in America. That it took so long and caused so much pain to both sides are certainly relevant pieces of the story. But they are not the whole story. Whatever happened in the short run could not gainsay what was likely to occur in the long run.

Steele's laudable desire to tell the full story leads him to attribute to the Indians a knowledge of their situation and hence a conscious choice of policy that sometimes seems overdrawn. To take one example, he argues that most Indian participation in the Seven Years' War was designed to avoid internal Indian conflict. In some cases this seems to have been so but it was less significant than the long-term tendency of native warriors to fight each other.

The book is, no doubt, reminiscent of Francis Parkman and Francis Jennings. Steele, however, does not mention Parkman and Jennings appears only in the notes. His account has the virtue not only of being more succinct but also more informed than Parkman's, more measured than Jennings's, and a good deal more convincing than either.

Unfortunately, Steele falls into the nomenclature trap. Why he should think that "Amerindian" solves the problem of what he calls "Columbus's lie" (preface) defies understanding. And one small error needs correcting. Louis-Joseph de Montcalm did not surrender Quebec four days after the decisive battle. He died the following morning having tried to surrender the

town, but the real capitulation was made four days later by the Chevalier de Ramezay.

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CLAUDIO VÉLIZ. *The New World of the Gothic Fox: Culture and Economy in English and Spanish America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 254. \$35.00.

Claudio Véliz has written a book that reflects a tenor of our times. He seeks to explain the divergent paths of New World societies from their English and Spanish origins, an enterprise laid out three decades ago by Louis Hartz. The achievements of each culture are measured in cultural output, but most especially material advancement. The conclusion, not surprisingly, is that the English colonial descendants have pulled away, whereas the Spanish heirs have wallowed. The causes are cultural and go back to late-medieval times. Véliz seeks to connect a closed, hermetic, and Counter Reformationist disposition of Iberians (compared to the open, individualist and novelty-seeking English), with the failures to adapt to contemporary strides of industrial and consumer society.

Véliz makes his case by contrasting the Spanish centralist and monarchical tradition of the state with the English decentralized and aristocratic pattern. Along the way he explores differences in linguistic development, the divergence of civil and common law, and the gaps in inventive activity. These propensities migrate—without friction—to the New World, where the differences between the two civilizations grew even more marked. Véliz is most comfortable, and best, dwelling on the origins of these divergences, and there certainly are suggestive insights into English and Spanish reactions to early signs of "modernity."

This ambitious book, however, is more confusing than it is interesting. Part of the problem is his preferred analytical instrument: the extensive use of metaphors. His favorite is Isaiah Berlin's famous image of the fox (who knows many things and is not afraid of adventure or risk) and the hedgehog (who knows one big thing and prefers to hide behind it). These images are deployed to exemplify cultural inclinations of English and Spanish Americans respectively. Despite the author's awareness of the pitfalls of metaphoric explananda, two problems arise. First, his metaphors themselves are sometimes used as evidence in place of solid history. Indeed, the narrative of the book frequently drifts into loosely connected ramblings, such as the discourse (pp. 99–103) on John Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* (1880) as an ode to the Gothic in a chapter putatively about the "Invention of the Indies." Metaphors can be useful, but they make poor substitutes for empirical analysis.

The second problem is that Véliz traps himself in starkly divided oppositions and dichotomies—such as open versus closed societies, innovative versus conser-

vative dispositions, practical versus scholastic intellectuals—that oversimplify and distort the record. There is simply too much heterogeneity within Spanish America to lump it into single all-encompassing rubrics of behavior and outlook. To take one example, he cites the Catholic mission in the Spanish dominions as evidence of a hegemonic well-ordered and ossified Baroque triumph (p. 34). What are readers to make of the well-documented resistances of Mayan, Aztec, and Andean peoples who effectively thwarted cultural domination and preserved much of their autonomy, not to mention the ferocious secularism of the nineteenth century? His homogenization of society into monolithic patterns is equally troublesome when it comes to North America: do patriarchal Virginian planters really inhabit the same moral world as contemporaneous employees of the English fur-trading monopoly, the Hudson's Bay Company? We are left with a schematic—and often clichéd—account of the construction of cultural differences through static and teleological categories.

Ultimately, Véliz has an ontological, and therefore political, agenda. He clearly sees risk-taking and novelty-seeking possessive individualists of the Anglo-American genotype as more dynamic and creative. Accordingly, they have colonized the world, in cultural terms, with skyscrapers, T-shirts, and bubble gum. The Spanish and their American progeny can claim no such contribution to modernity and react with fright and attempted isolation. The author's tone is frequently hyperbolic, such as his denunciation of Latin American romanticism—without citing texts to make his point—as “truncated,” “incomplete,” and expressed in “rebellious fury, excessive ardor, and even more self-indulgence” (p. 201). All this adds up to a sweeping dismissal of Latin American culture(s) and a celebration of Anglo-American practices and institutions for showering the world with “an immense multitude of inexpensive, pedestrian, readily accessible, and unpretentious products of industrial capitalism” (p. 219).

If Véliz's history is ultimately gauged by the victory of consumer choice, there are many in the United States who will find in this book weapons with which to hammer those unable to enjoy the fruits of this triumph. Ultimately, I read this work as a long-winded and decorated exercise in victim-blaming.

JEREMY ADELMAN
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JEREMY ADELMAN. *Frontier Development: Land, Labour, and Capital on the Wheatlands of Argentina and Canada, 1890–1914*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 322. \$62.00.

Jeremy Adelman joins other academics who have been drawn to Argentina and Canada during the heady years of the first wave of liberal development as nearly ideal testing grounds for comparative historical analysis. In both regions the campaigns against recalcitrant

natives, the replacement of *métis* and *gauchos* resistant to the tedium of dirt farming, opened up vast new “virgin lands.” Steam and rail transport and a burgeoning international grain market encouraged tens of thousands of immigrants to seek their fortunes by turning the pampas and prairies into wheat fields. By 1914, Argentina was producing 12.6 percent of the world's wheat exports, Canada slightly more. But, despite strikingly similar external conditions, the two regions turned out very differently: Argentina's pattern of large estates was reinforced, whereas settlement in Canada took the form of the family farm.

Explanations for the varying patterns of agrarian development have distinguished antecedents, reaching back, for example, to the recent “Brenner debate” over differences between early modern Eastern and Western Europe, or to the conventional Jeffersonian ideal in this country (except California), which long held that family farms led to beneficial results for society as a whole by creating producer-citizens keen to maximize their income and to vote in regular elections. In Latin America, on the other hand, the persistence of *latifundia* and indolent *campesinos* has commonly been explained by the collusion of local oligarchies and foreign interests. The implied counterfactual hypothesis is that, by failing to follow the North American pattern of development in the nineteenth century, Latin Americans wasted their opportunity for growth and democracy.

Adelman is understandably impatient with this standard explanation. In a dense, subtle, reflective, and occasionally opaque style, drawing on archival research and informed by theory, he argues that the “social relations of production” shaped the pattern of expansion on the wheatlands of Canada and Argentina (p. 8). This is not an electrifying discovery, but he does not mean that a given property regime determines the outcome; rather, people (whom he likes to call “agents”) were “the makers of their fate,” through their interaction with the pampa, staked out in huge *estancias* on one hand, and the open prairies on the other (p. 268). Adelman wants to demonstrate how this was done. His argument is advanced in three intricate comparative sections on land use, labor on the frontier, and capital formation.

Perhaps the key differences can be illustrated in immigration practice. In Argentina, the great *estancieros* toyed briefly with the idea of a Homestead Act for the pampa, but apart from a colonization scheme in the district of Santa Fe (upriver from Buenos Aires) they understandably shied away from laws that would threaten their own livelihood. They consequently sought not settlers but workers and, given cheap steerage rates, even seasonal rural workers who might participate in the southern hemisphere harvest and return home for their own. This policy favored “cheaper, southern European laborers” who “often had little interest” in remaining in Argentina (p. 143). Every year, during the first decade of the twentieth century, for example, some 220,000 immigrants, mainly Italians,

entered the country; each year about half returned to their homeland. Their goal, Adelman believes, was not land but wages. Canadian immigration policy, however, aimed to bar Asians, and both Tories and Liberals were less than enthusiastic about Mediterranean Europeans, "the scum of Continental Europe . . . who have behind them a thousand years of ignorance, superstition, anarchy, filth and immorality" (p. 151). But the Anglo-Saxon immigrants who came to the prairies "were determined to become permanent members of the region's economy." Their goal was land ownership (p. 151).

Much of the rest of Adelman's argument follows from these differences in immigrant strategy. Settlers on the Canadian prairie gained access to credit, acquired machinery, and furthered the development of family agriculture. The flood of Italian and Spanish workers to Argentina made the great estates on the pampa more valuable and confirmed the *estancieros* in their dominance of Argentine society. Neither experience, Adelman seeks to show, was an unmitigated success. He insists on the agency of the immigrants and takes us back to the moment when their options were open to explain why different paths were taken. But in the end, in this closely reasoned, essentially economic analysis populated with actors who thought they knew what they were doing, both the immigrant culture and the underlying or preexisting agrarian structure still seem to operate as powerful contingencies in the explanation. This book may be read, as the best books are, not just for its contribution to the specific subject, but for the ways an informed and reflective writer engages important questions.

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VIVIEN HART. *Bound by Our Constitution: Women, Workers, and the Minimum Wage*. (Princeton Studies in American Politics: Historical, International, and Comparative Perspectives.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 255. \$35.00.

This study compares the trajectory of minimum-wage legislation in the United States with England's during the early part of this century. Vivien Hart examines the logic of the arguments used by major social-reform organizations, the political campaigners, and the legal principles called on to justify or attack minimum-wage laws. Although Hart emphasizes the formative role of the written constitution in the United States in shaping minimum-wage legislation, her analysis is by no means reductionist or one dimensional. The author is sensitive to social and political, as well as legal and economic, aspects of wages, wage-setting, and "value" of labor.

In England, minimum-wage boards were directed at the economic problem of "sweated industries," most of which employed women; in the United States, by contrast, "circumstances dispos[ed] American reform-

ers toward gender rather than class solutions to problems such as sweating" (p. 64). Hart contends that in the United States, the constraints of its written constitution and interpretations of the doctrines of "freedom of contract" and police power "clinched the decision" to see low wages as a "sex problem." This work documents the discourse about gender used by different strands of social feminists, reformers, and the waffling of the American Federation of Labor and its president, Samuel Gompers.

Because wage-earning was considered secondary to women's primary function of "mothers of the future generation," an equitable wage structure did not mean a living wage for women; rather, it was defined as one that ensured a "family wage" for men. Even after other labor legislation (for example, hours limitations or night work) had become accepted, legislation affecting the "wage bargain" was not. As I have argued (*Origins of Protective Labor Legislation for Women, 1905-1925* [1987]), this is precisely because a minimum-wage law strikes at the heart of the structural conditions under which women were included in the labor force: as low-wage workers who were not seen as "real" workers anyway. As late as the 1930s, the debate on the Fair Labor Standards Act revealed the same assumptions about women workers, as Hart points out.

The terms of the debate changed dramatically in the United States during the early 1920s. Women got the vote, the first Equal Rights Amendment was proposed by the National Woman's Party, and in 1923 a Washington, D.C., minimum-wage law was struck down by the Supreme Court as an infringement on women's right to freely contract the conditions of labor. Following this legal setback, the discourse of lawyers became increasingly focused on revising the interpretation of the due-process clause of the Constitution. Women such as Florence Kelley and other feminist activists, however, also kept substantive (real, economic) rationales on the agenda. The author mainly confines the discussion of this debate to documenting the different strands of the debate in the United States.

In 1937, minimum-wage law became part of the package of New Deal federal legislation; under the Fair Labor Standards Act, the constitutional rationale used was the federal power to regulate interstate commerce, not the police power or due-process clauses. A "fair" wage (rather than a "minimum") for labor's price was upheld as constitutional for both men and women workers, albeit with numerous occupations exempted, most notably those of workers who were the worst off: agricultural labor (mainly black men) and domestic workers (overwhelmingly female).

This study uses primary source material, much of which has been cited in other contemporary analyses and will be familiar to scholars of women and the history of labor legislation. It is drawn together to focus on the minimum wage and gender. Hart makes the interesting point that "the American constitutional framework forced an open debate" (p. 180) of the issues here. Yet it also means "even with activists well

versed in the law, political contests could become technical and inaccessible." The author's contingent faith in the Constitution as a framework shaping the discourse and strategy of labor legislation, as well as the careful documentation of the legal and political arguments used, will make this work useful to future scholars.

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KAREN A. RASLER and WILLIAM R. THOMPSON. *The Great Powers and Global Struggle 1490–1990*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xx, 275. \$35.00.

This book by Karen A. Rasler and William R. Thompson joins a growing body of literature that addresses two related questions (p. xvi): "Why [do] global wars occur and why [do] major powers rise and fall?" Historians will admire its attention to empirical complexity and to serial change over time. Political scientists will like its quest for a predictive model and for quantitative verification. Rasler and Thompson characterize their model as an "in-between" synthesis that eschews determinism and yet affirms that "something like a structural clock is at work" (p. 162) in the cycles of global war and the ebbs and flows of global leadership during the last half-millennium.

Global wars occur, they argue, when two cycles intersect. At the global level, the "leading maritime-commercial-industrial power" declines, resulting in a deconcentration of authority in the world system. At the regional level, "the leading [European] continental power" expands, resulting in a concentration of influence in that region. The global power seeks "to thwart the rise" of the regional power, while the latter tries "to hasten the demise" of the former (p. 69). The consequent global war effects fundamental structural changes that reverse the trends, leading to a reconcentration of power at the global level and a deconcentration of power at the regional tier. That global reconcentration, however, often transfers power from the old global leader to a new one, normally a wartime ally similarly interested in long-distance trade. Thus, cycles of war and peace interact with cycles of centering and decentering, and world wars act as a major instrument to redistribute power and wealth in the world order.

Although the thesis is not strikingly original, it spins off positive corollaries that are both significant and largely persuasive. First, the key ingredient of global preponderance is a commanding lead in technological innovation, that is, more than 50 percent of the world's production in the leading economic sector of the day. Conversely, the diffusion of that technological dominance is central to the decline of global leaders. Therefore "the life cycle of innovating activity . . . is paramount to an understanding of the rise and fall of leadership at the global level" (p. 2). Second, global

leadership requires that technological dominance be translated into naval (air) dominance, that is, more than 50 percent of the world's naval (air) expenditures. Economic power alone cannot determine and enforce the rules of the international game. Predictably, the cycle of naval (air) concentration and deconcentration parallels the cycles of technology, warfare, and global leadership. Finally, the "trade-off" of decreased economic investment for increased military consumption is not the cause of a global leader's decline but rather is largely the consequence of that decline. Similarly, "imperial overstretch" and "territorial traps" are, at best, reinforcing factors rather than independent causes. Taking exception to the work of both Robert Gilpin and Paul Kennedy, the authors argue that decline precedes military overconsumption and territorial overextension and results primarily from the loss of technological dominance.

This interesting book does beg or hedge some important questions. Is the period between 1490 and 1990 just one undifferentiated unit, or did the Industrial Revolution and the triumph of free enterprise arguably introduce new structural needs for the world system after 1815? What is the structural difference between global leaders (five since 1490) and hegemons (only three)? Why do global leaders fight regional rivals while drifting into transitions of co-hegemonic cooperation with global rivals? Was Europe really the only significant region early in this century and Germany the only regional rival to Britain? Are there not differences between military spending in pre-Keynesian eras and later periods when that spending both primed the pump and provided security? Why analyze the Russian empire as an external entity for most of the book (outside both the European region and the world system) and then treat it as part of the system to test the territorial trap thesis? Can one focus such a study only on global leaders and great European powers, when the interconnected nature of the world system is so susceptible to resistance by the Third World and upward mobility by semi-developed countries?

The authors end their sometimes flawed but fascinating book with an interesting look into the future, affirming a healthy skepticism that new world orders are likely to end the historic cycles of concentration and deconcentration. They also include two appendixes on "army data" and the identification of "systemic wars" that are quite useful, as well as an appendix on "cross correlations" whose "regressions" and "coefficients" are too daunting for me to judge.

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JOHN HERD THOMPSON and STEPHEN J. RANDALL. *Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies*. (The United States and the Americas.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 387.

John Herd Thompson and Stephen J. Randall provide a sure-footed assessment of Canada's relationship with the United States, emphasising the period since 1918. Three chapters review Canada's rejection of revolutionary and republican ideology between 1776 and 1871, Canada's response to the industrial United States between 1871 and 1903, and the beginning of cooperation in the era of Anglo-American detente. The period since 1918 is covered in seven chapters as the authors provide a lively summary of themes such as joint military endeavors and economic integration in World War II and the 1950s, the nationalist reaction in Canada in the 1960s and 1970s, and the current free-trade debate. Throughout their analytical narrative the authors meet the goal of this series on the United States and the Americas to provide readers with a "broader understanding of the political, economic, and especially cultural forces . . . that have shaped the Western hemispheric experience." American students who are mesmerized by the pieties of good neighborhood will learn about the historical tensions between the two countries and discover that Canada's national identity has been shaped in antagonism to the United States.

As an attractive account, bringing to the attention of American readers the Canadian perspective on the last 200 years, the book serves a useful role, but one important dimension is attenuated. The authors point out that all scholarship in international relations now takes a broader approach than traditional diplomatic history. They show the cultural phenomena that have led to so much Canadian misgiving about a relationship that is viewed complacently south of the border. But in the Canadian case the problem is not one of too much diplomatic research but too little. Scholars of Canadian-American relations are legion in Canada. Many of them embed their analysis in a broad context that makes sense because there are so many points of contact between the two countries, a feature that arguably makes the relationship unique. But there was actual U.S. policy toward Canada being made in Washington. In 1910 Charles H. Pepper of the Bureau of Trade Relations prepared memoranda on the hemispheric strategies the United States should pursue toward Canada and Mexico; in 1927 the first U.S. Minister, William Phillips, carried with him to Ottawa a list of American priorities; in 1931 Benjamin Wallace in the Office of the Economic Advisor made a critical commentary on U.S. treatment of Canada; in 1935 W. Y. Elliot of Harvard, one of Henry Kissinger's and Pierre Trudeau's mentors, advised President Franklin Roosevelt on economic integration; U.S. ambassadors after 1945 wrote regular assessments of Canada. If the analysis of the relationship is set primarily in the public arena, then little of this evolution of policy and attitudes can be understood. For example, the authors focus on prohibition as the most contentious issue that the two countries faced after direct representation was established in 1927 (and they give an amusing account of Al Capone's knowledge of Canada: "I don't even

know what street Canada's on") but this issue did not figure in Minister Phillips's list. The top priority for the United States was an economic one as they sought a cheap connection to international shipping routes via the St. Lawrence River for U.S. exports of grains and manufactures and raw material imports. In this case the scholarship may have arrived at the stage where the cultural and political approaches, which have been mined so thoroughly by Canadian scholars, require more extensive examination of official documents that shed fresh light on the American relationship with Canada. But Thompson and Randall have summed up conventional wisdom on Canada's view of the relationship; that was their remit and they have done it very well indeed.

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ROBERT WOHL. *A Passion for Wings: Aviation and the Western Imagination 1908-1918*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 320. \$35.00.

Thank goodness Franz Kafka attended the air meet at Brescia in September 1909, for his presence there gives irreproachable authority to the unexpected links between Wilbur Wright, the taciturn bicycle mechanic from Dayton, Ohio, and the exuberant experimentalism of Europe's avant-garde that are the focus of Robert Wohl's beautifully composed history. Kafka is useful not simply because of his literary cachet but also because his brief sketch, "The Airplanes at Brescia," observes so well the expectation and desire of flying enthusiasts. It was not flying machines or even the fliers themselves but how they enthralled men and women on the ground that caught Kafka's eye and now occupies Wohl.

Aviation was a story of contrasts. At Brescia, finer society strolled along a rough-edged airfield, spectators endured long hours to glimpse a solitary flight of short duration, confident men climbed into fragile contraptions, Kafka's carriage returned to town while Rougier's plane climbed to attain new altitudes. These ruptures demarcated a realm of sudden and improvised mobility, suggested a break with conventional routines, and indicated a "vaster life," as Gabriele D'Annunzio (whom Kafka also saw at Brescia) put it (p. 122).

The passion for wings that drew so many people to the outskirts of Brescia cannot simply be grasped by invoking the metaphor of the conquest of the air. Wohl rightly re-creates the resonance of the phrase. After an "apparently never-ending series of technological innovations," he explains, airplanes seemed to confirm the Western ability to subjugate nature and to deny the limitations of "time, space, and even death" (p. 257). Yet Wohl's analysis digs deeper and insists on a much more sublime role for aviation. Airplanes were so compelling because they denoted newness, and it is the ways they appeared to break with convention that gives this first of three projected volumes its richness and

originality. From the moment Wright arrived in France in May 1908 to demonstrate his Flyer to potential investors, the aviator was reimagined as a spiritual figure able to reenchant "the cold, inhuman machines that the nineteenth century had bequeathed" the twentieth. "Unknown to themselves," Wohl writes, "the Western peoples secretly desired an epic poetry of technological deeds" (p. 29). Not surprisingly, then, the massive production of poems, postcards, and other souvenirs to commemorate the first years of flight repeatedly deployed verbs with the renewing prefix "re"; revitalizing, regenerating, redefining, airplanes left behind the utilitarian realm of technology and technique and introduced a place far stranger than the master builders had ever imagined. In the hands of the first *romanciers* of aviation—H. G. Wells, Rudolf Martin, Emile Driant, and D'Annunzio—people no longer had to acquiesce to technology and could once again dream.

The contrasts and juxtapositions with which Kafka made sense of the flying scene at Brescia were explored more fully by Europe's literary and artistic avant-garde. Wohl's great contribution is surely his recapitulation of modernism from the vantage point of flight. What Cubists and Futurists, in particular, admired about the airplane was its audacity: the machine took off and escaped the earth, a master stroke that appealed to artists striving to break pictorial conventions, to "lift themselves up to unknown dimensions and breathe the pure air of radical change" (p. 164). At the same time, flight nourished experimentation. As Kazimir Malevich explained, at high altitudes "the familiar recedes ever further and further in the background . . . the contours of the objective world fade more and more" (p. 175). In the bold paintings of Robert Delaunay, for example, airborne machines merged harmoniously with natural forms. Because it stimulated new ways of seeing, aviation quickly became a vital imaginative genre.

The airplane's most consequential endowment to the twentieth century, however, was the way it invigorated nationalism. Wohl's emphasis on France makes sense because the French were particularly anxious to deploy military technology in order to gain the upper hand in the struggle with Germany (in fact the Germans, with their improbable zeppelins, were no different). To the weaker party or to the latecomer, technology offered a way to invalidate the outcomes of history. At the same time, the technical feats of aviators confirmed the vitality of the nation. This combination of unrealized national possibility and visible, muscular heroism greatly enhanced the spectatorial pleasures of aviation.

In a series of fascinating chapters, Wohl traces how Europeans nationalized and militarized aviation, virtually overnight. The spectacle surrounding aviation rallies like the one held outside Brescia was nothing less than the narration of the nation. Aeronautical "raids" between two well-known cities consumed the mass media and the reading public. The most spectacular of these crossed historically significant bodies of water or chains of mountains. Only a few years later, during World War I, aces

personified the body of the nation at war and their daredevilry its will to victory. Again and again, flight appeared to revise radically the terms of history and thereby to renovate the historical process. For all the wonderful connections to the avant-garde, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the art that aviation served most loyally was nationalist drama. It is not surprising, then, that Wohl concludes his superlative study with the tantalizing figure of Benito Mussolini, who not only believed in technology's potential to rewrite the balance of power and to reenchant a diminished age but understood as well the power of aviation on the imagination of the national public. Wohl's enduring contribution is to analyze these promiscuous twentieth-century combinations of technology, art, nationalism, and spectacle, and to do so with unrivaled knowledge and remarkable insight.

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ROGER C. THOMPSON. *The Pacific Basin since 1945: A History of the Foreign Relations of the Asian, Australasian and American Rim States and the Pacific Islands.* (The Postwar World.) New York: Longman. 1994. Pp. xiv, 353.

This is a careful and detailed study of the vast changes sweeping across the Pacific basin from 1945 to 1991, one that combines a generally reliable synthesis of secondary literature with what Roger C. Thompson describes as a "liberal political perspective" (p. 3). Although Thompson's definition of the Pacific basin is somewhat arbitrary—he excludes Laos and Canada but includes Central America—he does trace the fascinating transformation of the region, from one devastated by the Pacific War to one whose economies by 1986 constituted just under 50 percent of the world's combined gross national product.

Thompson begins with the occupation of Japan, the emergence of the Cold War in Asia, and conflicts in China, Indochina, Indonesia, Malaya, and the Philippines. He is adept at analyzing the social and political origins of these struggles, the enormous differences among them, and the measures taken by France, Holland, Britain, and the United States to defeat revolutionary movements. In the Philippines, for example, the United States found an effective leader in Ramon Mag-saysay, one who instituted important army and agrarian reforms. Those who were part of the American effort there knew something about the Philippines and could draw on a fund of local goodwill. In Vietnam, however, the United States could find no effective leaders in the South, while American policy makers in both Saigon and Washington knew little about what was a strange and remote country. In dealing with Korea, Thompson provides an excellent analysis of postwar events, but he slips up in his discussion of the origins of the Korean War. He only reluctantly concedes that North Korea started the conflict, and, ignoring the recent findings of the Cold

War International History Project, minimizes the involvement of Mao Zedong and especially of Joseph Stalin in the plans of Kim Il Sung.

The first third of this book, which focuses on East and Southeast Asia through the early 1970s, offers a concise analysis of the origins and evolution of conflicts in these areas. As the scope of the coverage widens, however, the cohesiveness of the narrative lessens. The author describes in great detail events in the Pacific Islands and American struggles against reformist or communist movements in Guatemala, Chile, El Salvador, and Nicaragua. His transitions from one nation or area to another, however, are often weak, and only a few common themes emerge. The impact of the Cold War on the region, America's fear of radical change, the clash between European colonialism and indigenous nationalism, and the economic growth of Japan, Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan, are all themes that help to hold the narrative together. In the end, however, they lack the power to give coherence to what becomes an exceptionally diffuse book. As Thompson notes, the Pacific basin is not nearly as united as the North Atlantic community. If this is so, then a more carefully circumscribed book might have been more readable and more compelling.

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ANCIENT

PERICLES GEORGES. *Barbarian Asia and the Greek Experience: From the Archaic Period to the Age of Xenophon*. (Ancient Society and History.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 358. \$42.50.

The Greeks interpreted foreigners in terms of their own expectations, assimilating them into their mythology and after the Persian wars, incorporating them into their ideas about the opposition of freedom and tyranny. In the fourth century B.C. the traditions of Hellenism were maintained by monarchs of Asia as well. In this book Pericles Georges traces these ideas from archaic times to the fourth century, with principal chapters on Aeschylus (*Persae*), Herodotus, and Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*).

The first three chapters develop the image of the barbarian, the "other." Barbarian nations were incorporated into Greek myths. Herakles figures widely in stories about the genealogy of other nations (Herakles and Omphale in the case of Lydia; Herakles and Echidna for Scythia; Herakles and Busiris for Egypt). The Lydians brought Delphi to international importance, and the Eastern tyrants were understood by Greeks as monarchs who displayed magnificence in their temple building, support of artists, and public festivals. Georges shows how the Greek ideas of the Persians developed from the conquest of Cyrus to Xerxes' invasion of Greece.

In Aeschylus's *Persae*, the Persians are interpreted in

terms of the convention of Greek tragedy, as divine punishment of tyrannical power by free people. Darius is presented as a foil for Xerxes: the good monarch *versus* the hubristic son. Following the expectations of the audience in 472 B.C., Persia is represented as a slave society.

The two chapters on Herodotus are original but controversial. "In this Lydian logos . . . Herodotus presents Croesus apodictically, as the very exemplar of the barbarian who fails to understand Hellenic wisdom and Hellenic divinity" (p. 129). Chapter 5 "examines ambiguous and subtle treatment of the Athenians of Herodotus' own day as Greeks in some respects and as Asiatic barbarians in others" (p. 130). Herodotus does not praise imperial Athens of the 420s. He instead lauds the Dorians and Spartans as true Hellenes. Georges stresses the Athenian murder of the Spartan heralds Sperthias and Bulis (7.133–137) as an example of the Athenians acting as bad men. Moreover, the Athenians were the only Greeks to demand tribute from other Greeks. Other features combine to show Herodotus' criticism of Athens: the Pelasgian Ionians, the Ionians as slaves, and Pisistratus' ruse (which got the Athenians to accept him).

Persia's imperial system was admired by Xenophon. The power of the monarch was supported by the satraps in his view because of their recognition of mutual benefactions: favors granted and received in return, mutual respect rather than fear of the tyrant. In the *Cyropaedia* Xenophon imaginatively praises the figure of Cyrus the Great, representing his own association with Cyrus the Younger: "The virtues of the elder Cyrus . . . are the virtues of the younger Cyrus in fruition" (p. 233).

"The Greek experience," in Georges's conception, is the realization of true Hellenism, whether in Ionia, Sparta, or those Eastern monarchies that exhibited its principles. Conversely, failure to realize the Greek experience produced barbarians, Greek as well as Asiatic. Georges has given us a provocative work on a subject of continuing interest.

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IRAD MALKIN. *Myth and Territory in the Spartan Mediterranean*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 278. \$59.95.

Irada Malkin's ostensible subject is the complex of myths that gave the Spartans rightful possession of their lands. As such, this book provides a densely detailed and richly annotated gazetteer of every myth concerning Sparta. But Malkin achieves a great deal more: he creates a portrait of the Spartan *mentalité* that stands on its head the received stereotype of the Spartans as a people whose horizons were closely blinkered by the mountains enclosing the vale of the Eurotas, and hermetically focused on keeping down

their helots and keeping up their protective circle of allies in peninsular Greece.

Malkin portrays a people whose self-identity included—and at many times was probably dominated by—a view of themselves as a pan-Mediterranean presence. For the Spartans' historical myths of possession took in far more than their (to them) recently acquired Laconian domicile itself and Messene; they included a widely scattered constellation of kindred Spartan foundations, stretching from the Dorian *Urheimat* in northern Greece to Cnidus in Asia, Thera and Melos in the Aegean, Taras and other places in Magna Graecia, as well as Cyrene and the westward expanse of Libya colonized from Cyrene and united with Cyrene and Sparta in worship of the cult of the ram god Zeus Ammon. Here Malkin demonstrates that Sparta, Thera, Cyrene, and Libya were virtually equal in the Spartan *mentalité*.

How these wide horizons of the Spartans' self-identity influenced their policies and practice is a large part of Malkin's subject. One example is the Spartan Heraclid Doreius' failed attempt on Eryx in westernmost Sicily, which took place late in the sixth century B.C., and which Malkin persuasively treats as a reenactment, or calque upon, the Spartans' original charter myth of the Return of the Heraclids, on which rested their possession of both Laconia and Messene (pp. 203 and following; cf. pp. 15 and following), as well as the semidivine Heraclid genealogy of their kingly families. Other, less prominent but nonetheless symptomatic, examples are the Spartan general Gylippus's salvation of the Cyrenean colony of Euesperides on his way to join the Sicilians' defense against the Athenians in 414 B.C. (p. 189; cf. Thucydides 7.50); this episode strongly suggests that the Melians had not been entirely naive to expect help from Sparta against the Athenians only two years before, and explains why Thucydides's Athenian interlocutors take such pains to disabuse them (Thucydides 5.104–110).

This book resonates with implications that illuminate much of Sparta's *histoire événementielle* before Alexander. Malkin examines also what might be recovered for this history from Spartan myth and cult in itself, notably including elements of the festival of Carnean Apollo—who was, like Zeus Ammon, a ram god—and usages in the Spartan vocabulary of pastoral terms that seem to recall a nomadic Spartan past and a real “Dorian invasion” (pp. 149 and following). But here there is without question room for conflicting theories, and it would be unjust to emphasize the author's achievement only in these directions. After all, it has fallen to Malkin to pin down for the rest of us a large swath of that most enigmatic and elusive thing: the Spartan mind.

PERICLES GEORGES
Lake Forest College

SUSANNA ELM. *“Virgins of God”: The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*. (Oxford Classical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 443. \$70.00.

Susanna Elm takes as a central premise of this study that fourth-century women and men created an ascetic movement that was “reformed” by bishops intent on separating the genders. Confining her researches almost completely to Asia Minor and Egypt, she argues that the original movement was urban, actively engaged with the Christian world, and syneisactic. Her abortive heroine is Basil of Caesarea's sister Macrina, for whom virginity was a transcendent spiritual state. Macrina changed from woman to man as she transformed her family into a community, incorporating male public roles. Finally, she became a new type of human being that transcended both genders.

Elm overstates Macrina's originality at the expense of her contemporaries and consecrated women in earlier centuries whose experiences are awkwardly encapsulated in a Weberian model of institutionalization (p. 166). She makes the intriguing suggestion that the female diaconate restricted both widows and then virgins by closely defining their functions. Nevertheless their existence, along with that of the handful of unorthodox women whom Elm notices from the third century, argues against crediting Macrina or any other fourth-century person with the “making” of asceticism unless a very precise definition of asceticism is offered. It is not.

In any case, Elm soon dismisses Macrina as “a figure of authority but not a part of the hierarchy” (p. 223). Syneisactic asceticism and its cross gender ideology posed a threat to the integrity of the male clergy by offering an alternative ideal of Christian perfection that attracted wealthy and influential individuals capable of influencing episcopal elections. Egypt provides a second selection of ascetic experiments, all of which included women on a theoretically equal basis. Palladius, following a developing tradition, calls his work “the deeds of the fathers, male and female” (p. 313) and self-consciously includes material on manly women. The theory, however, caused conflict whenever it was tested under real conditions.

In the end, Elm maintains, Basil undid what his sister accomplished, and the account of her life written by her brother Gregory simply used her to exemplify Basil's modified version of the ascetic life. In Egypt, Bishop Athanasius conducted a campaign to get monks to accept ordination and women to accept the humility and decorum that befitted brides of Christ. These “reforms” were aimed at clarifying gender divisions and steering ascetics out of the urban milieu. In the process, separate monastic institutions for women developed, under the control of the clergy.

This is not an easy book to read. Elm's announced intentions are diverted toward quite a different thesis that only emerges fitfully in the conclusion. She ties the fate of the ascetics not only to the rise of the episcopacy but to an anti-Arian, Homoousian episcopacy. The syneisactic asceticism of the early fourth century is labeled “Homoousian,” reflecting the original position of the church in Asia Minor.

Elm links the development of a gender-separated

monasticism in the late fourth century to Basil's acceptance of Athanasius' Homoousian position. Between 373 and his death in 379, Basil systematically reformed monasticism into a rural, contemplative, otherworldly life characterized by rigid separation of the sexes. The two orthodox bishops thus transformed asceticism to conform to their interpretation of the Trinity and to a cosmology that pinned spiritual aspirants to their bodies, and therefore to the gender characteristics of those bodies. Paying due respect to Peter Brown, Elm argues that the Homoousian position had Origenist roots and retained a belief in the ability to transform human physical as well as spiritual nature by act of will. In the new dispensation, humanity was to be forever distinct from God, even from Christ as he was God, and could not follow him by act of will. Thus physical attributes, gender foremost, gained new significance as the body became the locus of salvation.

JO ANN McNAMARA
Hunter College

MEDIEVAL

SARAH KAY and MIRI RUBIN, editors. *Framing Medieval Bodies*. New York: Manchester University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 287. \$79.95.

Since the discovery of the body in the Middle Ages, particularly in the work of Michel Foucault, Carolyn Walker Bynum, and Peter Brown, it is appropriate to talk about bodies that are "made not born," to paraphrase Simone de Beauvoir's famous comment about women. The editors of this volume speak of "framing" medieval bodies not only in terms of institutional regimes aimed at controlling medieval bodies but also in terms of the possibilities for contestation. If "the body was a privileged site, vehicle, and metaphor of political struggle" in the Middle Ages (p. 5), as the editors argue, it is also a framework for medieval culture and individual experience, as well as for modern efforts to recuperate that past.

The essays in this collection represent a range of discursive and disciplinary frameworks for recovering the medieval body and the political, religious, and textual functions—however contradictory—it served in medieval culture. Saints' bodies, illuminated bodies, architecturally constituted bodies, old bodies, women's bodies and "ways of knowing," fragmented artisanal bodies, and rhetorical bodies are all subjects of the essays in this collection, confirming the editors' claim that bodies make for medieval forms of experience, resistance, and control, as well as textual practice. Miri Rubin and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne both argue against a monolithic understanding of a strictly regimented medieval body and for a more "labile" notion for the female religious, and a more "fluid" relation of sex, gender, and bodies in the medieval hermaphrodite. In view of the considerable feminist scholarship in publi-

cation that supports their arguments, I wonder where the hegemony they invoke actually is.

Metaphorical deployment of the medieval body is the subject of interesting essays on medieval architecture by Roberta Gilchrist, rhetoric and the Pardoner's body by Rita Copeland, urban communities by Sarah Beckwith, and bodies of knowledge by Sarah Kay. Dante, Chaucer, the York Cycle, and Middle High German *Mären* are among the literary representatives of bodily discourse in the Middle Ages, while the emphasis throughout the volume is on the historical frame and producing "historically-specific conceptualisations of the body" (p. 6).

Beyond particular constructions of the body, the editors raise an important question (p. 4): "is there any way in which medieval bodies are distinctively different from modern ones?" Yet this question is never actually addressed, nor is there any consideration given to the problems associated with historicizing the medieval body, including presentist assumptions of medieval scholarship. Moreover, I was surprised by the editors' genealogy of body theory in the last fifteen years, which includes Foucault and Bynum, but also Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, and Luce Irigaray. Emphasis is given to Freud and Lacan, rather than Foucault, who is usually the one credited with recent efforts to historicize the body. Neither are the numerous studies by medieval scholars other than Bynum acknowledged or engaged in the Introduction, or much in the volume as a whole. In this respect, the volume seems to be missing a crucial frame. The most glaring oversight in their map is contemporary and medieval feminism, which are largely ignored throughout the volume (except for glancing reference to Bynum's work). In an otherwise rich collection of essays, the absence of this framework may not be so obvious, although it is disappointing.

KARMA LOCHRIE
Loyola University of Chicago

BERNHARD BISCHOFF. *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*. Translated and edited by MICHAEL GORMAN. (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, number 1.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 193. \$64.95.

Bernhard Bischoff's death in 1991 ended a long and fruitful career focused on Latin literature and palaeography in the grand tradition of Paul Lehmann and Ludwig Traube, Bischoff's intellectual forebears and predecessors at the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich. From Lehmann and Traube, Bischoff learned how the study of handwriting and book production could contribute to literary and intellectual history. On this foundation he superimposed his unprecedented mastery of individual Latin manuscripts.

Bischoff's collaboration with E. A. Lowe on the twelve-volume *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (1934–71), a catalogue of the 1,811 surviving Latin manuscripts from before A.D. 800, and his decades-long research on

some 7,000 surviving manuscripts from the Carolingian period gave him a panoramic view of a cultural legacy now scattered in libraries all over the world, from Bloomington, Indiana, to Mount Sinai. Analysis of scripts and texts, never an end in itself for Bischoff, served as a platform for his original and fundamental contributions to early medieval cultural and intellectual history. Michael Gorman's fine translations of seven of Bischoff's most important Carolingian essays, graced by detailed indexes (including one of 937 manuscripts), will make his achievement accessible to a wider audience of scholars and students.

Bischoff and Gorman have used the opportunity presented by the appearance of these essays in translation to further refine them bibliographically and to revise earlier hypotheses. Thus improved, these English versions represent Bischoff's last words on their subjects. The first essay, "Manuscripts in the Early Middle Ages," surveys manuscript production up to the period of the Carolingian reforms. "Manuscripts in the Age of Charlemagne," "The Court Library of Charlemagne," and "The Court Library under Louis the Pious" focus on the first and second generations of the reform movement. "Libraries and Schools in the Carolingian Revival of Learning" studies manuscript books in their institutional contexts. "Palaeography and the Transmission of Classical Texts in the Early Middle Ages" presents the clearest statement in these essays of Bischoff's methodology and might better have opened the collection. The final essay, "Benedictine Monasteries and the Survival of Classical Literature," underscores how monastic schools appropriated pagan literature for new ends.

Each essay juxtaposes textual traditions, script types, and the histories of individual manuscripts in support of Bischoff's hypotheses on the work of writing centers and the effects of royal patronage and monastic study. As the revisions of the essays suggest, Bischoff was an honest enough scholar to revisit and rethink his earlier work. Readers doubtless will continue the process of modifying his conclusions here and there, because the palaeographer's eye when it contrasts, for example, a "heavy and energetic minuscule" with a "firmly controlled minuscule" (p. 82) sometimes performs as a subjective instrument. But those modifications and advances will take place within a cultural landscape whose essential features Bischoff first mapped out.

JOHN J. CONTRENI
Purdue University

PATRICK J. GEARY. *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 248. \$29.95.

The central theme of Patrick J. Geary's book is so compelling that one is immediately embarrassed not to have thought of it before. He argues that medieval historians now look at the eleventh century as a watershed, a sharp break with a chaotic late-Carolingian

period, largely because most of our information about the early Middle Ages is filtered through the chronicles and cartularies composed in the eleventh century, and the historians and compilers working then saw their own era as a significant new beginning. Thus, Geary's book is directed more toward recent debates about the "mutations" of the year 1000 than toward scholarship on medieval perceptions of the psychology of remembrance or the transition from orality to written record.

Focusing on three geographic areas disparate in culture but all possessing a good collection of primary sources—northern France, the lower Rhône, and Bavaria—the author sets out to show how people of the eleventh century perceived and described their predecessors. (In spite of the title, the real focus is the beginning of the second millennium, not the end of the first.) Because new dynasties were established in all these regions in the eleventh century, the powerful families who had ruled them in the tenth century were ignored or forgotten. As Sharon Farmer has argued in the case of saints' lives from Tours, the past is contested territory (*Communities of Saint Martin* [1991]). Geary demonstrates that "those who could control the past could direct the future" (p. 6). Thus, medieval chroniclers did not simply record earlier events in a mechanical way; rather, they attempted to create a vision of the past that could influence decisions and events in their own time.

Most of the book is a thoughtful and gracefully written discussion of how what we now consider the primary sources on which to build our own histories of the past were originally compiled. For example, Geary reminds us that cartularies, which historians generally treat as sources of factual information about land ownership and family relations, were originally put together as much for sacral reasons, to commemorate the dead whose gifts were listed in them, as for administrative purposes. Similarly, he points out that modern historians cannot selectively choose which parts of a chronicle to consider "accurate" when the medieval chroniclers themselves considered political events and the appearance of visions as equally significant. The monk Arnold of Regensburg, for example, recorded not just information about his monastery's property but also about the mile-long dragon that he and his companions met. Geary's refusal to draw distinctions that have been assumed by modern scholars but which would have made no sense in the eleventh century, such as between archival records and hagiography, or between history and sacred myth, is one of the great strengths of this study.

The book is so good overall that its weaknesses are especially irritating. There is a fair amount of repetition; the brief regional histories in chapter 1, for example, cover much the same material given again in chapter 5. The argument that women were especially important in preserving family memory (chap. 2) is not altogether convincing; illuminations reproduced from the Warmund Sacramentary (pp. 55–59) clearly show

women's role in the processes of death, burial, and mourning, but not necessarily in memory. An assertion of women's central importance in remembering the dead (p. 52) is followed immediately by a discussion of death scenes in which the chroniclers described the roles of men, not women. Geary treats the names given to women in a family as an important part of that family's collective memory, without noting that women—and their names—moved between patrilineally defined "families." His assertion that eleventh-century monks deliberately destroyed records of their past in order to hide inconsistencies or forgeries (chap. 4) is troubling, given his own convincing arguments that we should not assume modern ideas of "historical accuracy" were even held by men of the time. Certainly there would have been little motivation to preserve records of a "past" that seemed less and less relevant every time the "past" was re-created, but this is not the same as recognizing something as potentially embarrassing and then intentionally covering it up.

All this said, Geary's book is unusually important. Its discussion of how memory not only records but also shapes the past is necessary reading for any medievalist.

CONSTANCE B. BOUCHARD
University of Akron

C. STEPHEN JAEGER. *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200*. (Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 515. \$39.95.

C. Stephen Jaeger has produced a fulsome study of a largely unknown era in the history of ideas and higher learning in the Middle Ages. His goal is to investigate the blank space between late-tenth-century monastic learning and the universities of the twelfth century. He notes that the cathedral schools of the eleventh century left no monuments for us to peruse but they may be known through the enthusiastic praise of those who came out of them. Cathedral schools produced students who had acquired *Mores* along with Letters and who valued that heritage. Jaeger argues that eleventh-century schoolmen cultivated Latin but produced a charismatic rather than an intellectual culture (p. 4), one more in the line of ancient oral models of learning than the emergent written models of the well-documented era that followed. Indeed the twelfth-century schoolmen's attempt to recapture the earlier charismatic learning of their predecessors and teachers produced the "envy" of Jaeger's title, where "gains in knowledge, reasoning, success in disputation and in proof" (p. 218) were understood to have exacted a price: manners lost out to letters. In a sweeping statement, Jaeger asserts that a "heroic age" when philosophy was inseparable from presence passed away, and was supplanted by an age of texts, often highly impressive, refined, and sophisticated, but created out of 'envy,' lacking the force and vitality of what had preceded" (p. 14).

This attempt to ground the learning of the twelfth century in the context of its immediate past is a bold and brilliant interpretation. It will create controversy in regard to Jaeger's general premises and over particular points as well. Although the work concentrates on learning north of the Alps, it directs attention toward the links between German and French centers of learning that are difficult to trace. Jaeger pays particular heed to the origin and spread of the long didactic poem "*Quid suum virtutis?*" and to the identities of Master Manegold, teacher of William of Champeaux and Anselm of Laon, and to Honorius Augustodunensis and, of course, Hugh of St. Victor. Brun of Cologne receives credit for the institutional framework of the Ottonian renaissance that linked cathedral school to court culture ensuring the survival of Old Learning, but Jaeger does not go on to identify Cologne as the major transmitter of this learning to twelfth-century French schools and universities. Instead he pinpoints Liège as the center of diffusion of Brun's model of teaching.

Jaeger sees numerous influences emanating outward from the cathedral schools of the eleventh century. The schools not only formulated the new curriculum but their values also came to define civilized behavior and in so doing influenced lay society and courtly culture. His bold claims and his willingness to conjecture about figures and questions where little is known mark this study as a departure from much of the literature on medieval learning. Jaeger also presents us, however, with serious erudition, and his work raises the intriguing question of whether critical literary analysis can compensate to a degree when only tantalizing fragments of information and brief glimpses of an era remain.

SUSAN MOSHER STUARD
Haverford College

OLIVIA REMIE CONSTABLE. *Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900–1500*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 24.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 320. \$59.95.

This is the first work to deal comprehensively with the long-range commerce of Muslim Spain from the tenth to the twelfth century. On the basis of many hundreds of bits of data gleaned from a broad spectrum of Arabic, Judeo-Arabic, Latin, and vernacular Spanish sources, many of them unpublished, and with the help of the extant physical evidence, Olivia Remie Constable deals methodically with the ports, shipping, and routes that served Muslim Spain's commerce; describes the Muslim, Jewish, and Christian merchants who propelled it; discusses the modes of governmental intervention in their activities; and finally surveys in great detail the commodities they imported and exported. The thoroughness of approach may best be exemplified by the manifold types of evidence adduced

for Muslim Spain's exports of textiles. These include, in Arabic, works of geography, a handbook of formulae for writing contracts, and chronicles; Judeo-Arabic letters from the Cairo Geniza; Mozarabic wills; Iberian town charters; notarial acts from Montpellier and Genoa; Latin and Castilian chronicles; the *Cantar del mio Cid* and several French romances; a chasuble now preserved at Fermo; and fabrics found in the royal tombs at Burgos.

The fragmentary nature of the evidence renders the question of whether the existing documentation reflects the realities of the period under consideration critical. Unlike many other studies based on such material, this crucial issue is squarely addressed in this study. Constable judiciously observes that, although absence of documentation should not be considered as proving the nonexistence of trade, sharp fluctuations in source material may be taken to reflect real changes, especially when a shift indicated by one type of documentation ties in with other testimony. Also dealt with are incongruities in evidence derived from different types of sources, the extent to which movement of wares indicates commercial activity, and the problem posed by the genericization of commodities named after the region in which they were first produced.

The book's last section deals with the realignment of Iberian trade after the Christian conquest of most of Muslim Spain in the first half of the thirteenth century and notes the continuities and changes in a new era in which the peninsula no longer served as a transfer zone between the realms of Islam and Christendom, coming instead to link Christendom's two major commercial areas. Constable rightly points out that the commerce of Muslim Spain had undergone an earlier transformation in the twelfth century, when Genoese, Pisan, and Provençal merchants became ever more active in it. She appears to vacillate, however, on whether or not this new activity was concomitant with the purported disappearance of Jewish traders (pp. 79, 86, 95).

The concentration on Muslim Spain occasionally leaves unspecified the extent to which some of the phenomena discussed were peculiar to this region. There are also a few factual slips. For instance, Usamah b. Munqidh (1095–1188) is presented as a man of the mid-eleventh century, and the bold statement that "Benjamin of Tudela traveled on Christian boats between al-Andalus and the eastern Mediterranean" (p. 253) is flawed on more than one count. As for the capacity of Mediterranean vessels, the crucial passage in Ibn Jubayr's writings is not the one in which he mentions a Genoese ship that carried two hundred Maghribi pilgrims home from Egypt, but that in which he describes his passage from Acre to Messina, together with some 2,000 Christian pilgrims, aboard another Genoese ship. There are also not a few, mainly Italian, misspellings. But such deficiencies do not detract from the book's overall value.

BENJAMIN Z. KEDAR

Hebrew University of Jerusalem

JOHN FRANCE. *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 425. \$54.95.

In 1986 Jonathan Riley-Smith taught us that the self-perception of the First Crusade was shaped by the crusaders' experiences while on the expedition (*The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*). Similarly, here John France argues that the factors that led to the military success of the First Crusade came out of the experiences of the crusaders while campaigning, for the Westerners brought with them no inherent technical or tactical advantages.

France does not challenge traditional explanations for the victory of the crusaders: their genuine religious zeal, aid from Byzantium, and Muslim divisions. Because the Franks were almost always outnumbered in hostile territory, however, ultimately their military ability gained them the victory. The crusaders succeeded because of the growth of the army's coherence and discipline, which allowed them to take advantage of their enemies' mistakes and to endure appalling losses and terrible divisions among their leaders. The raw, uncoordinated assembly of soldiers that could have easily been defeated at Nicaea if not for Turkish miscalculation evolved into an efficient army at Antioch and Jerusalem, led by commanders of genuine military talent who learned from and adapted to the eastern conditions.

France concentrates on sifting through the confusing and often contradictory accounts of the battles given in the sources and argues that Albert of Aix is the most useful on military matters. This is not, however, a work just for military enthusiasts. France places great emphasis on the diplomatic negotiations of the crusaders with Byzantium and Fatimid Egypt. Much of the early success of the crusade was due to a solid and productive alliance with Emperor Alexius and, surprisingly, with the Fatimids. Moreover, a number of major issues in crusade history are refined in this important and valuable book: both Italian and Byzantine fleets provided communications and supplies, Urban II wanted an alliance with Alexius I and did not decide on Raymond of Toulouse as the commander of the crusade, Alexius's failure of heart after the taking of Antioch resulted in the breakup of the alliance rather than crusader perfidy, the ranks of the crusaders determined much of the course of the expedition, the massacre at Jerusalem appears in a new light, and the willingness of the crusaders to come to terms with both Byzantines and Muslims puts into question easy clichés about Western prejudice and bigotry. As valuable as this book is, one major problem endemic to all medieval military history affects France's excellent effort to make understandable the fighting of the First Crusade: the vexing problem of the size of the forces involved. After warning of the problem of unreliable figures in the sources, he sifts through the wildly erratic numbers that are given and makes reasonable estimates. Yet one's own view of the nature of that society and its

organizational ability determines what is considered reasonable, and without some objective criteria the reader is left wary of all estimates, including the author's. Nonetheless, this book is an outstanding study and essential reading on a wide range of subjects concerning the First Crusade.

STEVEN FANNING
University of Illinois,
Chicago

CHRISTOPH T. MAIER. *Preaching the Crusades: Mendicant Friars and the Cross in the Thirteenth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 28.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 202. \$44.95.

After centuries of neglect, crusade preaching has finally begun to attract the interest of scholars. Christoph T. Maier's study makes a fascinating and extremely important contribution to the burgeoning literature on this topic.

Systematic recruitment of crusading armies invariably began with a papal proclamation that empowered individuals or groups of clergy to publicize the proposed expedition, to convince prospective participants to enlist in its ranks, and to reward those who responded to their call by bestowing on them the crusaders' cross, in token of the spiritual and temporal privileges that enlistment entailed. The success or failure of every crusading expedition, accordingly, largely depended on the efforts of the preachers who acted as its recruiting agents.

Beginning with the First Crusade (1095–99) and continuing through the twelfth century, popes typically commissioned bishops and other clerics individually to preach each crusading venture. Early in the thirteenth century, however, as the mendicant orders secured papal approval and as this new form of religious life proved increasingly popular, the established pattern of crusade recruitment began to change. The Franciscan and Dominican orders, in particular, could supply large cadres of experienced, well-trained preachers and the popes soon recognized their potential as instruments for raising crusade armies. This had become apparent by the pontificate of Gregory IX (1227–41), who began to commission individual friars—John of Wildeshausen and Raymond of Penyafort from the Dominican order and William of Cordelle from the Franciscans—to carry the crusading message to the faithful in various regions. During the 1230s, Gregory IX also began to direct the orders themselves to select crusade preachers from their ranks and to send them on preaching missions through designated areas of Europe. The results of these experiments proved so encouraging that by the mid-thirteenth century mendicant friars, primarily Franciscans and Dominicans, began to supplant bishops and other secular clerics as the papacy's crusade preachers of choice.

As mendicants became more regularly and deeply involved in crusade recruitment, they also became

more methodical in their approach to this mission. They studied various propaganda methods and compared the results of different approaches, so that by the latter part of the century crusade preaching was beginning to emerge as a specialized art, with its own battery of rules and techniques.

Crusade enlistment itself was also changing at the same time. Beginning with Innocent III (1198–1216) the papacy ceased to insist that those who promised to go on crusade must fulfill that promise in person. Increasing numbers of volunteers were being encouraged to redeem their crusade vows by making cash contributions in lieu of personal service in crusade expeditions. Maier shows for the first time how the friars came to play a crucial role in this money-raising process.

JAMES A. BRUNDAGE
University of Kansas

WOLFGANG P. MÜLLER. *Huguccio: The Life, Works, and Thought of a Twelfth-Century Jurist*. (Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law, number 3.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 220.

A better name for this slim book (150 pages of text plus three appendixes) might have been "Notes on Huguccio," for although each chapter has its individual merits the book as a whole lacks any organizing theme and in no case does the argument in one chapter depend on conclusions arrived at in another. None of these chapters would have suffered by being published separately as an article.

Chapter 1 takes up the problem of Huguccio's biography. Wolfgang P. Müller concludes that Huguccio was not the author of the *Derivationes*, a book of etymologies commonly attributed to him, and hence he cannot be said to have had a previous career in grammar. But he indeed was the bishop of Ferrara of the same name who ruled from 1190 until 1210, an appointment that apparently ended his scholarly productivity. Müller's arguments, however, are not decisive for either point. He is persuasive on the point that, even in the 1230s, canonists at Bologna remembered the details of Huguccio's career only hazily: possibly they knew no more than that Innocent III, in letters included among papal decretals, had acknowledged the learning and teaching of Huguccio, bishop of Ferrara, and had made the natural assumption that this Huguccio was the canonist. But Müller dismisses too readily the evidence of other thirteenth-century authors, notably Salimbene de Adam (who had spent several years in Ferrara ca. 1250), who, without mentioning any work in canon law, specifically stated that the same bishop wrote the *Derivationes*. Whether or not Huguccio wrote the *Derivationes*, however, he certainly was the author of a treatise on the etymology of saint's names, raising in a different way the question (that Müller in no way attempts to answer) of what

Huguccio's life was before he became a canonist and after he left Bologna.

In chapter 2 Müller considers the textual tradition of Huguccio's massive (and still unprinted) *Summa Decretorum*, with an emphasis on a fragment known as the *Continuatio Prima* that was incorporated into many manuscripts of the *Summa*. Müller concludes that the *Continuatio*, far from being the work of a student of Huguccio or even intended to fill a gap left unfinished in his *Summa*, was written shortly before Huguccio's own work by a canonist who was principally influenced by Huguccio's rival, Bazianus, and that this canonist had close ties with southern Italy. He notes that some decades ago Alphonse Stickler had identified the same characteristics as typical of the author of the work known as the *Summa Reginensis* but does not further attempt to link the two works or confirm the authorship of Stickler's proposed candidate, Petrus Beneventanus.

Chapters 3 and 4, which unfortunately account for only one-third of the text, finally come to Huguccio's work. In chapter 3 Müller discusses Huguccio's use of Roman law through a consideration of the passages—mainly the gloss to Gratian's *Distinctio 10*—in which the question of whether the church is bound by imperial laws is explicitly addressed. Müller has less to say about Huguccio's use of rules or principles from Roman law, although he includes an appendix giving the passages where Huguccio's records certain debates among his Romanist contemporaries. Chapter 4 concerns the "rigor" of Huguccio, that is, the severity of his judgments on proper conduct that led him to conclude, for example, that Lucretia sinned in committing adultery when she accepted rape rather than letting herself be killed. Rather oddly, Müller describes these views as "Abelardian," which they certainly are not, as he could have learned from even the most casual reading of the first ten pages of Abelard's *Ethics*.

The unspoken problem of this book is that, even compared to contemporary Paris, the sources for twelfth-century Bologna are neither abundant nor trustworthy. Rather than concentrating on details, where every questionable source creates a new and often surmountable difficulty, Müller might have done better to attend more closely to the intellectual context of the late-twelfth-century schools.

CHARLES M. RADDING
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EDWIN S. HUNT. *The Medieval Super-Companies: A Study of the Peruzzi Company of Florence*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 291. \$59.95.

Historians of the High and Late Middle Ages have long recognized the importance of the numerous merchant-banking companies with home offices in northern Italian towns and branches scattered across Western Europe and in some cases around the Mediterranean littoral. The involvement of these com-

panies in credit financing, especially in relation to the English monarchy, has been closely researched.

In this book Edmund Hunt makes a case for considering three fourteenth-century Florentine firms, the Bardi, Peruzzi, and Acciaiuoli, as a distinct subset of "super-companies," distinguished from the others by the heroic scale of their commodity trading (which necessitated sizeable organization), their extensive capital, and their activities as both international bankers and merchants across Western Europe and the Mediterranean over an extended period of time. Each of these companies represented an enterprise of greater magnitude than the famous Medici Bank of a century later. Hunt concentrates on the Peruzzi Company because of a relative wealth of evidence on its operations.

Two broad conditions made these companies possible. First, the dramatic population growth, especially of the northern Italian cities, created new markets for grain and cloth. Second, the areas where these desirable commodities could be found necessarily brought the merchants into the financing of states rapidly developing administrative powers: merchants seeking the abundant grain of southern Italy had to win the good will of the King of Naples; merchants seeking fine wool likewise had to cooperate with the King of England. Royal administrations controlled access and could grant privileges or even monopolies. The reversal of these two broad conditions by the second half of the century—as the population fell dramatically, the grain trade declined, and the English monarchy weened itself from a reliance on private companies for credit finance—altered the environment in which the super-companies had flourished.

Part 1 of Hunt's book lays out the structure of the Peruzzi super-company, distinguishing it carefully from the Peruzzi family and explaining its business and accounts. Part 2 provides an analytical narrative of the fortunes of the company through its six renewals between what was called in Peruzzi accounts the First Company in 1300 and the bankruptcy of the Sixth Company in 1343. About half of this section deals with the decline and collapse of the company. Hunt argues at length that the specific cause for failure cannot be attributed solely to excessive lending to Edward III of England. Although he condemns chairman Bonifazio's move from Florence to take charge of the English venture between 1338 and his death in 1340, he suggests that the scale of the loans was less sizable than they appear in surviving English records. The eventual loss to the company from the English connection, Hunt concludes, was thus not ruinous.

Hunt argues instead that the company was already in dangerous shape when it tried to restore its declining profitability by joining with the Bardi in English royal finance as a means of entry into the lucrative wool trade. A less dramatic and more cumulative series of blows destroyed the company. He points to a complex mix of distractive and divisive Florentine politics along with the city's disastrous warfare; he notes the damage

to depositor confidence caused by the loss of papal business; and he suggests that gradual governmental restrictions in both Naples and Florence reduced profits from the crucial grain trade.

Hunt sets out his arguments on all these technical matters in clear prose. It seems no less clear that the book will attract much interest and generate debate among specialists in a variety of fields.

RICHARD W. KAEUPER
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JOHN HUDSON. *Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 320. \$52.00.

The study of English legal history in the century after the Norman Conquest has recently undergone something of an efflorescence, and this book makes an important contribution. John Hudson tries to link two usually "largely separate" investigations: "studies of power within the honour and those of land law," concentrating on "how the aims and actions of lords and vassals were facilitated or constrained by power and ideas, and particularly by what might be referred to as legal norms" (p. 2). He attempts to "distinguish between principles, norms, and rules" (p. 9) and—most explicitly in the concluding "interpretative essay" (p. 263) on the changes made by Henry II—to discern how norms develop into rules. Norms, being flexible, were more binding in some situations than in others: "power and individual circumstances affect[ed] the weight which norms carried" (p. 197).

In lengthy discussions of the conclusions of Samuel Thorne and S. F. C. Milsom, Hudson argues against them that, long before the reign of Henry II, "various features of Anglo-Norman society, including the degree of royal power, . . . rendered the tenant quite secure during his lifetime and his heir in a strong position to succeed after his death" (p. 229). Development was probably most rapid during the reign of Henry I, whose role in the evolution of the English legal system Hudson stresses. Moreover, Henry II's "intentions for the administration of justice went well beyond making a feudal framework function properly according to its own terms" (p. 254), as Milsom has argued. There was, too, less opposition between the interests of lords and their tenants than has sometimes been supposed. Hudson argues as well that "church land holding, and notably the emphasis on the Church's lasting control of land and the close control exercised by the king, played an essential role in wider developments affecting land-holding and law" (p. 231). All in all, gradual development over the course of the century after the Norman Conquest roughed out the forms and much of the substance of the common law of land before the reign of Henry II.

Despite its title, its occasional claim to be integrating social and legal history, and its relatively accessible style, this is a work of legal history fairly narrowly construed, but it is a very good one. Hudson does,

however, sometimes promise more than he delivers. Repeated assertions of the importance of concepts in the formation and operation of norms are not much developed—"power" gets more time here than "ideas"—and the attention paid to Norman antecedents, although welcome, is erratic. A promised discussion of consumer demand as a factor in Henry II's reforms turns out to be little more than a page long. The statement that "religious, social, and economic causes existed for the decline" of the *laudatio parentum* in alienations (p. 276) is buttressed by one sentence of speculation. The book would have been even better than it is, and the reader more satisfied by a rounded whole, had these and similar topics been more fully developed.

EMILY ZACK TABUTEAU
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DENISE NOWAKOWSKI BAKER. *Julian of Norwich's Showings: From Vision to Book*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 215. \$29.95.

In 1373 Julian of Norwich recorded a series of visions that has come to be known as the Short Text of her *Showings*. Twenty years later she completed the Long Text, in which she demonstrates a mature and penetrating analysis of her visions. Denise Nowakowski Baker charts Julian's development from a mystic into an "erudite and original religious thinker" (p. 6) in these two versions. Drawing on the affective spiritual tradition and patristic and theological sources, Baker constructs a cultural context for Julian's *Showings*. She also argues for the creativity and originality of Julian's theodicy, literary artistry, and negotiation of her position as woman writer.

In chapter 1 Baker traces Julian's desire for three graces in the beginning of *Showings* to Bernard of Clairvaux's three stages of spiritual development: contrition, compassion, and contemplation. Her second chapter pursues the affective program of Julian's book in its episodes of Christ's passion. She argues that Julian's emphasis on visualization reflected current devotional practice and artistic representation.

Chapters 3–5 represent the core of Baker's analysis, in which she discusses Julian of Norwich's theological probing of the relationship of God to evil, the doctrine of predestination, and the medieval ideology of sin. She goes further than other scholars have to establish the theological contexts for Julian's ideas and to argue that the mystic critiques orthodox medieval theology. Julian's notions of the pedagogical rather than punishing consequences of sin, the "fortunate Fall," and the "goodly will" counter the predominately Augustinian theodicy of the Middle Ages, which viewed the human will as depraved, the human condition as defined primarily by Adam's transgression, and God's disposition toward man as wrathful. Baker's fourth chapter contrasts Julian's ontological understanding of the Fall with Augustine's moral one in the parable of the lord and servant. Julian's kinder, gentler version construes

sin as the result of blindness and ignorance rather than a rebellious will, and its consequence a separation from God rather than a suffering of His wrath.

Julian's analogizing of Christ to mother is the focus of the most problematic argument in Baker's book. Her claim that Christ's maternity ends up valorizing the bodily and the feminine and even "interroga[ting] the dominant medieval attitudes about gender by calling attention to the ambivalence toward woman in clerical ideology" (p. 124) is questionable. Caroline Walker Bynum has already shown how the maternal Christ has biblical, patristic and Cistercian analogues that do not necessarily call into question medieval gender roles (*Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the Irish Middle Ages* [1982]). Moreover, recent feminist scholars have critiqued this valorization of the bodily in medieval devotion as potentially reinforcing, rather than dismantling, gender binarisms. Baker does not sufficiently engage these arguments to persuade that Julian transcended medieval theologies of sexual difference.

Baker's final chapter turns to Julian's literary achievement. She cites as its hallmarks the interlacement of themes and recursive structure that simulated the meditative process.

Baker's book offers one of the fullest accounts so far of the theological genealogy and implications of Julian's *Showings*. If her study of Julian's "predicament as a woman writer" and appropriation of theological traditions to "better suit the demands of her genderfi" (p. 8) falls short, it nevertheless provides a valuable site for further inquiry.

KARMA LOCHRIE
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PAUL DALTON. *Conquest, Anarchy, and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066–1154*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, fourth series, number 27.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 345. \$69.95.

This book is vital for all concerned with 1066 and its impact. It is not only a work of consolidation of previous studies; of which Paul Dalton is a master, but pushes beyond anything done before concerning the north of England. If God lives in the detail, Dalton's conclusions must have divine support, since the detail is massive. Clarity is maintained, however. Dalton says what he is going to do; then he does it; then he says what he has done.

Dalton's opening chapter, concentrating on "the tenurial and military facts of the Norman take-over" in Yorkshire, through a "model" based on Domesday, shows greater rapidity of Norman control of England by 1086 than often credited. Careful in his use of both terms and data, he applies such factors as plough-team levels, castle building ("the linchpins of the conquest"), and enfeoffments to six categories of Yorkshire estates as evidence. He holds that the "harrying of the North" has been exaggerated and was geographically confined,

but the records of native suffering and the suggested 80 percent decline in the collective valuation of the North Riding between 1066 and 1086 (72 percent for East Riding)—figures not mentioned by Dalton—will speak to some more loudly than his explanations of Domesday "waste" as "compilation problems" and an "accounting device" (pp. 23, 25).

In chapters on "The Transformation of Yorkshire" to 1135, "Territorial Consolidation and Administrative Integration," and "Military Enfeoffments and Monasteries," Dalton demonstrates that both William Rufus and Henry I increased centralized authority in Yorkshire, replacing rebellious nobles with "new men" loyal to the court and increasing castle-centered "tenurial uniformity and compactness" (p. 93). In the chapter on "The Reign of Stephen" he emphasizes, as in so much else, both change and continuity: "controlled" anarchy, with the powerful and acquisitive Earl William of York far less a loyal agent of the crown than he has often been portrayed. Tenurial and familial factors increased his authority, but those of lesser lords limited it. In an important revisionist view, Dalton stresses in chapter 5, "The Scots in the North," that Scots, helped by Stephen's Yorkshire failures, played a highly ambitious role in both secular and ecclesiastical spheres in twelfth-century English history. His detailed analysis of the often neglected *cartae baronum* of 1166 shows northern resistance from lords fearful of Henry II's financial, political, and legal intrusions on their power and illuminates the nature of baronial authority.

A concluding chapter, "The First Century of English Feudalism," critiques Stenton's "seigneurial world" and its variations by S. F. C. Milsom, *The Legal Framework of English Feudalism* (1976) and S. E. Thorne in *Cambridge Law Journal* 6 (1959) and makes an outstanding contribution to the debate on the impact of Angevin legal reforms by examining "what actually happened in practice" (p. 259). The limitation of lordship in many ways antedated those reforms. Many historians sensibly "highlight the dangers of making historical assumptions about the social impact of legal change purely on the basis of legal records" (pp. 296–97). Many maps and tables of data help clarify the innovative contributions of this solid, significant work on the interplay of change and continuity in Norman Yorkshire.

WILLIAM A. CHANEY
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MODERN EUROPE

MARGARET J. OSLER. *Divine Will and the Mechanical Philosophy: Gassendi and Descartes on Contingency and Necessity in the Created World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 284. \$49.95.

This book represents the fruit of a couple of decades of work by Margaret J. Osler on issues relating to voluntarism and mechanism in the seventeenth century. As with many of the author's earlier studies, the prime

focus is on Pierre Gassendi, although René Descartes is here used extensively as a counterpoint. The central theme, as the title suggests, is that of contingency versus necessity in the constitution of the natural world. The book therefore begins with an overview of medieval theological and metaphysical doctrines on these matters. The claim is that in the seventeenth century these theological questions became transformed into natural philosophical ones, with ontological and epistemological considerations coming to the fore.

Taking Gassendi as the philosophical heir to William of Ockham and the nominalists, and Descartes as heir to Thomas Aquinas (by way of the Thomistic teaching of the Jesuits), Osler characterizes their positions as follows: Gassendi, the nominalist, stressed the contingency of the created world on the will of God. Thus rationalist, or intellectualist, approaches to understanding that world were, for him, of no value, since the human mind could not know what God had to do in making the world: God could do anything. As a consequence, Gassendi emphasized empiricism as the only way to learn about the freely created natural world. Descartes, by contrast, stressed the necessity inherent in the world. This was a created necessity freely imposed by God, but one that, as result, related the components of creation in ways intelligible to the human mind, itself created so as to grasp these necessities. The epistemological corollary to this view was that an intellectualist approach to philosophy was capable of determining at least the basic constituents of the world and their properties, together with the general laws of nature that governed their behavior. This was the project founded in Descartes's *Meditations* (1641) and carried through in his *Principles of Philosophy* (1644).

One of Osler's chief conceptual tools in presenting this account is the distinction between the "absolute" and "ordained" powers of God. Inherited from medieval theology, the first concept concerns God's ability to do anything whatever (at least, anything not involving a logical contradiction); it follows from the doctrine of divine omnipotence. The second concept concerns the voluntarily curtailed abilities of God as they relate to the maintenance of the created order. The ordinary course of nature depends on the sustaining power of God, and hence is a manifestation of the "ordained" kind of divine power. Gassendi appears as an uncompromising voluntarist who collapsed together God's absolute and ordained powers, whereas Descartes kept them separate and allowed created necessities in the realm of God's ordained power.

There is little explicit suggestion in Osler's account of ambiguities or problems in the positions of her main protagonists. But such seem to exist. Thus Gassendi explained in his posthumous *Syntagma philosophicum* (1658) that the reality of indivisible atoms followed from Zeno's paradoxes, which established infinite divisibility as self-contradictory. Osler comments (p. 190) that the "necessary existence of indivisible atoms

(given that God created matter at all) is thus an acceptable limitation of divine power since it follows from the principle of noncontradiction." This principle is, however, potentially of very wide extent: where Osler presents Descartes (p. 163) as the intellectualist who holds that the nature of a triangle can be known a priori, Descartes could have said that, by definition, a triangle has to have certain properties in order to count as a triangle at all, so that a triangle without (for example) internal angles that sum to two right angles would be a self-contradiction. The difference between Descartes and Gassendi would then be less easy to package using a clear-cut "intellectualist/voluntarist" dichotomy.

Shortly after allowing Gassendi his a priori argument about indivisible atoms on the grounds that Zeno's paradoxes made it legitimate even for a voluntarist, Osler has Gassendi, the empiricist, aver the existence of motion despite Zeno. "Gassendi dismissed Zeno's paradoxes out of hand. Purely rational argument, he stated, cannot withstand the testimony of the senses" (p. 194). The situatedness of arguments is a feature absent from Osler's presentation of her protagonists; each subject, rather, is meant to act as an ideal type. Intellectual history, like the created world, is hard to make intelligible.

PETER DEAR

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ROGER FRENCH. *William Harvey's Natural Philosophy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 393. \$64.95.

Roger French gives us a learned, intellectual history of William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood and its eventual acceptance. It can be used as a handy summary of Harvey's ideas and contemporary debates about them, but it also introduces an important argument about the leading place of learned medicine in the development of experimental natural philosophy.

French begins by outlining the history of academic medicine from the rise of the universities to Harvey's time, showing the ways Harvey's work was shaped by that world. French then develops a plausible argument for how and why he came to his discovery, explaining that when Harvey gave his anatomical lectures to the London College of Physicians, he presented an academic commentary on a problem of general interest (the motion of the heart), duly setting down the *dubia* and observations at the end, as was proper. But he then sprang a surprise on his listeners: when the heart beat it was not forcefully expanding (as commonly taught) but vigorously contracting. Subsequently, as Harvey began to work out the consequences of this view, he decided that the heart's contraction expelled blood into the arteries and that the pulse was caused by this movement of the blood into the arteries. He further concluded that such a quantity of blood was expelled by systole from the heart in a short time that

it could not be replenished by the making of new blood but only by the return of blood from the body. According to French, the quantitative argument provided the main link between Harvey's discovery of the forceful systole and his theory of the circulation of the blood. Throughout his work and argument Harvey adopted both the Aristotelian view that one could study human anatomy and physiology by investigating them in animals, and the "rule of Socrates," which uses comparison and contrast to establish the essential nature of a thing. In French's view these two methods, when married to Harvey's investigative enterprise ("research," to French), contain the core of his natural philosophy.

The last two-thirds of the book follow the debates about Harvey's ideas through the (mainly Latin) medical literature on the Continent and in England. While French does not give an exhaustive account of the contemporary debates, he treats at length the major works in support of or in opposition to Harvey's hypotheses. Unlike some of his predecessors, French refuses to interpret opposition to the new theory as arising out of adherence to the ancients, stupidity, or some defect in character. In a final chapter, he sets his argument about Harvey's sources in the context of early seventeenth-century natural philosophy more generally, and concludes that it was through academic medicine that experiment, demonstration, mathematics, and mechanics were introduced into learned philosophical treatises. Harvey's natural philosophy, therefore, shows how crucial the subject of medicine was to the development of the "new philosophy" generally.

This is a work based almost exclusively on the primary sources concerned with Harvey's *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis* (1628). Although there is much to admire in this book, many readers will not be clear where French differs from other historians. Moreover, his Harvey is a deeply learned, autonomous, rational, disinterested, and almost secular intellectual whose biography and social relationships did not affect his ideas or their acceptance. His family background, relationship with the Earl of Arundel and with English monarchs, work as an officer of the College of Physicians, and cultivation of younger disciples are dealt with awkwardly or not at all. Perhaps more surprisingly, given the subject of the book, Harvey's other great work, his *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium* (1651), which is also revealing concerning the sources of his natural philosophy, is hardly mentioned. Yet, despite such limitations, French's book ought to be welcomed both for his sound summary of the course of the early modern arguments over the motion of the heart and the circulation of the blood, and for his arguments placing Harvey (and medicine more generally) at the heart of the scientific revolution of early modern Europe.

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ALFRED I. TAUBER. *The Immune Self: Theory or Metaphor?* (Cambridge Studies in Philosophy and Biology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 354. \$59.95.

Alfred I. Tauber, a philosopher of science and an immunologist, has written a major book persuasive enough to make it impossible to separate his activities as a scientist from the philosophical construction of his field. Specifically, this book interrogates the basic concept of the "self" as the source of immunity (p. 7) that made and makes immunology possible.

Tauber is a distinguished expert on the earliest history of immunology. He is the editor of an important collection of essays on *Organism and the Origins of Self* (1991). His groundbreaking book (co-authored with Leon Chernyak) on the creator of immunology, Elie Metchnikoff (*Metchnikoff and the Origins of Immunology: From Metaphor to Theory* [1991]), was substantially a history of the early debates within the evolving field of immunology. A comprehensive and concentrated recasting of this early history forms the beginning of his new work. Tauber's problem in this book is much different than in his earlier study. He wants to reformulate the basic question postulated by the great medical sociologist and philosopher Ludwik Fleck (1896–1961): how do conceptions of the "reality" determine the perceptions of reality? Here the central image is that of the "self." (See the materials in Robert S. Cohen and Thomas Schnelle, eds., *Cognition and Fact: Materials on Ludwik Fleck* [1986]). How does the philosophical and scientific understanding of the "self" alter the notion of the immunological system? (And, one might add, how does the theoretical construction of such a system alter over time the very meaning of the self?)

Tauber's work does not focus only on the formulation of the debate between Metchnikoff and his contemporaries about whether the "response" of the "self" is triggered purely from the invasion of bacteria from "without" or whether or how internal processes are more or less primary in this response. This debate between "phagocyte" and "humoral" theory is illustrative of the different constructions of the self as interdependent and/or autonomous. Tauber shows in a tour de force how *fin-de-siècle* theories of selfhood, such as those of Friedrich Nietzsche, parallel and underwrite the scientific theories. He also carefully and intelligently traces the components of these ideas of the self back through Arthur Schopenhauer and G. W. F. Hegel to their initial "modern" (Enlightened?) formulation in Immanuel Kant's epistemology.

This would have been sufficient for a book illustrating Tauber's basic premise: how very interdependent philosophical and scientific conceptions of selfhood are. But Tauber is careful not to make this an antiquarian book. When Fleck published his study of syphilis, *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact*, in 1935, he did so not because the early history of syphilis was a perfect example of how scientific theo-

ries came to be shaped and shape the epistemological systems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. (They are.) Rather, after August von Wassermann's work it became clear to Fleck that a new series of problems had arisen in the science of his time that would have made syphilis a major "problem" for the philosophers of science (had they been asking such questions). Tauber's book on the "immune self" is important for our discussions today because of the centrality of AIDS as an immune deficiency syndrome to our metaphorical life at another *fin de siècle*.

Tauber returns to the solid work of the philosopher Max Black on the centrality of metaphors as shaping (and being shaped) by the world in which we live. This philosophical analogue to Fleck means that Tauber can examine the constitution of the very notion of the "self" in modern AIDS discourse. As one of the "activists" cited by Tauber (p. 188), it is clear that my own language concerning AIDS in 1988 was affected by a specific idea of selfhood, but in my case not necessarily one taken from immunology. But it is also clear that the psychoanalytic notion of the "self" that I employed in my writing on AIDS is part of the metaphoric language of scientific "selfhood" that Tauber elegantly unravels (including a careful placing of Freud's notion of the self).

Can one separate out the various strands of meaning associated with the self and achieve a pure meaning? The answer according to Tauber is no. Immunologists cannot reduce their work to "a molecular definition of selfhood" (p. 291). Rather, as Tauber illustrates, the very idea of the self is defined by what the self is not. Like the earlier discussion of illness as the absence of health, the self is defined by the Other, that which the self is not. Drawing on a close and insightful reading (and critique) of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida, Tauber shows how our contemporary ideas of autonomy and selfhood are closely bound to our ideas of the Other. Here he loops his argument back to the beginning and provides a re-reading of the Nietzsche-Metchnikoff view of the self, showing how this reappears in our contemporary philosophy and contemporary immunology.

Is this philosophy or is it immunology? Unlike much of the philosophy of science, which takes science as its object but assumes an "objective" point of departure with the (really) pure science of philosophy, Tauber is happy to leave us confused and in a loop. Is it theory or metaphor, or can we never make the distinction between the two? Is it not that we must use our metaphors as if they were theories about the real world and that these theories come to shape our metaphoric language which, in turn. . . . Tauber has written a basic book on the question of the relationship between the discourses of science and the broader culture in which science functions. It is a central study of the pathological and the normal for our age of AIDS.

SANDER L. GILMAN
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ROBERT JÜTTE. *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*. (New Approaches to European History, number 4.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 239. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$14.95.

Robert Jütte's introductory text synthesizes nearly a quarter of a century's worth of historiographical work on the poor. His comprehensive survey draws on a number of local studies of towns and provinces that have uncovered not only the social welfare policies and practices of European governments but also the less organized strategies that the poor devised for survival. His book therefore provides a timely description of a developing consensus that reform of poor relief took place at the local rather than the national level. Although Jütte cannot fully capture the material and emotional plight that paupers experienced in the past, a sense that can only be achieved in the more intimate studies, he offers in clear comparative terms a much-needed statistical account of paupers in preindustrial Europe. He also offers compelling insight into the economic and political causes of poverty and the similarities and differences between Catholic and Protestant programs of relief.

Although Jütte accurately and wisely points out the interpretive problems of reading the lives of the poor through official records, visual images, and literary sources, he nevertheless details the many faces of poverty in early modern Europe. The most compelling discussions on the nature of poverty relate to the life cycle of individual families. Jütte points out that the births of children corresponded to peak periods of financial exigency in household histories, and that relief continued to be an urgent necessity until the children reached the age of fifteen, when they became contributors rather than consumers in the family economy. When these younger members were between the ages of fifteen and thirty-five, the family unit experienced an extended period of economic independence. A second stage of economic vulnerability arose when the younger generation of siblings married and had children of their own, either setting up their own households or remaining with the natal units. This was followed by a third stage of impoverishment during old age. Yesterday as today, therefore, statistics available from poor-relief operations reveal that poverty was primarily a condition of the very young and the very old, and that within these two groups, women, particularly heads of households, maintained a strong presence.

This predominance of the feminine and juvenile element in poverty demographics unfortunately is not reflected in Jütte's book by literary sources that might give us a richer narrative about the lives of poor women and children in the past. Indeed most of the biographical data on the poor included in the study relates to male subjects such as vagrants, swindlers, bandits, and highwaymen. This is perhaps the major flaw of a book that attempts to associate poverty with deviance in early modern Europe. The connection

obfuscates the important point that the majority of Europe's poor were socially integrated, socially conforming, powerless women and children whose lives were impoverished not through accident or lack of will but through the blind operation of a patriarchal system that rewarded all work but childrearing.

MAUREEN FLYNN

Hobart and William Smith Colleges

WILLIAM G. NAPHY. *Calvin and the Consolidation of the Genevan Reformation*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. 272. \$79.95.

Between 1541 and 1555, John Calvin and his supporters won complete control of the government of the city-state of Geneva. They then made Geneva into the international headquarters of a distinctive type of Protestantism, the only serious Protestant alternative to Lutheranism in most of Europe. Calvin's rise to power has often been studied by scholars, but usually from his own point of view, using his published correspondence and the accounts of his friends. There are, however, significant collections of relevant unpublished sources reflecting other points of view in the Geneva State Archives. A few local scholars and an even smaller number of outsiders, notably E. William Monter, have used them. William G. Naphy has closely reexamined all of this material and uses it to offer us the most detailed and fully documented account yet prepared of this momentous history.

Much of Naphy's book consists of rather dense narratives of factional disputes within Geneva. He begins with the quarrels between Articulants and Guillermins over terms of the necessary alliance with the powerful neighboring Protestant power of Bern. Those quarrels help explain the expulsion of Guillaume Farel and Calvin from Geneva in 1538 and the recall of Calvin alone in 1541. Naphy then explains how Calvin reshaped the Company of Pastors until it was made up almost entirely of highly educated fellow immigrants from France and at the same time recruited local lay elders for the new Consistory, creating a cadre of church leaders, both imported and domestic, strongly committed to his reform program. Naphy then examines the quarrels between the supporters of Calvin and the "children of Geneva" (or Perrinists). This controversy, Naphy argues, grew from local resentment at the growing social and economic influence of French religious refugees and the attempts of the imported French ministers to impose on Genevans customs that seemed foreign. In a particularly fresh and illuminating chapter, Naphy describes a series of bitter arguments over the names that parents were allowed to select for their children in baptism and argues convincingly that the generally successful attempts of the Reformed pastors to force parents to select biblical names and abandon the names of local saints were perceived as a kind of cultural imperialism. He also finds in Calvin's sermons evidence of vicious if

veiled attacks on leaders of the local opposition. In the end the Calvinists won a complete and lasting victory, the city was in many ways taken over by French immigrants, and the basis had been established for the further spread of the Calvinist form of Protestantism.

Naphy's account on occasion becomes too allusive. One is not always sure, for example, why a given individual is labeled a Calvinist rather than a "child of Geneva." There are also some minor slips in fact and in French usage. Overall, however, this book makes a contribution of major importance that no one interested in the early Calvinist Reformation should ignore.

ROBERT M. KINGDON

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R. B. WERNHAM. *The Return of the Armadas: The Last Years of the Elizabethan War against Spain, 1595-1603*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. xiv, 452. \$69.00.

A masterful knowledge of the Public Record Office's state papers is apparent in R. B. Wernham's long-awaited narrative of the closing years of the Elizabethan war against Spain. As in his earlier volume, *After the Armada* (1984), covering 1589 to 1594, this sequel is enriched with numerous original citations, useful maps, and a comprehensive index. In over twenty concise chapters he re-creates the lesser battles as well as the famous campaigns and presents the assessments of them by Elizabeth and her council. Throughout the text his perspective is focused on "English policies and English actions" (pp. 5-6) but not the entire international scene, so that Spanish, French, or Dutch reactions and strategies are less prominent. Accordingly, the reader will have a full account of a famous event, such as the sack of Cadiz in 1596 (pp. 94-113) or the lesser-known Spanish capture of Calais in the same year (pp. 62-72). There is due credit to the exploits of Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, and John Hawkins, but the less famous activities of Thomas Baskerville, Richard Leveson, William Monson, and Robert Mansell emerge in a sharper light. A surprising prominence had to be given to the earl of Essex, since his grandiose designs influenced Elizabeth's decisions unduly, despite his abysmal performance as a leader of men and insensitivity to tactical and logistical realities. Accordingly, there is a digression into Essex's later follies in Ireland and London (pp. 299-318, 347-60) that distracts from the drama of the war against Spain.

Although the title highlights Philip II's formidable naval plans against Elizabeth, very little needs to be written about them as the armada of 1596 (over 100 ships) and 1597 (about 135 ships) were each driven back to Spain by severe gales, or a "Protestant wind" (pp. 130-40, 184-90). Under Philip III there was a greater scare about a new naval force that prompted expensive coastal defenses that matched those of the crisis of 1588, but this "invisible armada" had been suddenly ordered southward to protect the Canary

Islands (pp. 263–72). Finally, in 1601, Juan de Aguilá's squadron (hardly an armada) reached Ireland with forces too small and too late to make a difference in the final phase of the repression of the Irish insurrection (pp. 377–88). This and other incidents raise the question of why this war dragged on for so long, to which Wernham gives a partial answer in his close attention to the statements of the queen, showing her firm conviction that the Dutch resistance to Spain might falter without her support. For this reason the chapters appraising the queen's hesitations about joining the peace discussions at Vervins in 1598 and Boulogne in 1600 (pp. 210–31, 319–30) are rewarding. To the relief of the Dutch leadership and Henry IV, the queen's implacable suspicions against Spain lasted until her death. This painstaking research is a significant contribution to naval and diplomatic history, which supplements the perceptive study of Wallace MacCaffrey of some of the same areas and those of Kenneth Andrews and Pauline Croft into the ambitious and risky privateering and contraband activities of the English against Spain during this costly war.

ALBERT J. LOOMIE
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disaffected Gaels as would allow the latter's land to be pacified.

Combining new data from Spanish sources with the statistical assessments of the contemporary observer, Sir William Petty, Stradling furnishes estimates of the numbers of "Wild Geese" reaching Spain, the vast majority of whom were transported veterans of the defeated armies of the Confederation of Kilkenny, which association had spearheaded resistance in the rising of 1641. It is the saga of these forces, both in Ireland and in Spain—between 1641 and 1654—that serves as the focus of this study, although much else of value is provided. Woven into the narrative, the copious notes, and illustrative appendixes are details, not only of mercenary life and death but also of the remarkable workings of the military *administración* of the formidable "Spanish System," the nature of contracts (both state sponsored and private), methods of recruitment, and rates of pay. As an added bonus, for those of a genealogical bent, the names of many of the "*Fianna Fáil*" have been provided for posterity. This is a contribution worthy of note, as valuable to Iberian and British studies as it is to Irish.

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R. A. STRADLING. *The Spanish Monarchy and Irish Mercenaries: The Wild Geese in Spain, 1618–68*. Portland, Oreg.: Irish Academic. 1994. Pp. 219. \$39.50.

Based on extensive research in Spanish, Irish, and English archives, this well-conceived and executed volume by R. A. Stradling throws considerable and important light on the development by Habsburg Spain of the regular traffic in mercenary Irish troops in the critically important middle decades of the seventeenth century. The outline of the story is already familiar to students of the period, but for the first time it is related in exacting detail, the result providing the most concise and erudite history of the origins of the "Wild Geese" yet produced.

The book is set against a complex and variegated backdrop: a beleaguered Spanish monarchy in desperate need of fighting men by reason of the Thirty Years' War, internal insurrection, and revolt in Portugal; the deplorable state of pre and post-Cromwellian Ireland; and the recurrent desire of the Protestant English to inhibit the possibility of armed rebellion within their Gaelic dependency. Stradling deftly negotiates the tortuous interplay among the disparate protagonists—Iberians, Hibernians, Royalists, Parliamentarians—to establish that from the first, on occasion and when policy suited, a kind of perverse symbiosis existed among the players in which all involved saw themselves as benefiting. For the Spaniard, the benefit was in having access to a steady supply of battle-tested troops; for the Irish, it was in gaining passport to ply their warrior craft and escape the rough justice of their Protestant oppressors; whereas for the English, the chief (but unrealized) aim was the removal of as many

JEREMY BLACK. *European Warfare 1660–1815*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 276. \$30.00.

Jeremy Black has built his latest book on the impressive erudition and broad perspectives that have become the hallmarks of his scholarship. Attempting to explain the growing capacity of Europe's major powers to deploy their armed might both at home and abroad, he seeks to provide a global context for European wars by giving due weight to naval developments and conflicts in far-off lands. He locates the essence of an early modern military revolution in the enhanced organizational capacity of Europe's sovereign states rather than in the tactical reforms highlighted by Michael Roberts's (*The Military Revolution, 1560–1660* [1956]). And he insists that we must examine momentous innovations in three distinct periods to understand the basis of Western military dominance. The first of these periods (1470–1530), Black argues, established the importance of firearms and the *trace italienne*; the second (1660–1720) witnessed the rise of large standing armies and navies; and the third (1792–1815) demonstrated the potential of the *levée en masse*.

After introducing his primary theme, Black examines the evolution of weapons and tactics, properly giving special emphasis to the impact of the flintlock musket and routine drill on infantry firepower. Determined to challenge what he regards as inappropriate assumptions about the limited nature of eighteenth-century warfare, he then considers the question of decisiveness in *ancien régime* struggles, which he finds particularly pronounced in naval battles fought beyond European shores. Proceeding to a treatment of successive subperiods, Black traces the formation of sizeable

military establishments in France, Austria, Russia, and Britain in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century; the emergence of Prussia and the triumph of Britain in the mid-eighteenth-century conflicts; the dominance of Prussian methods and the significance of French reforms in the late eighteenth century; and the culmination of the prolonged Anglo-French confrontation during the revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. He includes a chapter on social and political contexts that treats the shifting roles of monarchs and nobles in the military systems, enduring problems of recruitment, the harshness of conditions among the rank and file, and levels of popular participation before and after 1789. Black closes with a brief reflection on the relationship between war and innovation.

Black has pursued a huge agenda, unfortunately with uneven results. His grasp on an incredible range of secondary authorities enables him to mention innumerable examples and illustrations, but he raises many more issues than he can adequately explore. Specialists will be disappointed by his stress on immediate factors at the expense of deeper causes and by the lack of a sustained focus on his contention that we can find the truly portentous consequences of European military history in the global expansion of Western military strength. General readers, meanwhile, will be confused by the recurring tendency to present conflicting interpretations and qualify basic assertions without adequate resolution, even on the topic of decisiveness. A weak conclusion merely compounds these difficulties. It can be hoped that Black will devote subsequent research projects to a comprehensive analysis of the various worthwhile ideas set forth in this study.

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ANDREAS OSIANDER. *The States System of Europe, 1640–1990: Peacemaking and the Conditions of International Stability*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. 358. \$54.00.

This book seeks to explain something scholars have neglected in concentrating on the incidence and causes of war, namely, the sources of international stability. Its method is an analysis of the leading ideas, arguments, and bargaining techniques used in the four main peace settlements of the European states system, Westphalia (1648), Utrecht (1713–15), Vienna (1814–15), and Paris (1919–20), to locate what the author calls a “consensus agenda,” the shared “structural principles” undergirding the settlements and the international system as a whole. Andreas Osiander finds different consensus elements in each settlement: at Westphalia, loyalty, legality, and structural inviolability; at Utrecht, autonomy, equality, security, and balance of power; at Vienna, dynastic legitimacy; and at Paris, national self-determination.

How well does the undertaking succeed? My verdict is that the analysis is fairly good for Westphalia; makes some useful points but is mainly unsatisfactory on

Utrecht; fails for Vienna; and is worse than useless on Paris.

Space allows only the sketchiest backing for this verdict. On Westphalia, Osiander makes a good case for an underlying consensus on loyalty and legality, less so for “structural inviolability.” He also offers other useful insights and correctives, sometimes more as *obiter dicta* than by argument. Two flaws are the insistence that German nationalism rather than *Reichspatriotismus* and a shared interest in religious peace constituted a central consensus element in Germany (Osiander, a German scholar, strangely misunderstands the German question throughout the book), and the failure to connect Richelieu’s collective security scheme for Europe with French aims for territorial expansion and hegemony, as two sides of the same coin.

The consensus agenda he finds at Utrecht is mainly familiar but sound enough. Three defects vitiate the analysis, however. First is the neglect of economic factors and trade as causes both of prolonged war and ultimate consensus (economic factors in dissensus and consensus are overlooked throughout the book). Second is his view of war in this era as being relatively nonideological, conducted without passionate hatred, and superficial in its impact on the international system (pp. 107–08 and *passim*). For the period 1689–1713, this view cannot hold. The most serious problem for his thesis, however, is his insistence that Utrecht rested on general, system-wide consensus, with the only resistance, from Spain, being easily overcome. In fact, as his own evidence shows, the peace rested on Anglo-French hegemonic consensus, accepted willingly by the Dutch because they profited from it, but needing to be imposed by force on both Spain and Austria over the next fifteen years.

Most of the analysis of Vienna is conventional and superficial, and the rest misleading or downright wrong. Osiander subscribes to the legend of Talleyrand’s leading influence while misunderstanding his doctrine of legitimacy (despite some of the very quotations he gives). He does no better with Tsar Alexander or Castlereagh, and manages to analyze the stability of the Vienna system without discussing the German Confederation. To be sure, anyone who believes that “the political climate in early nineteenth-century Germany was resolutely pan-German, leaving little room for particularism” (p. 198) cannot do so.

Considerations of space lead me to pass over the chapter on the Paris settlement in silence. It represents in both arguments and sources the sort of discussion in vogue sixty or seventy years ago.

The problem with the book as a whole is, first of all, inadequate research. Osiander has read fairly widely in published documentary sources (although not for 1919–20), but he has not mastered the important secondary literature even for the first two congresses sufficiently to avoid serious mistakes of detail and interpretation, and he has left untouched a mound of important new research on Vienna and a mountain on

Paris. There are also problems of method and exposition impossible to elaborate on here. Suffice it to say that although the work represents a potentially valuable, if over-ambitious, approach and contains interesting insights and ideas, it falls short in research and depth of analysis.

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HILTON L. ROOT. *The Foundation of Privilege: Political Foundations of Markets in Old Regime France and England*. (California Series on Social Choice and Political Economy, number 26.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 280. \$45.00.

Hilton L. Root has produced a fascinating reevaluation of political institutions and economic developments in seventeenth and eighteenth-century France and England. The book endeavors to discover why it was England, rather than France, that first crossed the threshold from being a pre-market to a market economy.

The gist of Root's argument is that institutional structures rather than ideas or the actions of individuals made "modernization" more likely to occur in England. In England, says Root, there was a greater possibility for economic privileges to be bought, sold, or exchanged. Quite convincingly, Root points out that with regard to the economy the Parliament was to England what the controller general of finances was to France. Because French kings were perceived as being above the law, they were considered a greater credit risk by money lenders. The limited monarchs of England, however, were able during the eighteenth century to borrow more money at relatively low interest rates, thanks to the confidence instilled in the system by Parliament and a central bank.

Root says that corruption prevailed in England, whereas cronyism characterized France. By this he means that bribery and other unsavory methods of gaining political or economic favors were widespread in England. But most of this activity went through Parliament, so at least there was a fairly open discussion. Businessmen or guilds that sought privileges had to apply to Parliament, where representatives from other regions were likely to oppose them. The result was that entry into markets became easier and more open to competition, with fewer local privileges being upheld.

In France, groups that wished to maintain old or win new privileges worked through private patron/client networks, the provincial intendants, and the office of the controller general. The granting of privileges was accomplished in a much less open fashion. The result was that guilds remained strong and thousands of individuals, cities, and provinces retained a host of tax exemptions, monopolies, and other special rights.

Despite its merits, this work suffers from some

uneven research. For example, Root cites my book, *The French Council of Commerce, 1700-1715: A Study of Mercantilism after Colbert* (1983). Yet, inexplicably, he states that it was a "bureau" of commerce established in 1700 (p. 25). More importantly, he fails to confront my argument that French merchants had a significant impact on the development of mercantilist policies; Root asserts that French economic regulations were produced by *dirigisme* from above. Root's neglect of works like Harold T. Parker's volumes on the bureau of commerce in the 1780s is puzzling.

Finally, I was annoyed by the social-science jargon. Phrases such as "communicate across paradigms" and "information asymmetry" abound. What is worse, the book is heavily repetitive. On page 4, for example, one reads "Similarly, the American Civil War might have been avoided if a contract could have been written to reimburse the South for the liberation of slaves." And on page 244 Root says "Similarly, the American Civil War might have been avoided . . ."

It is unfortunate that a work offering an intriguing new interpretation of Old Regime economic development should suffer from such a faulty delivery.

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ROBERT JENSEN. *Marketing Modernism in Fin-de-Siècle Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. vii, 367. \$29.95.

The subject of Robert Jensen's book is both broader and narrower than its title suggests. Broader, because Jensen offers a critical rereading of the emergence of a modernist aesthetic as the dominant force in the contemporary canon of European art. Yet also narrower, because his analysis, partly as a consequence of its comprehensiveness and international scope, perforce remains at an abstract, metastructural level. Jensen accordingly has much more to say about the discursive construction of various forms of artistic production, in terms such as "commercial," "authentic," "temperament," and "system," than he does about the actual development of the market for modernist painting in late-nineteenth-century Europe. On its own terms, however, this study is an important contribution.

The crux of Jensen's argument involves the critical and historical accounts that gave French modernists, beginning with the Impressionists, their canonical status. The argument rests on two interconnected premises. First, Jensen situates these accounts in a complex matrix of institutional practices aimed at masking or removing the taint of commercialism attached to dealer-sponsored exhibitions. Such practices included the "retrospective" exposition and catalogs presenting artists' work in terms of careers and influences rather than as bids for patronage; both emerged in commercial settings, pioneered by dealers like Paul Durand-Ruel in Paris and Paul Cassirer in Berlin. Second, Jensen argues that foreign, notably German, criticism

and the international market it served played a vital role in legitimating, indeed in mythologizing, modernist artists in France.

In making his case, Jensen brings a fresh perspective to sometimes familiar material. His nuanced treatment of the Paris salon makes clear that, despite longstanding criticism of its commercialism, the official exhibition retained an aura of disinterest that most dealers could hardly hope to achieve. The "dealer-critic system" described by Harrison White and Cynthia White (*Canvases and Careers* [1965; 1993]) thus did not emerge as easily as they suggest; few dealers were as successful as Durand-Ruel in identifying themselves with a movement rather than with commerce. Jensen builds on previous scholarship to propose a new reading of the Central European Secessionist movement. He sees the Secessionists less as harbingers of modernism than as a transitional phase between official exhibitions and a dealer-dominated art market. Although the Secessionists provided a kind of "altruistic cover" (p. 234) for the introduction of French modernism into Germany, they did so at the expense of the centrist artists, those rejecting both academicism and radical innovation, they had originally sought to showcase.

Dense, deftly argued, and massively documented, this book consistently favors discussion of texts over institutions; with a few exceptions, museums and exhibition practices get notably short shrift. Jensen also devotes more time to the elaboration of broad, abstract concepts like "the *juste milieu* international" (centrist artists, the title of chapter 5) or "the Impressionist *Weltanschauung*" (a German critical construct, part of the title of chapter 7) than their explanatory power warrants. The book also could have used some illustrations, since the *juste milieu* will be largely unfamiliar to the nonspecialist. But these—along with small historical inaccuracies, such as the use of Verdun as a metaphor for the Franco-Prussian War (p. 220)—are minor flaws in a persuasive, original, and often brilliant book, one that usefully challenges dated but still prevalent assumptions about the making of modern art.

DANIEL J. SHERMAN
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GILLES LIPOVETSKY. *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*. Translated by CATHERINE PORTER. Foreword by RICHARD SENNETT. (New French Thought.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 276.

Gilles Lipovetsky's most recent book is not merely a history of fashion: of costume, designers, and business empires. Instead he defends the ephemeral self at the heart of consumer culture against neo-Marxist critiques. The Frankfurt School, and more recently Pierre Bourdieu, derided fashion—here meant in the most abstract sense as a system of commodification—as a means of social distinction that sustains class hierarchy

and at the same time manipulates and standardizes popular consciousness. Fashion, as Thorstein Veblen argued from another point of view, is conspicuous waste that marks social respectability and signals the degradation of democratic, rational "man" into an irrational consumer occupied more with artifice than reality.

Against these familiar arguments, Lipovetsky argues that fashion is not epiphenomenal (the product of a specific socioeconomic system) or irrational, but rather constitutive of modern democracies. Fashion represents a new "social temporality" (p. 23) that makes possible the dizzying diversification and individuation characteristic of modern democratic political systems. According to Lipovetsky, fashion appears in the late Middle Ages as a challenge to static models of the self molded by custom and convention. By the mid-nineteenth century fashion designers asserted independence from the whims of their clients and became artists in their own right; fashion not only embellished selves, but transformed them. This process accelerated in the 1920s, as Parisian *haute couture* institutionalized the idea that fashion represents change. Ready-to-wear clothing, invented in the 1950s, revolutionized the fashion industry by making once inaccessible models available to greater numbers of people and inaugurating a phase in fashion "governed wholly by the logic of individualism" (p. 101). In a particularly insightful moment, he observes that this individualism is precisely what alienated *haute couture*'s traditional wealthy clientele and transformed fashion's meaning; fashion no longer represented one's social status but signified being "in the know." Thus fashion levels, it democratizes, but it does not homogenize individuals. On the contrary, fashion now permits a wide variety of self-expression and demonstrates the reduction of substantive inequality in democratic societies.

In a subtle rejoinder to Alexis de Tocqueville's fears about equality's homogenizing effects, Lipovetsky argues that fashion individuates even as it universalizes; the imperative to "be yourself" is never separable from a desire to recognize yourself as part of a larger community. The book's original French title, *L'Empire de l'éphémère*, aptly captures this paradox. But he deemphasizes the universalizing thrust of fashion in favor of its challenge to social hierarchies in a variety of contexts (in media, politics, and celebrity). This affirmation of popular culture and its democratic effects is welcome and theorizes in a broader context the work of American media scholars. Yet his analysis neglects the evidently central question of the relationship between democratic individualism and gender. He insists that fashion's almost total preoccupation with women's bodies is part of a mystical "sacralization of feminine beauty" (p. 115), and he draws a link between our cult of youthful bodies and the logic of narcissistic, democratic individualism. Although Lipovetsky claims that fashion is central to stable democracy and thus to reducing inequality, he fails to analyze how and why

the fashioning of women's bodies sustains gender inequities.

CAROLYN J. DEAN
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DAVID S. KATZ. *The Jews in the History of England, 1485–1850*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 447. \$62.00.

The explosion of scholarly writings on modern Jewish history has now reached Anglo-Jewish history, until very recently something of a backwater where the writings of a handful of historians, admittedly excellent, held sway. Most recent scholarship has concentrated on the post-1880 period, and little of it has attempted a fresh look at the earlier years of Anglo-Jewish history. In the absence of anything new, aside from an enormous amount of antiquarianism of uneven merit, the two most important works were Cecil Roth's *A History of the Jews in England* (1941) and Todd M. Endelman's *The Jews of Georgian England 1714–1830* (1979). Roth's seminal work, covering the whole of Anglo-Jewish history with unmatched erudition from medieval times until Jewish parliamentary emancipation in 1858, has remained the central study. Written in the year the mass murders of the Holocaust began, it was implicitly if not explicitly a testimonial to British liberalism and tolerance, notions against which many younger Anglo-Jewish historians, writing of the more recent past, have revolted. Endelman's deeply researched and impressively written work is more in the optimistic tradition of Cecil Roth than are the works of most of his British contemporaries.

Perhaps because of Roth's towering position, no one during the past half century has attempted to write a successor volume to his work, one covering the pre-1858 period but based on fresh evidence and seen with fresh eyes. This gap has now been filled by David S. Katz, whose study for the most part provides a worthy replacement to Roth's book. He demonstrates many of Roth's best qualities, especially a scholarly erudition of demanding thoroughness and an equally thorough knowledge of the British background against which Anglo-Jewish history is set. The work is a pleasure to read and fills in many of the dark places in our knowledge of the subject. Katz's revision of our view of the Jews and crypto-Jews in Henrician and Elizabethan England is particularly impressive; there is virtually no part of this subject about which he has not found something new and interesting to say, and his judgments are generally very sound. His work is, however, not Cecil Roth in modern dress: the medieval Anglo-Jewish community, which figures prominently in Roth's work, is not covered at all, and the book ends rather perversely in 1850 rather than eight years later with parliamentary emancipation, the obvious cut-off point. Perhaps Katz did not wish, in a long book, to write a further *megilla* on this complex subject.

It may seem churlish in reviewing such an excellent, deeply researched work to point out that some things

have been missed, but they have. One wishes to know more, for example, about the remarkable judgment of R. versus Osborne in 1732, unmentioned in this work, in which the group defamation of Jews in a newspaper accusation of "blood libel" was deemed seditious in English law. Another road not explored here is the country tradition of populist anti-Semitism, culminating with William Cobbett, whose violent and incorrigible hostility to Jews marks him out as one of the few English writers whose anti-Semitism was akin to that of the Continent. Although Katz writes intelligently and with originality about philo-Semitism, he makes no mention of the tradition of rallies and large-scale fundraising among philo-Semitic gentiles during outbreaks of persecution of Jews elsewhere during the early nineteenth century, for example during the Damascus affair of 1840.

At a more fundamental level, too, the book's title only partially describes its contents, for it is precisely the larger and deeper implications of the Jewish presence in British society that are not examined here, certainly not in the searching way that both Roth and Endelman have discussed this important question. The central fact of post-readmission Jewish life in Britain, as elsewhere in the English-speaking world, is that it is almost always a success story, anti-Semitism invariably being marginalized even after brief periods of increased hostility. In contrast, Jewish life on the European continent was a continuing tragedy ending in catastrophe. Explaining why this was so should be the central theme of any work on Anglo-Jewish history, a fact clear enough to Roth and his generation, who witnessed its truth with their own eyes. Given the excellence of his engagement with so many aspects of the evolution of Anglo-Jewry, it is disappointing that Katz did not address this most important of questions.

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CORD OESTMANN. *Lordship and Community: The Lestrangle Family and the Village of Hunstanton, Norfolk, in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, or Centre of East Anglian Studies, Bury St. Edmunds, U.K. 1994. Pp. 289. \$63.00.

This book by Cord Oestmann analyzes the economic, social, and religious structures of Hunstanton, a village of about 250 inhabitants located on the northwest coast of Norfolk. It is of historical importance not only because of surviving records but also because it was governed by a resident family of gentry. The key figure in the family during the first half of the sixteenth century was Sir Thomas Lestrangle (d. 1545), who was one of the most powerful men in Norfolk, a personal acquaintance of Henry VIII, and also closely connected with the Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Cromwell.

The most substantial sections of the book deal with social and economic aspects of community life.

Whereas the villagers of Hunstanton were primarily arable farmers growing barley, Lestrangle engaged in large-scale sheep farming and after 1538 in the fattening of cattle. The interests of lord and tenants rarely clashed with the result that Hunstanton stood apart from the conflicts that contributed to the Norfolk rebellion of 1549. Oestmann concludes that the Lestrangle family was able to maintain a paternalistic attitude toward tenants and at the same time maximize its own profits. Among the villagers, social distinctions were pronounced, but wealthier members of the community were expected to help their poor neighbors. Geographical isolation, little population change, as well as a large number of small and middling husbandmen explain the remarkable social tranquility of the village. In this comfortable setting the Protestant teachings of the Church of England took root with little opposition. In 1550 Edward VI presented the vicarage of Hunstanton to John Legge, a married reformer, who helped parishioners prepare Protestant wills until the accession of Mary when he disappeared from local records. The Marian interlude proved to be a ministerial shambles, but the Elizabethan incumbents likewise left much to be desired. Although Oestmann finds the villagers conformist in outlook, it was not until the late 1570s that an outspoken Protestant attitude appeared in surviving documents.

The major problem with this study is its narrow scope; fifty years of a small, remote agricultural village that could not support a local market may not be the most promising subject for a book-length monograph. Oestmann goes far to remedy this objection by placing his work in a broad historiographical context of community studies. Inevitably even specialized research leaves out important topics such as Hunstanton's role as a port, Sir Nicholas Lestrangle's coal imports from Newcastle, and housing and living conditions among the villagers. In some areas a reviewer would merely record dissent as in what appears to be an exaggeration of the importance of minor village offices such as constable. On the whole, the strengths of this book outweigh its weaknesses because Oestmann has produced a clearly written work based on meticulous archival research combined with an excellent command of secondary works. This book may be recommended as it offers sensible conclusions, includes a valuable bibliography, and avoids ideological dogmatism.

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DAVID DANIELL. *William Tyndale: A Biography*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 429. \$30.00.

This work is the first full-scale biography of Tyndale in six decades. David Daniell spent years digging into the most obscure corners of William Tyndale's life, and as a result the book easily supersedes all previous efforts. At the same time it is badly flawed by perhaps the most fundamental error a biographer can make: overidenti-

fication with his subject. Scarcely a single judgment in the entire book is even mildly critical of Tyndale, and every event of his life is relentlessly ground to fit this hagiography. John Colet, Martin Luther, Erasmus, and others receive the back of Daniell's hand when they diverge from Tyndale.

Daniell rightly reminds readers of the great impact that Tyndale's translation of the Bible had on English prose, and he defends the controversial parts of the translations as based on Tyndale's superior knowledge of Greek and Hebrew. The latter judgment of necessity would have to be evaluated by trained biblicists. Minor but telling examples of uncritical enthusiasm are scattered throughout the book, as when Daniell implies that in Tyndale's part of Gloucestershire even ploughboys were educated and devout enough to catch the nuances of translation from ancient languages.

Daniell is understandably irritated at the fact that his subject has often been overshadowed by Thomas More, with whom he carried on a lengthy polemical exchange. But his resentment ignores the modern works on More, which range from the judiciously critical to the openly debunking, a spirit of criticism Daniell does not show toward his own subject. He regards More's polemical style as demonstrating a dishonest and possibly disordered mind and presents Tyndale by contrast as balanced and reasonable. But, although Tyndale did not use the scurrilous kind of rhetoric common in the sixteenth century, and of which More is indeed fond, he did repeatedly accuse More and other Catholics of deliberate falsification of Christian teaching and conscious dishonesty. At one point More's defense of Catholic doctrine is dismissed by Daniell as "place-seeking" (p. 272), although the place to which it brought him was Tower Hill.

Again understandably, Daniell presents Tyndale as a hero in the struggle for religious freedom, opposed to Catholic tyranny. But after the triumph in England of what can be called Tyndale's theology, heretics continued to be burnt until 1612. Daniell is so agitated on the point that he descends to dishonesty, letting the unwary reader assume that Elizabeth Barton, executed for her prophecies against Henry VIII, belongs on the list of Protestant martyrs.

The book's basic fault is an unhistorical assumption that the religious battles of the sixteenth century were simply between "the true Gospel" and medieval distortions. To Daniell, Tyndale's theology was self-evidently true and was bound to triumph for that reason. Theologians and others have been debating for centuries the "true meaning" of the New Testament, but Daniell does not even bother to argue his position. Hence of necessity anyone who disagreed with Tyndale must have been foolish or worse.

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BRYAN W. BALL. *The Seventh-Day Men: Sabbatarians and Sabbatarianism in England and Wales, 1600-1800*.

New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 402. \$65.00.

CHRISTOPHER W. MARSH. *The Family of Love in English Society, 1550–1630*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 305. \$59.95.

In studies of the Protestant Reformation in England, the focus is most often on the theology, social outlook, and political ideals of Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Independents. Only over the last two decades have scholars begun to undertake critical assessments of the many Protestant groups whose interpretation and practical application of scriptural precepts placed them at odds with the majority of their coreligionists. In 1972, Christopher Hill's *The World Turned Upside Down* began the important task of elucidating the ideas of radical sectarians, and much good work, particularly in local studies, has been published since the appearance of Hill's book. In these two books we are presented with detailed and balanced assessments of two groups whose exceptional practices earned them both condemnation and persecution.

In the case of the Sabbatarians, who observed Saturday as the divinely appointed day of worship and rest, Brian W. Ball reminds us that, although many of the sects which emerged in the seventeenth century—Seekers, Ranters, Fifth Monarchy Men, and the Family of Love—exerted influence for perhaps a decade or more, the “Seventh-day Men” continued to pursue their doctrine, albeit in families and groups with no common center, from the early seventeenth until the middle of the eighteenth century. Their central idea of Saturday observance continues to be embraced in many parts of the English-speaking world today.

Ball's search of manuscript material reveals that the movement of nonconformist Saturday observance, whose earliest roots are identified with the Celtic church and Lollardy, was widespread in England and Wales, particularly in the south of England. The work of two of the earliest and best-known Sabbatarians, John Traske and Theophilus Brabourne, provides important background to the spread of the movement during the seventeenth century. Congregations in London, the South, the far South-West, the Thames valley, East Anglia, and Wales are each treated in terms of group identity and evolution. A helpful bibliography of Seventh-day literature over the one-hundred-and-fifty-year period covered by the book is included in an appendix.

Ball identifies three main reasons for the decline of Sabbatarianism in the late eighteenth century, and he does not fall into the trap of glibly assigning that amorphous catch-all, Enlightenment rationalism, as the main cause. Few Sabbatarian congregations enjoyed a trained and dedicated ministry, and leadership problems increased as the eighteenth century progressed. The lack of physical plant or permanent buildings also weakened the staying power of the congregations, as meetings in private residences, hired

halls, or barns could never become the organizational focus of believing members. Finally, the Sabbatarians never succeeded in establishing a solid network of associations, and the lack of cooperation or even informal organization strained efforts to train men for the ministry. Too often the Seventh-day believers were associated in the popular mind with the extremism of John Traske.

Christopher Marsh's book investigates a movement numerically smaller than Sabbatarianism, but one that cut across social and economic boundaries, especially during the final two decades of Elizabeth I's reign. He adopts a microhistorical approach in this study, eschewing quantification for narrative analysis and restricting himself to the elusive members of one religious community. Because they left few records behind and always sought safety in a network of secrecy, Marsh contends that any effort to understand the nature and dimensions of the Familists in England obliges the historian to employ a carefully harnessed imagination (p. 14).

In addition to tracing the existence, activities, and beliefs of Familists in the East Anglian countryside and at the court of Elizabeth, Marsh effectively challenges the argument recently put forward by Alastair Hamilton (*The Family of Love*, [1981]) that English Familists, unlike their Continental counterparts, were drawn largely from the ranks of poorer villagers and townspeople. Marsh demonstrates that the Family of Love in England attracted followers across all classes, and perhaps more importantly that many late-sixteenth-century English men and women who came into contact with the Familists were willing to tolerate their nonconforming neighbors. The work of most historians who have studied the Family of Love, Marsh claims, have relied too much on the negative evaluations of contemporaries committed to eliminating the heretical movement.

Both books affirm the fact that these groups were motivated by the original Protestant desire to return to apostolic origins, to push for a complete Reformation where Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Independents had failed. Unhappily, individual access to and interpretation of Scripture resulted not in the consensus on fundamentals that had been the hope of the initial sixteenth-century reformers, but in a wide array of beliefs and behaviors, each claiming the original purity of the first Christian communities.

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JOHN MARSHALL. *John Locke: Resistance, Religion and Responsibility*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 485. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$34.95.

This book by John Marshall is intended to “examine in detail the historical development of Locke's political, religious, moral and social thought throughout his

entire life" (p. xv). This design is not fulfilled completely for John Locke's political theory since that section of the book is mainly devoted to the scholarly controversies surrounding the dating of the *Second Treatise*. But the treatment of the other topics is fully comprehensive, and indeed the elaborate and extended account of Locke's positions on ecclesiology and theology is essentially the first complete study of Locke's thought in that domain and is unrivaled in the literature.

For every topic that he covers, Marshall seems to have made exhaustive use of all the available evidence. Where my expertise happened to overlap with his, I was impressed by the judiciousness of his interpretations both in detail and overall. I found his judgments weighty and considerable even where I differed and I have no doubt that the scholarship is uniformly high throughout.

Given his scholarly caution, Marshall does not claim to offer a dramatically new portrait of Locke as a moral and political thinker. But his close study of Locke's texts and sources yields a considerable number of new or corrected insights into Locke's positions, of which a few may be briefly indicated here.

First, Locke's move to toleration was not the result of some commitment to, or special sympathy for, dissenters. It stemmed from a desire for comprehension supported by Locke's deeply rooted latitudinarianism in ecclesiology. Indeed, as Locke moved toward toleration in the later 1660s he was concerned that the militancy of the dissenting churches might be inimical to individual religious liberty.

Second, after a running critique of Richard Ashcraft on the circumstances and program of the *Second Treatise*, Marshall concludes that "Locke was in some ways close to being as conservative a revolutionary as a revolutionary could be" (p. 283). He goes on to argue that Locke's thoughts on the moral life, deeply influenced by Cicero's *De officiis*, were thoroughly aristocratic and that nowhere in Locke is there any serious evidence of democratic sympathies.

Third, Locke's interest in theology, Marshall shows, was as much driven by his problems with epistemology as the other way around. Locke constantly aspired to find a link between his hedonic theory of happiness and the moral obligation of loving service to the public and one's fellows. But he could not do so, and the great system of naturalist ethics he once projected was never to be realized. He thus was forced to rely on revelation, albeit on a "reasonable basis."

Finally, the movement of Locke to Socinianism as the outcome of a lifelong search for religious truth is more or less generally recognized. But that is now evidenced to a degree of probability so high as virtually to constitute a proof.

The only significant limitation of this book, then, would seem to be its narrowness on Locke's political theory as it is represented in the *Second Treatise*. Nevertheless, this study is an impressive scholarly

achievement and a major contribution to the understanding of Locke's moral and religious thought.

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CONAL CONDREN. *The Language of Politics in Seventeenth-Century England*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xi, 215. \$59.95.

This brief but important work attempts to exhibit the usefulness of a linguistic approach called "field theory" to historians of seventeenth-century English political thought and to historians more generally. Conal Condren rejects contemporary discourse analysis and sharply disassociates himself from those who view language as a reflection of something else as well as from those who view all discourse as implying political relations. His focus is on language alone. "Field theory" is used to distinguish the "political" realm from the "legal" or "religious" and to show that the seventeenth century was a particularly volatile period, politically and semantically.

Although it is not easy to summarize field theory or Condren's approach, he identifies status words (for example, citizen, subject, king, people) and pairs them with their linguistically appropriate action words (rule, resistance, rebellion, obedience). He notes that if subjects are supposed to obey, citizens, at least in the Italian tradition, are expected to participate. Condren's discussion of the Italian concept of "citizen" and its uneasy application in the English urban context is particularly valuable.

Condren argues that historians who connect status terms with the wrong action terms have created unnecessary confusion and erroneous interpretations. He suggests that historians have improperly conflated "rebellion" and "resistance" and thus inadvertently invented "resistance theory." He argues that there was no prevalent justification of rebellion in seventeenth-century England. Instead there was the rhetoric of counsel deployed by high-status persons within the polity, of self-defense, and dissolution. His analysis is particularly persuasive in explaining why argument in 1688 was so often couched in non-rebellious language.

Although less successful in dealing with the civil war era, Condren's analysis helps to illuminate that period's often confusing linguistic terrain. This era, he suggests, had little room for the category "political," which remained sharply circumscribed by well-established religious and legal discourses. Modern scholars, he argues, have imported extraneous notions to fill the empty space.

Condren's study also demonstrates the ways in which post-French Revolution political and historical categories (Left and Right, radical and conservative) have distorted historical understanding of earlier periods. The French Revolution, he suggests, both vastly expanded and stabilized "the political domain" and created modern political vocabulary. The translation and redescrptions of seventeenth-century language

into post-1789 terminology had the effect of severing old words from their traditional associations and gave them new meanings, producing misconceptions that make the seventeenth century appear too much like the present. Historians have made the alien too familiar by collapsing the past into the present. The conflation of "Left" with "radical," he suggests, has made a mockery of seventeenth-century discourse. Religious writers anachronistically have become precursors of modern political movements or voices "ahead of their times," a concept he roundly rejects as anachronistic and ahistorical. Although Condren recognizes that some redescription is inevitable in characterizing the alien, he believes early modernists have been excessive in their utilization of misleading modern terminology. They must now learn "to fly" without their "left and right wings" (p. 167).

But the primary issue for most readers will be the extent to which the topics under discussion and intellectual history more generally are illuminated by "field theory." The application of the relevant action terms associated with king, subject, and citizen is extremely useful and does help clarify the often confusing terminology of the early modern period. Yet Condren's observations about how the political was squeezed by religious and legal discourse is not particularly new, and his insightful remarks on the anachronistic application of post-French Revolution political terminology by historians of the early modern period does not require field theory. His analysis, however, should make historians more careful in using terms such as "Left," "Right," and "radical" in connection with historical periods in which these concepts were unknown.

Although field theory appears to be helpful in diagnosing political language and in identifying anachronism, it does not help historians understand why one set of subject-action categories was replaced by another. Field theory is, as Condren suggests, only about words. For some intellectual and cultural historians that may be enough. Others will find it a useful but limited tool. The value of this insightful and sometimes witty but often difficult to read book will depend on whether "field theory" is capable of yielding more than an awareness of the linkage between actor and action words and a consequent ability to identify anachronistic linkages. The author's treatment of this problem should make the book of interest to anyone concerned with the application of cultural and linguistic theory to historical problems.

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VICTOR L. STATER. *Noble Government: The Stuart Lord Lieutenancy and the Transformation of English Politics*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994. Pp. x, 261. \$45.00.

Historians of early modern Britain's southern kingdom have long been concerned with the relationship be-

tween crown and locality. The nature of that relationship is of particular significance to an understanding of the political and social upheavals that make seventeenth-century England among the most heavily plowed of historical ground. Victor L. Stater's book is the first scholarly treatment of a subject central to these questions.

Throughout the early modern period, the lord lieutenant of each county was the crown's chief representative in that locality, as well as its most important permanent representative to the crown. According to Stater, the nature of that representation changed during the Stuart period. He argues that the early Stuart lieutenantancy was localist in its orientation, its holders chosen on the basis of a tradition of incumbency, inheritance, and standing in the county. Political removals were rare and initiatives from the center were enforced only if they were not too onerous or inimical to local interests. Where crown and local interests collided, as in the forced loan fiasco of 1625-26, it was the foolhardy lord lieutenant who chose his obligations to the crown over those to his neighbors. The extraordinary measures taken to prepare the militia for the First Bishop's War in 1639 are the exception that proves the rule, for the lieutenantancy's success in producing an army—at great strain of their counties' reserves of men, money, and patience—led to a breakdown in the lieutenants' cooperation with the crown and their authority in their counties on the eve of the Civil War.

The tripartite relationship of crown, lieutenant, and county changed drastically after the Restoration. First, the Militia Acts of 1661 and 1662, combined with local resolve, led to a more efficient militia, more closely controlled by the lieutenantancy. Second, and unlike the Justices of the Peace, lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and their subordinates were now chosen on the basis of their loyalty to the crown and the Anglican church, with their social and local standing relegated to secondary importance. As the political temperature increased with the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, royal demands for greater involvement of lords lieutenants in electioneering, the suppression of opposition, and so forth combined with a series of centrally directed purges, left the lieutenantancy and the militia even more powerful in local affairs and more firmly in the hands of Anglican-Tories. James II's false assumption that this power could be transferred to a Catholic-Dissenter-Whig leadership via a second series of purges led to the failure of his lieutenantancy to be of much use or loyalty in 1688. Thus, the Stuart lieutenantancy is revealed to have been a powerful weapon in the arsenal of Stuart monarchs only when used to implement policies with which the majority of the ruling elite agreed.

Although Stater's work presents a relatively orthodox view of the Stuart century to 1688, it nevertheless makes an important contribution to several debates. His portrayal of the insensitivity and impracticality of Charles I's demands on his lieutenants and their

counties amounts to another nail in the coffin (most recently dug up by Kevin Sharpe) of Charles I's kingship. Stater's portrayal of the Restoration lieutenantancy as increasingly subject to the political winds blowing from Westminster is consistent with the growing partisanship and elite withdrawal detected in the period by scholars such as Mark Kishlansky and James M. Rosenheim. One wonders, however, whether the terminal dates of this study have not made the scenario it offers a bit too pat. Anthony Fletcher has argued that attempts at control from the center had been a marked feature of the Elizabethan period, thus suggesting that it was the early Stuart age that was anomalous, not the Restoration period. By the same token, it would be useful to know what happened to the lieutenantancy after 1689; evidence for the magistracy provided by Lionel Glassey and Norma Landau does not suggest a steady increase in partisanship. Still, this is a well-written and deeply researched treatment of an important subject that should remain the standard for years to come.

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DAVID L. SMITH. *Constitutional Royalism and the Search for Settlement, c. 1640–1649*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 371. \$64.95.

Constitutional royalism is one of several familiar but nebulous labels historians use in describing political alignments during the English Civil War. It is associated especially with the classic royal *Answer to the XIX Propositions* of 1642 and the careers of a few well-known figures, notably Edward Hyde, later Earl of Clarendon. Apart from these major landmarks, however, relatively little work has been done on the ideas and actions of royalist moderates.

David L. Smith's accomplished book goes far toward filling this gap. Its analytical core consists of a close study of ten figures selected either for their prominence in Charles's counsels during the year preceding the *Answer to the XIX Propositions* or their subsequent role on the king's side in peace negotiations: Hyde, Sir John Culpepper, Sir John Strangways, The Duke of Lennox and Richmond, the Marquess of Hertford, the earls of Southampton and Dorset, Viscount Falkland, and lords Lindsey and Seymour of Trowbridge. Before 1642 members of this cohort differed widely not only in wealth and social position but also in politics. Lennox and Dorset were attached to the court, whereas Hertford, Seymour, and Strangways were alienated from it. The latter two emerge, in fact, as almost quintessential oppositionist country gentlemen, deeply committed to their own localities and the rule of law, who attacked the Duke of Buckingham in Parliament and opposed the arbitrary taxes of Charles I's reign.

Two characteristics shared by all members of Smith's group help to explain their future careers: a

belief in traditional legal methods and an absence of "the more extreme forms of godly zeal" (p. 61). In the Short and Long Parliaments most of this group joined in efforts to dismantle the personal rule but began to diverge from future parliamentarians over ecclesiastical issues, especially reactions to Root and Branch assaults on episcopacy. The rift widened in debates over control of the kingdom's armed forces precipitated by the Irish rebellion. The split between constitutional royalists and those who remained parliamentarians was caused mainly by two issues: radical church reform and John Pym's efforts to strip Charles of prerogatives that had always belonged to the crown.

The division of moderates over these issues made civil war possible but did not prevent constitutionalists in both camps from continuing to seek a negotiated settlement. Smith devotes several chapters to the unsuccessful peace negotiations of the 1640s and the issues that thwarted agreement. He next surveys the ideas of several constitutional royalist publicists, before concluding with a discussion of the legacy of constitutional royalism from the Restoration down to the eighteenth century and after.

Although many of his conclusions will not surprise historians familiar with recent work on the Civil War, Smith provides a much fuller and more precise picture of his subject than any previously available. In doing so he also complements the work of other revisionist scholars, like Glenn Burgess, who have been developing a fresh history of constitutionalism, detached from Whig assumptions. Like Burgess, Smith does not see constitutional ideas originating in opposition to absolutism, but instead in the ethos of a "Jacobethan" polity based on a symbiosis of prerogative, law, and liberty. The system collapsed mainly because of the ineptitude and rigidity of Charles I, leaving contemporaries grappling with the problem of how to restore the old balance. This interpretation arguably exaggerates the continuity and harmony of the long "Jacobethan" period, which has received much less attention lately than the decades after 1620. It is, however, helping to reinvigorate the study of Stuart political thought in ways that may ultimately unsettle not only rooted historiographical assumptions but also myths deeply embedded in Anglo-American political culture.

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MARK CHARLES FISSEL. *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's Campaigns against Scotland, 1638–1640*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 336. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$27.95.

Mark Charles Fissel has written a very good book, of interest to historians of warfare and Stuart Britain. He has researched widely in English, Scottish, and American archives and has an excellent command of the secondary sources. His book serves as an excellent

corrective to the new neo-Royalists, led by Kevin Sharpe (*The Personal Rule of Charles I* [1992]), who seek to retrieve the reputation of Charles I as a ruler.

The book is divided into two parts. The first section (pp. 1–61) narrates the events of the two Bishops' Wars. Chapters 2 through 7 detail various aspects of the mechanics of strategic planning, the raising and arming of troops, and the soldiers' behavior on the march to the rendezvous. With the exception of the chapter on soldiers' behavior (pp. 264–86), Fissel adds a great deal to our knowledge of the difficulties encountered, created, and overcome in levying the armies. He also provides extremely important background information on the subjects of war finance, armaments, and English military service obligations.

Throughout Fissel details how the king's interference aggravated an already shaky situation. Charles raised problems in strategic planning (p. 95); in his orders to the Ordnance Office (pp. 100, 106, 109); in his financial planning for the war (pp. 110, 120, 124, 128, 134, 137–38, 140); in levying troops (pp. 136, 238, 249); in contemplating reliance upon forces (Irish or foreign) unacceptable to the British (pp. 163–73). Furthermore, the king's domestic policies alienated large numbers of Englishmen, who as a result refused to obey with alacrity or serve willingly (p. 236). The covenanter leaders, in contrast, represented a country largely unified by a cause, which enabled them to successfully make excessive demands upon the people (p. 244), a point confirmed in the works of David Stevenson and myself.

Fissel must be commended for his ability to look beyond England, not only at Ireland but more importantly at the king's enemies in Scotland. He has made good use of the relevant secondary works, and he examined a number of documents that contain revealing material on the covenanter and Royal armies. Historians are advised to follow Fissel's example; it will illuminate their English studies.

There are a few problems with the book. Fissel consistently misspells the title of Robert Maxwell, earl of Nithsdale, as "Nithisdale" (pp. 3, 4, 67). He neglects to mention that, although Charles might value the earl's advice, the man was universally detested in Scotland. He deals in depth with the garrisoning of Berwick in 1639 (pp. 10–17) but omits discussion of how expenditures on improving its fortifications in 1640 deprived Lord Conway of the funds necessary to defend Newcastle (pp. 51–53). He also overlooks the possibility of a Spanish alliance in 1640 that would have secured the money necessary for a successful campaign. Given the importance of the financial information he presents (pp. 111–51), tables comparing revenue and dispersal, as well as notional ones on troop pay and equipment would have been useful. In his discussion of officers who served in the Civil War (p. 88), he should have given a breakdown of service between the two armies. Orders of battle for the two royal armies are sorely missed; they should have been provided in an appendix.

Still, the book has an abundance of valuable information and insights. It should receive a place on the reading lists of all courses dealing with the "English Civil War" (more appropriately the Wars of the Three Kingdoms). There is much in it for those interested in the current controversy involving Sharpe and Conrad Russell (*The Causes of the English Civil War* [1990]), as well as for early modern military historians.

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JOHN HABAKKUK. *Marriage, Debt and the Estate System: English Landownership, 1650–1950*. (The Ford Lectures, 1985.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 786. \$98.00.

In a major although sketchily documented article published in 1950, H. J. Habakkuk considered the pivotal role of the strict family settlement in governing the economic affairs of the landed class in eighteenth-century England ("Marriage Settlements in the Eighteenth Century," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th series, 32, [1950]). With the publication of this volume, his Ford Lectures for 1985, Habakkuk has put some meat (over 700 pages of it) on the bones of the arguments he proffered nearly half a century ago. Although he is still primarily concerned with issues of marriage practices and finances, debt, estate management, and the land market, Habakkuk now brings the story of the English landed class into the present century. His is a masterly effort, drawing together fifty years of research by historians who have followed in his wake, as well as his own extensive inquiry into that exclusive club called landed society.

It borders on platitudinous to note that writing a history of the landed class is no easy task. The difficulty is not only a matter of assimilating the mass of documentation produced by thousands of families with pretensions to gentility. The greatest obstacle may be that the objects under observation do not constitute a class at all. Precisely whose history is being written? That of the Duke of Newcastle or the Hambletons of Hambleton in Elizabeth Gaskell's novel *Wives and Daughters* (1866).

In this volume Habakkuk has largely, although not exclusively, concerned himself with the aristocracy rather than the more elusive gentry. Even with this limitation, he acknowledges the diversity in the habits of landowners. Take, for example, settlement practice (pp. 26–51). Generally, but not always, settlement of a family patrimony occurred at the marriage of the male heir. Yet settlement could also occur at the age of majority and, at the landowner's death, by will. Most, although not all, landed families rapidly adopted the strict settlement. Most, although not all, landed families placed almost all of their estate under settlement. Most, although not all, landed families selected a collateral male heir in case the next generation produced no male descendant. The quantity of jointure

varied, as did the means of raising the sum devoted to the widow's support (p. 83). The proportion of estate assets devoted to raising portions for younger sons and daughters likewise differed (pp. 76–97). This litany of qualifications should not be read as criticism. Habakkuk, unlike others who have tilled the same field, has resisted placing argument before evidence to reach a preconceived conclusion. Happily, his is a work of economic history, not one of social theory.

Habakkuk also considers the psychological effect of strict settlement on landowners. With the knowledge that their patrimonies were secure from roguish descendants, landowners adopted a long-term view of their assets; they became improvers. To some degree, then, the development of strict settlement may have created, rather than reacted to, the dynastic designs of landowners. Strict settlement created a culture of continuity in family landownership (p. 62).

Yet, as Habakkuk notes, demography may have preserved individual landed families. Strict settlement worked efficiently when landowners lived longer and produced more surviving heirs (p. 59). Yet, as his mammoth investigation of debt suggests, fertility had what economists today refer to as a "down-side risk" (pp. 243–358). Then as now children were expensive. Try as they might, landowners could not bring themselves to ignore the claims on familial bounty lodged by younger sons and daughters. Primogeniture obtained with respect to the disposition of land, yet social convention required that wealth be dispersed. And at the end of the day, the bills had to be paid.

Criticism of this compendium can only be found in the ambitious time span under observation and the treatment of change over time. As Habakkuk notes, strict settlement was not "a static instrument" (p. 77). Yet, as the examples unfold, the generations are mingled. One might have hoped for (although not expected) some greater insight into the evolution of the processes Habakkuk describes.

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W. A. SPECK. *The Birth of Britain: A New Nation 1700–1710*. (A History of Early Modern England.) Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. 1994. Pp. xiv, 235. \$39.95.

W. A. Speck has established a well-deserved reputation as the leading scholar of English general elections from 1701 through 1710. His *Tory and Whig* (1970) remains an invaluable source for historians interested in the period. In this book, he has expanded his earlier work into a general statement on English politics during the years 1700–10. Speck's knowledge of British elections and parliamentary politics for these years is unmatched and shines through the book. Lucidly, and with the sure grasp of a master, he guides the reader through the thicket of elections and politics. In this

context, the book is a valuable addition for students of the period.

The primary weakness of the volume is Speck's evaluation of the political leadership during these years. He has underestimated the importance of Sidney Godolphin, the Lord High Treasurer. Although there are frequent references to Godolphin in the book, one comes away from it with no sense of the critical role he played in the Age of Anne. He is left standing in the wings, whereas, in reality, he was on center stage in all aspects of the government's political, diplomatic, financial, and military strategies. When, for example, Speck discusses the negotiations leading to the union of Scotland with England and Wales, which he does in considerable detail, he fails to convey to the reader the fact that Godolphin was central to the process. As his vast correspondence with Seafeld and Queensberry shows, Godolphin was the moving force in the government's attempts to maneuver the factious Scots toward union.

Although there can be little doubt that Godolphin was the prime political mover during most of this period, Speck claims that role for the Duke of Marlborough. This is the most extreme example of Speck's tendency to claim too much political influence for Marlborough. In reality, a reading of his correspondence shows that the duke deliberately remained aloof from domestic politics as possible. Marlborough did, of course, occasionally use his influence to pressure the queen or politicians to acquiesce to the government's point of view. But, even then, many of the most important letters he wrote to the queen on political matters were drafted for him by Godolphin.

Speck has used a wide range of original sources in this book. It is especially gratifying to see that he has used Dutch sources, including the valuable *De Briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius*.

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CATHERINE GALLAGHER. *Nobody's Story: The Vanishing Acts of Women Writers in the Marketplace, 1670–1820*. (The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics, number 31.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 339. \$38.00.

Catherine Gallagher sets out to rewrite the history of the novel in Britain from the late seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. She does so by examining the interrelationship of four terms—women, authorship, (prose) fiction, and marketplace exchange—to show that they shared "connotations of nothingness and disembodiment" (p. xviii), and thus reciprocally defined each other.

Gallagher argues that the shift from literary patronage to literary marketplace, with attendant changes in notions and laws of literary property, increasingly made authorship seem disembodied and depersonalized, or the work of nobody. Because of systemic, property-based sexual inequality, "The rhetoric of

female authorship differs . . . from that of authorship in general by exaggerating and sexualizing this theme" (p. xxi). Moreover, fiction writers turned from representing actual characters and political-sexual intrigues as scandal fictions to representing the adventures and subjective and social experience of purely fictional characters, or "nobody's story." Using philosophical and other texts of the period, Gallagher then argues that such stories enabled readers to imagine the subjective and social experience of fictional others more easily and powerfully than that of actual others. In this historical construction of subjectivity, related to new forms of market exchange, the novel as such came to fulfill a major social and cultural need for a reading public largely composed of "nobodies."

As "nobodies" themselves, women writers and readers had a particular interest, aptitude, and expertise in "nobody's story," and accordingly women authors came to dominate the novel, in the public imagination and in fact. In analyses of particular women's texts, Gallagher traces a historical trajectory of "nobody's story" through certain critical historical "moments" in the interconnection of literary, cultural, social, political, and economic change. According to Gallagher, these moments were the Restoration (illustrated by certain texts of Aphra Behn), the reign of Queen Anne (Delarivier Manley), the mid-eighteenth century (Charlotte Lennox), the late eighteenth century (Frances Burney), and the Romantic period (Maria Edgeworth).

This book appears in the series "The New Historicism: Studies in Cultural Poetics." Such criticism involves close reading of both nonliterary and literary texts, selected to exemplify a particular moment in the intersection of social, political, and economic structures as well as discourses other than literature. New historicists tend to avoid searching for origin, notions of coherent and stable historical agents (or authors), and the construction of totalizing explanations or "grand" narratives. Gallagher follows this methodology; although her chosen texts are literary ones, she attributes a degree of consistent agency to her authors, and she develops her argument as a historical narrative, despite a disclaimer on the last page of her book. The book also participates in a recent trend in cultural studies to use monetary and commodity exchange as an explanatory model or cause for other kinds of social and cultural practice.

There are several strengths to Gallagher's book. First there is close and attentive reading of certain elements, mainly figural, of the selected texts, combined with complex yet clear theorizing of the implications of those elements. Then there is deft, economical, and well-informed referral of these readings to the material circumstances around the texts' production. Finally, there is insistent effort to connect the successive readings in a narrative of cultural transformation within the period she demarcates.

Some readers may wonder, however, if selecting certain elements of certain texts by certain authors

constitutes a strong form of argument or demonstration of the argument. Some may feel that the reliance on a model of monetary exchange obscures here the operation of class in culture and thus the construction of literary texts. Some, too, may feel that the distinction between different forms of middle-class culture (especially the commercial and the professional bourgeoisie) and the operation of different forms of social desire in the eighteenth century, especially emulation, are ignored at a cost in persuasiveness. Finally, some may feel the relentless pulling of analysis to the theme of "nobody's story" cuts off consideration of other, perhaps richer interpretive possibilities.

GARY KELLY
Keele University

PETER BENEDICT NOCKLES. *The Oxford Movement in Context: Anglican High Churchmanship, 1760–1857*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 342. \$59.95.

Peter Benedict Nockles's book seeks to place the Oxford Movement in the context of a broader High Church movement that both predated and continued to exist alongside the Tractarian movement. The author shows that although church parties did not begin with the Tractarians, they did much to sharpen the lines of division within the Church of England after 1833. In addition, contrary to the Tractarian-inspired myth, the Oxford Movement was not the only true High Church party within the nineteenth-century Anglican church. Nockles begins this discussion of the High Church movement with the ascension of George III in 1760 and closes with the Gorham and Denison controversies of the 1850s.

Nockles makes his case by noting the points of continuity and dissimilarity between the Tractarians and their High Church predecessors and contemporaries, including the Hutchinsonians and the Hackney Phalanx. Furthermore, Nockles shows that the true descendants of the pre-Tractarian High Church tradition were not the more catholic Tractarians but the Old High Church Party, whom Oxford divines unflatteringly called the "Z's."

Nockles's book will prove to be an important addition to the growing literature that has shown the continued vitality of the Church of England after 1689, a trend rooted in part in the revisionist views of J. C. D. Clark. The job of resurrecting the status of the eighteenth-century English church began with Norman Sykes's groundbreaking study published six decades ago (*Church and State in England in the XVIIIth Century* [1934]). Sykes sought to rehabilitate the eighteenth-century church by showing that the Latitudinarians were largely committed and orthodox churchmen. Nockles's book joins the recent biographies of High Church figures such as Samuel Horsley and William Van Mildert by F. C. Mather and E. A. Varley in demonstrating the continued existence of a vital High Church movement as well. Ironically, the need to

rehabilitate the eighteenth-century church stems from the Tractarian-inspired "myth of the collapse of High Churchmanship in the eighteenth century" (p. 6).

The author begins with an extended historiographical introduction that discusses contemporary and nineteenth-century interpretations of High Church Anglicanism as well as the definition of church parties during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nockles explores the continuities and differences between Tractarian and Old High Church parties by examining their political theologies; understandings of scripture, antiquity, and tradition; ecclesiologies; views of spirituality, liturgy, and worship; and their beliefs about the sacraments, justification, and the way of salvation. In the final chapter Nockles summarizes the differing views of Anglican history and theology that helped divide Tractarians and Old High Churchmen.

Although I might quibble with some of his comments on the early Nonjurors, the only other criticism regards the lack of a complete bibliography. This makes it difficult to follow up references to secondary works in the footnotes. Beyond these minor points of criticism, I found Nockles's book to be a well-written and readable account of the High Church movement that should be read by anyone interested in the political and religious dimensions of Hanoverian and Victorian England.

ROBERT D. CORNWALL
Manhattan Christian College

JACOB P. ELLENS. *Religious Routes to Gladstonian Liberalism: The Church Rate Conflict in England and Wales, 1832-1868*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 301. \$45.00.

Eighteenth-century England was in several respects "a confessional state" in which members of the Church of England largely monopolized formal political power. Only between 1828 and 1832 were the doors opened to professing non-Anglican Protestants (the so-called Dissenters or Nonconformists) and Roman Catholics, thereby inspiring in some the hope and in others the fear that the transformation of the House of Commons would soon be followed by the abolition of the House of Lords and the monarchy and the disestablishment of the Church of England.

As Jacob P. Ellens reminds us, during the 1830s church disestablishment was indeed proposed by Nonconformists who raised the flag of "Voluntaryism." They insisted on "the speedy severance of the Established Church from the present degrading and unholy alliance with the State" (p. 73) in opposition to churchmen for whom it remained "the bounden duty of a nation to establish and preserve the public worship of Almighty God . . ." (p. 61). For the next three and a half decades, the political battle centered on the question of compulsory church rates: should Anglican parish churches continue to impose local real estate taxes (for the repair of buildings and the maintenance of church services) even on those who were affiliated

with other religious denominations or with none? Other scholars have dealt with this controversy, but Ellens is the first to focus on and to disentangle the chronology of what he persuasively calls "a sustained political and ecclesiastical conflict that for thirty-six years . . . caused greater rancor and strife than any other in the nineteenth century" (p. 263).

In the process, on the basis of detailed and wide-ranging research in both printed and manuscript sources, he clarifies the complex tale of repeated attempts to amend or end church rates both at the parish and at the parliamentary level. To a large degree the issue separated Whig/Liberals from Conservatives, but each camp was also divided internally by considerations both of underlying principle and of short-term political advantage. The story involves militant pressure groups (such as the Liberation Society), tactics of civil disobedience, the religious press, and both major and minor political luminaries. William Ewart Gladstone ultimately introduced the measure that, for all practical purposes, ended compulsory church rates in 1868. It did not thereby formally "disestablish" the Church of England, but it did compel its parishioners increasingly to rely on voluntary offerings just as Nonconformists and English Roman Catholics had long done; subtly it also helped to "desacralize" the British state. Paradoxically, Gladstone's measure passed the House of Commons at a time when his rival, Benjamin Disraeli, was prime minister. Paradoxically also, it was then completely rewritten by a House of Lords that had successfully turned back three earlier church-rate reform measures.

In his middle chapters, Ellens sometimes loses his analytical forest for the trees, and he commits minor errors: for example, Spencer Walpole served as Conservative Home Secretary, never as Chancellor of the Exchequer. Yet his nine-page conclusion is a model of judicious analysis of the manner in which the conflict helped both to transform Britain into an increasingly pluralistic society and to fashion the Gladstonian Liberal Party.

WALTER L. ARNSTEIN
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MARCUS WOOD. *Radical Satire and Print Culture, 1790-1822*. (Oxford English Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 318. \$49.95.

Historians of British popular radicalism have paid too little attention to the satiric element: to how radicals used humor to undermine established authority. Marcus Wood has done much to redress this deficiency in a book that concentrates on the collaboration between the greatest radical satirist of the Regency period, William Hone, and the most accomplished illustrator, George Cruikshank. The years that E. P. Thompson termed the "heroic age of radicalism," 1815-20, also

marked the height of radicalism's satiric print culture characterized by an extraordinary diversity, openness, and experimentation. Wood does an excellent job exploring the resources available to radical satirists for appropriation and the basis of radical satire's "knowing confidence."

Indeed, the book's first two chapters deal with the satiric inheritance of the eighteenth century. Of particular interest is Wood's extensive discussion of the relationship between advertising and political satire. Wood argues that advertising copy (in newspapers, almanacs, handbills, and so on) eroded the boundaries separating polite and popular literary styles and forms. In turn, satirists like Daniel Defoe drew freely on advertising's lowbrow modes and innovative techniques, including the physical make-up of texts. Thus, the novelty of Hone and other later radical satirists' work is qualified by an appreciation of the preexisting models available to them. The 1790s were, of course, rich in political propaganda, and Wood stresses the important influence of Thomas Spence and D. I. Eaton. Spence was a "multi-media satirist" alive to the culture of the street and tavern, constantly stretching linguistic conventions through his use of proverbs, aphorisms, and his own phonetic alphabet as well as experimenting with devices such as striking radical token coinage.

The core of this book consists of three carefully researched chapters on the postwar period. Hone rose to prominence in 1817 when he was acquitted in three spectacular trials for having published parodies attacking the government based on the Church of England's Catechism, Litany, and Creed. Obsessed from childhood with print culture, Hone's unrivaled knowledge of political and religious parody enabled him to document the large number of such parodies that had gone previously unprosecuted. The trials themselves verged on parody. Moreover, Wood shows how Hone drew on his familiarity with the Leveller John Lilburne's trial (1649), as well as the literature of Protestant martyrology, to effectively address the jury and to cast himself as a martyr. Wood's treatment of Hone's trials is an important contribution to the study of radicalism and the law.

Peterloo and the Queen Caroline affair produced a wealth of radical satire and inspired Hone and Cruikshank's most brilliant collaborations. Wood devotes a chapter to analyzing *The Political House that Jack Built* (1819) and the relationship between political satire and children's literature. Cast in the form of a popular nursery rhyme, *The Political House* became radical publishing's greatest commercial success. *The Queen's Matrimonial Ladder* (1820), which was accompanied by a free pasteboard toy, the matrimonial ladder itself, ran to forty-four editions in four months. Hone and Cruikshank (whose own political allegiance is difficult to determine) were masters at marketing radicalism; they exploited a heterogeneous medley of literary and visual influences. As Wood concludes, to "read" the works of Hone and Cruikshank "demands breaking-

down genre distinctions and notions of high and low art" (p. 269). The energy, however, rapidly went out of radical printed satire; there is nothing in the 1830s to compare with Hone and Cruikshank's work. Why this should have been so remains an intriguing historical and literary question.

JAMES EPSTEIN

Vanderbilt University

NIGEL EVERETT. *The Tory View of Landscape*. New Haven: Yale University Press, for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art. 1994. Pp. 248. \$40.00.

Nigel Everett's book is a provocative study that promotes a sympathetic vision of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Toryism presented as starkly different from the ideology of individual enterprise that underpins the major political parties in Britain today. The villains of the piece are not only the great Whig landowners, historic opponents of the Tories, but also economic liberals of every political stripe, especially those modern-day Conservatives who have laid claim to the name of Tory. In his attempt to defend a particular vision of the landscape maintained by certain factions within the landed elite, Everett's book differs significantly from a number of recent insightful studies of landscape and social relations by scholars such as John Barrell, David Solkin, Ann Bermingham, Andrew Hemingway, Michael Rosenthal, and Stephen Daniels, which are grounded generally in a neo-Marxist tradition.

Everett argues that in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries there was a discourse on landscape—viewed, imaged, and modified by agriculture and gardening—that set itself in opposition to a vision of English society as an assemblage of individuals defined primarily by their economic relationships and governed by the principles of political economy. Those espousing this "Tory" opposition to commercial ideology held a variety of political allegiances but were generally united by their belief in the values of those traditions, practices, and institutions symbolized by the ideal of the benevolent landowner.

The book explores the conflict between a paternalistic notion of community and benevolence, which dictated that landowners were dutybound to care for and about the well-being of those who labored on their behalf, and an increasingly influential notion of "improvement." Everett convincingly demonstrates that improvement encompassed a broader set of practices and principles than the design and management of farms and country estates and was allied with a market-oriented ideology of atomized, private self-interest.

Everett examines an impressive range of primary sources, including literary works, theological tracts, political and economic texts, and a wide body of writing about the fine arts, landscape gardening, and estate planning. The book itself is handsomely produced and well-illustrated with landscape drawings,

prints, and paintings. Unfortunately Everett does not present a sustained analysis of the twenty-seven images in the body of the text; instead, a few sentences of explanation are placed below the images, which often are treated not as representations in their own right but as illustrations of actual estate layouts.

The chief problems with the book, however, are related to the manner in which Toryism is defined. Crucially, Everett fails to examine the ideological implications of a Tory-based traditionalism that depended not simply on community and benevolence, but also on the fixity of sociopolitical hierarchies and the supreme authority of church and crown. Moreover, he gathers under the rubric of a "Tory view" an assemblage of opinions from individuals who have little in common ideologically and whose defenses of tradition and critiques of improvement arise from a disparate array of interests. For example, as Everett demonstrates, the Foxite Whig landowner Uvedale Price attacked the stark and seemingly artificial landscape designs produced by Capability Brown and promoted in their place designs featuring picturesque variety and gradation that would emphasize the connectedness of the manor house to its human and natural environment. The ideological principles underpinning Price's attachment to picturesque gardening, however, can be more justifiably related to Whiggish political ideals of a mixed government and gradual improvement than to Tory notions of order and custom.

Despite these shortcomings, this is a richly rewarding book that sheds new light on competing efforts to control and define English society via representations of the landscape.

KAY DIAN KRIZ
Brown University

JOHN TAYLOR. *A Dream of England: Landscape, Photography and the Tourist's Imagination*. (Photography: Critical Views.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xiv, 295. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$19.95.

This book is one of a series entitled "Photography: Critical Views," which aims to show "how photographic meanings are produced in the social formation of knowledge": to investigate the class, gender, and racial interests involved in photographs rather than to see them as works of art produced by individual "masters." The project is analogous to recent developments in the study of the history of painting and certainly offers a rich field for research and reflection.

John Taylor's absorbing and very readable text looks at landscape and photography in three separate periods. A section on the 1880s and 1890s covers photographs of Kodak factories, J. L. Williams's *The Home and Haunts of Shakespeare* (1892), the Warwickshire photographic survey, and P. H. Emerson's photographs of life on the Norfolk Broads. Then the text jumps to the period of about 1925–42, with Kodak

advertisements, Mass Observation, Bill Brandt, and photographs of wartime damage. The final section deals with photographers who have deliberately set out to unsettle traditional, cozy ways of looking at tourist sites, including Martin Parr, Susan Trangmar, and Fay Godwin, in the 1980s and 1990s. The author describes this selection of material as "a collection," a "non-developmental argument"; but it has its disadvantages. The jumps in chronology are unsettling, and the thematic links at times seem rather tenuous.

Nevertheless, Taylor shows convincingly that photography of "the heritage" has always been fraught with anxieties. Photographers, like painters, have sought to provide pleasing illusions of a united nation, living in an unchanging countryside. In the late nineteenth century, their writings reveal the tensions involved, although the resulting photographs are idyllic; in the twentieth century, class conflict, overbearing authority, or the fear of despoliation have become the main themes of many photographers.

Taylor makes thorough use of recent research on photography and tourism: his list of references is impressive, and this book, therefore, will be a useful introduction to the subject. But at times he seems to behave like the tourists he describes, who "set out to confirm what they already know through tour guides and brochures" (p. 7); he takes us on a rapid tour of selected spots without stopping long enough to immerse himself in detail, nor to be surprised by what he finds.

His book is one which draws on a number of different disciplines, and it would be unreasonable to expect him to be equally knowledgeable about all of them. Nevertheless, a deeper knowledge of British landscape painting would have helped him to realize that one does not look through a Claude glass, which is a convex mirror (p. 17), and that the tourist guide in plate 12 is not holding a print of John Constable's *Flatford Mill* (p. 246). More important, historians of photography should pay more attention to the way early photographers drew on paintings for motifs. Figure 33 is very close to a John Crome, while several of J. L. Williams's photographs are strikingly reminiscent of Myles Birket Foster's paintings (figs. 24, 26).

CHRISTIANA PAYNE
Oxford Brookes University

PATRICK JOYCE. *Democratic Subjects: The Self and the Social in Nineteenth-Century England*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 242. Cloth \$54.95, paper \$19.95.

In traditional accounts of the growth of democracy in Victorian Britain, John Bright—Quaker, popular orator, and champion of the Reform Act of 1867—is given a prominent place. Less well known, and wholly absent in the story of Britain's emerging democratic polity, is Edwin Waugh, northern working-class autodidact poet of some repute. They are strange bedfellows indeed, despite Waugh's admiration of Bright and dedication

of the first edition of his works to Bright in 1859. In this superb study of these two men, so different from each other in terms of their social position, Patrick Joyce explores the extent to which they were constituted by similar discursive formations. In so doing, Joyce raises a number of questions about the nature of the self and what he terms the "social imaginary"—the various ways in which "society" was understood and produced—in mid-Victorian Britain.

To see these two men merely as products of their social background, and to trace the ways in which their respective class positions are reflected in their writing, is, according to Joyce, to overlook the extent to which they lived at a time when social vocabularies and identities were in flux, when the language of "class" was merely one of several ways of understanding the self. Borrowing from Jacques Rancière's study of autodidact culture (*The Nights of Labor* [1989]), Joyce argues that although Waugh's experience of poverty was a source of his self-understanding, so too was his Protestantism: what mattered to him most was his soul. Likewise, Bright's experience of selfhood was deeply infused by a language of religion and a corresponding discourse of the heart. In short, the sense of self shared by Waugh and Bright was formed within religion, and it was this formation that generated their shared focus on the importance of the moral life and conceptualization of society in terms of a universal, cross-class humanity.

Whereas this book is thus a narrative of the lives of two men from different walks of life, it is also a study of the ways in which the narrative conventions of mid-Victorian Britain constituted their self-understanding. As such, the book is indebted to poststructuralist theory, arguing that selfhood is secured by narrative, by stories that pattern experience in particular ways. Moreover, because the self is always related to the realm of the social beyond the self, Joyce charts the ways in which Waugh and Bright conceived of social relations in terms of a collectivity they called "humanity," comprised of moral selves, possessed of "character," who believed in the importance of self-improvement. It was out of these assumptions about "mankind," Joyce argues, that the modern democratic subject was born.

Joyce conceives of his volume as "a complement and a completion" (p. 10) of his previous book, *Visions of the People* (1991), and indeed it addresses some of the theoretical weaknesses of his earlier work in a convincing manner. More than this, however, Joyce's study of Waugh and Bright contributes to our understanding of mid-Victorian society in two significant ways. First, it offers new ammunition in the battle to demolish accounts of mid-Victorian stability that rely on arguments about the triumph of middle-class hegemony or the incorporation of the labor aristocracy. Methodism may indeed have contributed to the lack of revolution in Britain, not because men like Waugh were blinded by religion to their "true" social position, but because religion generated sources of the self that contributed

to a "democratic imaginary," as Joyce terms it, shared by individuals from diverse backgrounds. Second, Joyce dissects with great skill the social imaginary that existed until late-Victorian psychological narratives of the self and sociological understandings of the social offered new languages through which the self and the social, and the connections between them, could be conceived.

CHRIS WATERS
Williams College

REBA N. SOFFER. *Discipline and Power: The University, History and the Making of an English Elite, 1870–1930*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 308. \$45.00.

In *Discipline and Power* (neither term is used in a Foucauldian sense), Reba N. Soffer examines the nature and impact of historical education at England's elite universities during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Her stimulating, well-written book asks questions that have been either ignored or begged, and sets new standards in this area of modern British intellectual history.

Oxford and Cambridge managed for at least a generation to delay implementing the curricular and organizational reforms promulgated in the 1850s. By the 1870s, the pace of change had begun to accelerate, and university teaching was fast becoming a desirable profession in its own right rather than simply a comfortable holding pattern for celibate dons awaiting cozy country parsonages. History, a new degree field, began to supplant Classics and to acquire some of the trappings of a modern academic discipline. As Soffer makes clear, however, the older notion of moral training through a broad liberal education persisted into the new dispensation. The tutors played a key role in the maintenance of this tradition, resisting many of the professionalizing impulses of a new professoriate. Thus did England's system of higher education diverge sharply from that of both Germany and the United States.

The emphasis at Oxford was on English history, treated by both professors and dons as a morally charged, triumphalist account of national maturation and the expansion of freedom. Regius Professors like William Stubbs and E. A. Freeman, with their master narratives of long, wholesome constitutional development from early Teutonic antecedents, provided the undergirding of the discipline as it was taught to students through the 1920s. At Cambridge, while more cosmopolitan influences were at work thanks to professors such as Lord Acton, the results in lecture halls and tutorials were much the same. Acton's predecessor, J. R. Seeley, did attempt to shift the focus away from constitutional history to the development of national power, but, except insofar as it promoted the study of imperial history, this tended to function more as a supplement to the reassuring story of constitutional progress.

While the honours examinations, with their rewards for cramming, continued to retard the development of any sense of contingency, irony, or interpretational clash, the professionalizing of the discipline did begin to affect the universities. Most dons were hard pressed to keep up with the latest scholarship because of their heavy tutorial responsibilities, yet some made valiant strides toward a more sophisticated understanding and greater methodological rigor. A few even became major research scholars themselves. The creation of lecturers, with their more specialized knowledge, represented an injection of professionalism into the university as well as a career opportunity for tutors. And many dons deepened their own knowledge of the new scholarship through such organizations as the Cambridge Junior Historians, whose meetings were especially lively and stimulating. The impact of such initiatives, however, was relatively modest; new methodologies and provision for postgraduate education continued to be neglected. Although civic universities such as Manchester and London made far greater strides in their scholarly rigor and professional training, their role in educating the country's elite during this period was minuscule compared to the two historic universities. The British delegation at the Versailles Peace Conference, for example, could boast no fewer than eleven men who had read history at Balliol College, Oxford.

In the concluding section of her book, Soffer considers the process from the vantage point of the students and assesses the impact of historical education on Oxbridge graduates. Drawing on an array of hitherto unused sources like lecture notes, student papers, and student society records, she is able to offer some tantalizing glimpses into how a reformed but still conservative mode of education was received by thousands of fortunate young men. Finally, the author provides a detailed statistical analysis of the career tracks of history honours graduates of the two most prestigious colleges, Balliol (Oxford) and King's (Cambridge). Public service, education, and the professions claimed most graduates, although a surprising number, especially Balliol men, had multiple careers. Another surprise, for those who accept the notion that Oxbridge graduates shunned commerce and manufacturing, is the significant number entering these fields. How successfully they led such enterprises, or even governmental departments for that matter, is another question. As Soffer notes, the history graduates of the country's elite universities approached the world with confident idealism but little practical knowledge.

ANTHONY BRUNDAGE
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TREVOR LUMMIS. *The Labour Aristocracy, 1851-1914*. Aldershot, England: Scolar; distributed by Ashgate, Brookfield, Vt. 1994. Pp. xii, 190. \$59.95.

At first glance this book appears to be devoted to demolishing the concept of the labor aristocracy. Trevor Lummis attempts to show that all of the categories traditionally associated with this stratum, namely high wages, unionization, skilled labor, regular employment, and political conservatism, do not hold up when detailed examinations of actual working conditions are undertaken.

As a replacement for the traditional categories, Lummis substitutes the concept of secure workers versus insecure workers, plus a "sub-aristocracy" of semisecure workers. After fashioning a "model" on this basis, the author applies it to certain specific kinds of workers, including engineers, dock laborers, railwaymen, post office workers, building workers, and miners. He demonstrates that even an unskilled category, such as the dock workers, will have a regularly employed aristocracy of secure workers at the top. Conversely, workers traditionally perceived as aristocrats, such as the engineers, had considerable insecurity in their ranks. A key idea, perhaps the most important in the book, is that all trades had higher levels enjoying security and lower levels suffering insecurity.

This detailed polemic is hardly a page turner, and it will probably engage only those already interested in the subject. It is written from a materialistic point of view and is committed to a position on the labor Left. The historiographical portions dutifully begin with what the "old masters," Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, and V. I. Lenin, had to say about the labor aristocracy and come forward to update the revered contemporary sage on the subject, Eric Hobsbawm, by rejecting Hobsbawm's emphasis on wages as the critical factor. The more moderate practitioners of British labor history and those with whom Lummis disagrees for other reasons are assaulted vigorously. The tone is militant throughout. For example, the "incentives" of employers to encourage production are labeled the "bribes" of "monopoly capitalism and imperialism" (p. 2-3). The emphasis is usually on workers' resistance to capitalism through various forms of "collectivism" even when they appeared to be collaborating with it.

Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of the book is the tease given about the role of women, specifically what their added income, neighborhood networking, consumerism, and class consciousness did to strengthen the security of male workers. After trumpeting the importance of this anticipated topic here and there in the book, the author presents only a few pages on the subject when he finally comes to it, offering the excuse in his conclusion that the topic is "too vast to have been more than touched upon here" (p. 162).

The concept of a labor aristocracy has always been volatile for British labor historians, for whom class and class consciousness are passionate topics. Those on the Left never seem to be able to accept the notion that workers who have well-paying and steady jobs will want to take up middle-class life styles and will gravi-

tate toward middle-class views in politics. In the United States this is the norm.

HENRY WEISSER
Colorado State University

DEBORAH E. B. WEINER. *Architecture and Social Reform in Late-Victorian London*. New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. x, 244. \$79.95.

Deborah E. B. Weiner has set herself a creative and ambitious task in this book: to analyze an important group of buildings "in terms of the social relations which informed their production and use" (p. 2). The buildings are the board schools, settlement houses, libraries, and museums built in London at the end of the nineteenth century. The social relations are those envisioned by middle-class reformers determined to improve the cultural lot of working-class men, women, and children without altering their position within the capitalist economic hierarchy. Weiner's intention is to unearth what she refers to as "the complex of meanings" associated with these buildings (p. 54) in a way that connects bricks and mortar with social intent, allowing us to understand both why those who built board schools called them "sermons in brick" (p. 3) and the message those sermons contained.

Adventurous as it is in conception, however, the book is sometimes disappointing, largely because of its author's tentativeness. In the case of the board schools, for example, she devotes a considerable amount of space to an analysis of the Queen Anne style in which so many were designed, and the fact that Queen Anne epitomized the cozy, reassuring values of hearth and home dear to the hearts of the middle classes. But only at the very end of her discussion does she link style with intent. The schools, she argues, were meant to serve "as a palliative, an alternate home, restoring the bonds between classes and instilling in the working class habits of 'cleanliness, order, and industry' that the architecture of the board schools was intended to realize" (p. 86). The assertion is an imaginative one, and may well be true. But Weiner has not worked hard enough to make a convincing case. We learn that board schools were built to rescue children from the abyss of degenerative poverty. But just how Queen Anne was to assist that mission remains for the most part a matter of speculation. Weiner asserts that the style assured ratepayers. But was it expected as well, to enspirit the children who passed daily before its red brick, its Flemish gables, and its white sashes? That question remains largely unanswered. Inside the schools, where the rescue work took place, the barrack-like atmosphere suggests that the enterprise had less to do with sweetness and light than it did with obedience to the discipline of learning by rote.

Weiner is more successful in her discussion of the Passmore Edwards Settlement, designed by the arts and crafts architects Dunbar Smith and Cecil Brewer.

Although the Settlement's patron, Mary Ward, subscribed to the fashionable belief in a hierarchy of cultural values, the Smith and Brewer design represented a departure from the manorial style previously employed to express that belief in other settlement houses, for example at Toynbee Hall. Instead, the Passmore Edwards design—down to the detailing and joinery—expressed in its direct simplicity a declaration of support for something closer to egalitarianism.

The book contains a considerable amount of fascinating detail only indirectly related to its main thesis: material, for example, from board school primers designed to inculcate gratitude to generous ratepayers in the hearts and minds of the little ones who were deemed their beneficiaries. In one important respect, however, Weiner leaves her readers without the specifics she promises. In her introduction, she writes of the way in which the buildings that are her subject might encourage a kind of urban theater, and should be considered as "sets for productions designed and paid for by outsiders for the communities in which they were built" (p. 2). Yet she never follows up that intriguing notion. I wish she had. To what extent did teachers understand their role as actors in some sort of salvation drama, for example? And how did the buildings in which they worked serve as sets for that particular production? Weiner touches again on the idea briefly in her discussion of settlement houses. But, as in the question of board school design, she leaves us wishing she had devoted more attention to answering the intelligent questions she has asked.

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LORI ANNE LOEB. *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 224. \$29.95.

"The Victorian advertisement," Lori Anne Loeb tells us in the opening statement of her book, "exposes materialistic fantasies" and is concerned with both the "concrete embodiments of existence" and "chimerical images of prosperity and progress" (p. vii). As such, she suggests, the advertisements of the 1880–1914 period can reveal much about the rise of consumerism, changing cultural ideals, and even the transformation of British society. In particular she sets out to argue that middle-class interest was deflected during these years from the prospect of political democracy and centered instead on the possibilities of material democracy; that innovative and lavish forms of advertising worked to encourage and legitimize new levels of conspicuous consumption; and that middle-class women emerged as empowered consumers and thus important arbiters of new social values. Loeb's most persistent theme, however, is that by the end of the century the middle class had abandoned earlier "puritanical" (p. 4) Victorian ideals of diligent thrift to embrace an ethos of hedonism marked by the pursuit

of idealized pleasure through particular forms of consumption. Here, Loeb acknowledges, she draws on the concept of "self-illusory hedonism" established by Colin Campbell in *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism* (1987).

Loeb pursues her themes in a series of chapters dealing with consumer culture, commercial interpretations of Victorian domesticity, the negotiation of the moral ambiguities inherent in an apparently indiscriminate trumpeting of rampant material progress, the use of both heroic imagery and the specters of threat and disaster to sell products, the creation of a sense of community predicated on the shared experience of consumption, and the social emulation of a leisured aristocratic class in a consumer revolution based on the possibilities presented by mass production at the *fin de siècle*. Although Loeb makes the point most clearly in a footnote (p. 188 n. 24), her treatment suggests that it was invariably middle-class women who were targeted by advertisements apparently dedicated overwhelmingly to cleanliness, family health, nourishment, and the beautification of both self and home. At the same time she refuses to portray women as either the victims of aggressive advertising or its collusive agents, choosing instead to characterize them as active participants in a brave new middle-class world dedicated to the ethic of consumption. According to this line of argument, if, as Loeb suggests, advertisers increasingly sought to depict the middle-class ideal in material terms, women assumed an important role as those most dedicated to acquisition on behalf of home and family.

There is much to commend in this book. It is based on a painstaking analysis of over 250,000 Victorian advertisements, many of them from the John Johnson Collection at the Bodleian Library, and it is beautifully presented and illustrated. Equally, however, it is precisely the limited scope of the research (confined to advertisements) and the narrow focus of Loeb's exposition that undermine the project's promise. In a book devoted to the topic of advertising and Victorian women, the reader is left with little sense of the business of advertising and only the vaguest notion of women as consumers. Recent work on the Victorian department store and the new public role of women as shoppers goes unremarked. Instead Loeb's analysis proceeds largely by cataloging advertisements according to type and theme and providing an exposition of the printed image and accompanying text, with formulaic forays into contextual issues. Nor is this the method of the semiotician, deeply immersed in decoding a text. Rather the imagery of advertisements is described and conclusions drawn. It is in this sense that Loeb concerns herself with changing cultural ideals and a transforming society.

Many basic questions go largely unanswered. What was the relationship between a late-Victorian ethic of production and consumption? Did advertising assume a new status and degree of organization during this period? How was advertising and the stunningly illus-

trated print advertisement after 1880 related to the emergence of a mass audience and a working-class market? Does the targeting of middle-class women as consumers really mark a break with the earlier Victorian period? In what ways were women "empowered" as consumers other than by having the luxury of choosing between Cadbury's and Fry's Cocoa? It might be that Loeb feels that these questions have been satisfactorily explored elsewhere, but at the very least the book cries out for a more thorough going treatment of the relationship between class, gender, and the market.

This book is a treasure trove of beautifully illustrated Victorian advertisements, and the reader acquires a real appreciation of the range and typology of the genre. But Loeb offers neither a wide-ranging analysis of Victorian advertising and female consumerism nor an illuminating close reading of gendered representations of Victorian desire. Her analysis boils down to the much-repeated incantation that *fin-de-siècle* advertising reveals the new hedonism of the consuming classes, which is not enough.

ALEX OWEN

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ANTOINETTE BURTON. *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 301. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$16.95.

In the past decade, historical reinterpretations of British imperial history and British feminism have made major changes in our understanding of both. Antoinette Burton has been part of an effort to bring these two areas of intense scholarly activity together. Her volume is a rereading of middle-class British feminist writing from the 1860s to World War I, locating in its rhetoric and themes a self-conscious feminist agenda laying claim to women's part in the national heritage and a British imperial mission. Just as literary critics have been discovering an imperial framework embedded in British culture since the Renaissance, so Burton excavates Victorian and Edwardian feminist discourse to demonstrate how feminists reveal themselves as an integral part of the colonial ideology of their day. She traces the way British feminists represented themselves by the way in which they represented an Indian female Other; their construction of an Orientalist "sister" became critical to a feminist agenda. Just as British feminists asserted a role for women in the public sphere at home, to aid the poor and needy, so the images they projected of an oppressed colonial womanhood forged a feminist imperial burden that necessitated a parliamentary vote for British women at home.

This book is an amplification of the arguments Burton has previously put forward in articles on Josephine Butler's Indian campaign to end the regulation of prostitution and on the racialized ideology of the British suffrage movement, which form chapters in this

book. She has set out to show that Victorian feminism, coming of age in a self-consciously imperial culture, "enlisted empire and its values so passionately and so articulately in their arguments for female emancipation" that British feminists must be counted "among the shapers of imperial rhetoric and imperial ideologies in this period" (p. 5).

This work is an exercise in discourse analysis. Throughout, Burton interjects and synthesizes recent reinterpretations of British imperial history, women's history, and cultural studies that incorporate analyses of gender and race to attempt to find the ideological structures embedded in language. She examines a wide range of feminist periodicals for the way British feminists created an image of a passive and disenfranchised colonized female Other. The impact of the message conveyed was to emphasize a British feminist imperial obligation, not a rejection of empire—as modern-day feminists too readily have tended to assume—but a demand that empire live up to what they and so many of their contemporaries believed were its ethical ideals and purposes.

Following the logic of Burton's argument, feminist claims to represent an oppressed sisterhood within the empire conveyed not only the idea of their own womanly and imperial burdens but also thereby asserted their power and authority over those they deemed less capable. Thus, middle-class women's moral authority, like imperial authority itself, "relied on the existence of a dependent class whose moral redemption was as important as their material needs" (p. 45). British feminists shared the contemporary belief in Anglo-Saxon racial superiority, accepted "reform" of colonized others as advancing "civilization," and set out to prove that British women were important agents in this process. Feminist periodicals claimed this role by consistently depicting Indian women to their readers as the "enslaved" victims of alien customs and religion, an oppression of womanhood that "accounted for the apparent physical, moral, and spiritual weakness of the 'lower races'—a collective weakness that explained, if not justified, their colonization" (p. 87). Focusing on the *Englishwoman's Review* before 1900 and suffrage journals after 1900, Burton finds an imperialized discourse that, in the language of aiding colonial womanhood, made British women's emancipation and parliamentary vote imperative if they were to "shoulder the burdens required of imperial citizens" (p. 172).

Burton concludes that British feminists were agents operating both in opposition to oppressive ideologies and in support of them—sometimes simultaneously, because they saw in empire an inspiration, a rationale, and a validation for women's reform activities in the public sphere. Her arguments are persuasive; indeed, once stated, they become almost axiomatic. How could a major movement like feminism have escaped from critical interaction with another major and overarching set of values with which it coexisted? Burton's scholarly achievement is to probe the nature of that rela-

tionship. What she does not suggest, and historians must continue to investigate, is how these ideas and images of the "Indian woman" fared in the interactions between British and Indian women engaged in such reform efforts as education and medicine. How did Indian women—and men—respond? Indian feminist scholars, and Burton herself in her recent work, have begun to answer some of these questions, increasing the complexities of the overall picture.

Finally, Burton points out that issues that are raised about the contemporary usage, "global sisterhood," have their roots in the discourse of British imperial feminism. She concludes that the problem of constructing images must affect the writing of historians as well, as we attempt to present and represent "others" without objectifying our subjects of inquiry.

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LAURA TABILI. *"We Ask for British Justice": Workers and Racial Difference in Late Imperial Britain*. (The Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 255. \$35.00.

Two of Laura Tabili's contributions in this consequential book are to call attention to how institutions rather than individual attitudes shaped the course of British race relations, and specifically to suggest the ways in which the commercial activities of the British empire in the pre-World War II era influenced later British racial tensions. This is a contribution not only to British imperial studies but also to the study of race relations, making a convincing argument for the proposition that "racism is not a universal human frailty, but a power structure that oppresses all people regardless of race" (p. 181).

Tabili provides ample evidence from the India Office Library and Public Record Office in London, as well as from the National Union of Seamen Collection at the University of Warwick, that, rather than arising from any inherent and ineluctable xenophobia, racial conflict had its roots in the growth of an imperial racist ideology and in "the material demands of industry and the state" (p. 9). Particularly convincing is Tabili's discussion of the use of race by British shipowners. She alleges that they vigorously pursued segregation and discrimination for economic purposes, allocating to Asians and blacks "the worst jobs at the worst pay" (p. 42). Conditions were deplorable, and death from beri-beri, heat apoplexy, and suicide testify to the fact that scores were literally worked to death.

Many of these unfortunates were British subjects, but the British government provided them with little protection either at sea or on land. Their life ashore in Britain was bedeviled by paperwork, which made it hard to claim the rights that whites readily enjoyed. The Board of Trade even agreed to the shipowners' bluffing the African crews into signing illegal agree-

ments that denied them their rights to leave employ in Britain at the end of a voyage. The Home Office cooperated by deliberately making it difficult to obtain a passport, hence preventing "coloured" colonials from proving their British nationality.

The Coloured Alien Seamen Order of 1925 was the capstone of this policy, requiring all "coloured" in Britain who could not produce evidence of British nationality to register as aliens. Since the colonial officials were unwilling to cooperate in providing the required papers, blacks and Asians were disenfranchised and subject to arbitrary deportation. The rhetoric about imperial citizenship, of a vast imperial family united under the king-emperor, was gross sophistry. In some cases, those who had managed to obtain the necessary papers had them confiscated. In short, citizenship in the British empire was defined in terms of race. Seldom has this hypocrisy been as well documented.

In such a scrupulously researched book, the absence of a bibliography is highly annoying. Combing through the massive footnotes for the sources is not an acceptable substitute. The omission is hard to understand since the publisher was generous enough to provide pages for an informative appendix on the distinctions between coolies, seamen, and lascars, and another on the chronology of the anti-Chinese campaign in Britain. Nevertheless, this is an eximious work.

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LARA V. MARKS. *Model Mothers: Jewish Mothers and Maternity Provision in East London, 1870-1939*. (Oxford Historical Monographs.) New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 320. \$53.00.

Lara V. Marks's study of Jewish maternal health care and infant mortality in the East End of London is a significant contribution to the large and growing body of historical scholarship on maternity, maternalism, and infant welfare movements around the turn of the century, as well as to the field of Jewish history. Early in the book, Marks demonstrates with well-crafted statistical evidence that Jewish infants had a notably higher survival rate than others. Although this lower level of infant mortality bears out contemporary images of good Jewish mothers, Marks shows that it occurred despite poverty as severe as among other ethnic groups, and was due to religiously and culturally prescribed patterns of breastfeeding, diet, and food preparation. Most of the rest of the book is comprised of detailed descriptions of the maternal and infant health amenities that were partly responsible for the higher survival rate of Jewish infants, as well as the higher survival rate for all mothers in the East End. For example, one chapter describes the particular services supplied to Jewish mothers by the Jewish community, including the innovative system of home

helps, and the more representative provision of the Jewish Maternity Home, and the Infant Welfare Centre. A major contribution of the book is the picture that emerges of the complex network of health care amenities in the East End, including teaching hospitals, voluntary institutions and services, and Poor Law institutions, and their various accessibility and receptivity to different ethnic and religious groups. Contrary to any assumption that all aspects of health must have been dire in the East End, Marks shows that it was this plethora of institutions and their early adoption of hospital (as opposed to home) births that were responsible for maternal mortality rates lower than both that of the rest of London and that of all England and Wales.

There are two disappointments to the book, one more important than the other. The more important is the lack of a conclusion. The author ends her book abruptly without any attempt to synthesize its strands or argument, or to assess where her study has taken the concerns of scholars in the fields she addresses. The less important disappointment is the surprising abundance of errors that ought to have been caught in copy-editing and proofreading.

Nevertheless, one especially interesting topic Marks covers is that of relations between the established Anglo-Jewish community and the poor immigrant Jews of the East End. Marks describes the historical reasons for tensions between these distinct parts of the Jewish community in London. Subsequent references to the roles played by wealthy, influential members of the Anglo-Jewish establishment in the provision of voluntary care for the Jewish poor thereby become telling evidence of the complex dynamics of class, religion, and ethnicity at work in the growth of the private welfare sector during these decades. This book is valuable for its fusion of the subject of maternal and infant care and the history of a particular immigrant, ethnic community. Based on extremely thorough research and very closely focused on the disparate districts of East London, it is a work of sound scholarship that adds dimensions of ethnicity, religion, culture, and locality to our understanding of women's experiences of childbirth and factors determining infant mortality.

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JULIA STAPLETON. *Englishness and the Study of Politics: The Social and Political Thought of Ernest Barker*. (Ideas in Context, number 32.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 249. \$59.95.

This thoughtful and well-informed monograph is a study of the political thought of Ernest Barker, who was the leading twentieth-century British theorist of national character. Julia Stapleton shows that although he is neglected now, Barker was one of the most influential political thinkers in Britain during the first half of this century. Stapleton's thesis is that Barker's

influence derived from his "broad and humanistic conception of the discipline of politics," a conception today regarded as obsolete, but one that was well suited for the articulation of "an influential definition of English national culture" in a period of total war and imperial decline (p. 3).

As Stapleton demonstrates, Barker presented a liberal-conservative, establishment point of view, "a rearguard defence of the political order" (p. 4). Barker came from a modest background (not clearly delineated here), but he climbed to the top rungs of academe and moved comfortably in the highest political circles. This career undoubtedly accounts for his satisfaction with British society as he found it. He advocated a gentlemanly ideal of government based on liberal learning rather than scientific knowledge or expertise. His political philosophy combined three principal lines of thought: idealism (belief in moral individualism and concern for the common good); Whiggism (commitment to a legal and constitutional view of the state); and pluralism (emphasis on voluntary associations and localism, as opposed to a centralized state). As Stapleton says, these principles do not harmonize easily, but Barker's instinct for moderation and compromise managed to fuse them into a theory in which the Whig negative idea of liberty and a moderate pluralism balanced the idealist notion of positive freedom.

Stapleton provides a persuasive explanation of Barker's idea of English national character. Barker was an optimist as well as an establishment figure, and like a modern version of a Victorian man of letters he wrote for a wide audience. These qualities allowed him to step forward as the definer and guardian of national character. His views were conventional: the British, he said, were given to action rather than speculation and knowledge; they were devoted to localism, individualism, legalism, civility, voluntarism, the cult of the amateur, and the ideal of the gentleman. Barker believed that popular education formed the other side of the coin of national character; consequently, as a member of the Hadow Committee on the Education of the Adolescent, he drew on his sense of Englishness to help establish the famous two-tier system of secondary education. As Stapleton points out, Barker's sense of Englishness was highly political, in that it "excluded lifestyles and institutions which fell outside of what he deemed the cultural mainstream in England" (p. 173).

This is an excellent study that will be especially useful in these times of intense interest in British national identity. It is based on impressive research in both primary sources and secondary works and reflects a mastery of political theory. Although Stapleton is not able to demonstrate that Barker was a first-class thinker, she succeeds in explaining his importance. She does not say much about Barker's personal life, but she shows how Barker spoke authentically for the Oxbridge-trained, upper-middle-class, and professional elements of the British establishment. He was a confident member of perhaps the last generation of polit-

ical thinkers for whom the conflation of English and British was unproblematic.

THOMAS WILLIAM HEYCK
Northwestern University

JIM TOMLINSON. *Government and the Enterprise since 1900: The Changing Problem of Efficiency*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 455. \$60.00.

JAMES FOREMAN-PECK and ROBERT MILLWARD. *Public and Private Ownership of British Industry, 1820-1990*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 386. \$59.00.

Jim Tomlinson's book is concerned with microeconomic policy, a complement to his earlier work on the history of macroeconomic policy in twentieth-century Britain. The book is divided into eleven chronological chapters that chart the development of policy from the late nineteenth century until the present. There are three thematic chapters that deal, respectively, with the history of nationalization policy and provide specific case studies on the cotton and car industries. Each of the chronological chapters follows a similar format, providing a contextual summary before discussing, in turn, market structure, profitability, the efficiency of labor, capital, technical change, organizational structure, and the contribution of policy.

Many of the themes recur throughout the volume. The constant wrangling between government and industrialists about the level of taxation on profits, the periodic complaints about the poverty of education, especially technical training, together with the ineffectual and half-hearted attempts to remedy the situation, and the enduring belief of politicians in economies of scale. There is a great deal of information here, and the book is manifestly based on a comprehensive exploration of the voluminous literature, both primary and secondary. The interpretations are sound and the claims of politicians and pundits of all shades of opinion are reduced to their proper, and often modest, perspective. The Thatcherite economic revolution is, for example, judged as less than miraculous. "If we take the bench-mark miracle to be turning water into wine, this was not even turning water into Perrier" (p. 342).

The main weakness of the book lies in its structure. Because the treatment is divided into a series of short historical periods, and even though each is treated in a similar way, it is difficult to follow the rise and fall of particular nostrums. For example, Tomlinson rightly stresses the importance of free trade policies before 1932 and later remarks on the firm commitment of the Margaret Thatcher administration to the same policies, in common with anti-European Labour politicians, but without combing the entire volume it is hard to pick out important policy elements of this kind. When Tomlinson does adopt a thematic treatment, on nationalization and ownership, the chapter is highly effective.

The radical change in government economic policy in Britain after 1979, one central feature of which was the dismantling of state ownership and control of industry through a program of privatization, has attracted considerable academic interest and investigation. James Foreman-Peck and Robert Millward focus on this fundamental issue of public as against private ownership in its historical context in a work of high academic quality that brings together economic theory, historical interpretation, and econometric modeling. Each of the industries that fell into this disputed area were primarily part of the infrastructure of the economy, such as gas, water, and electricity supply, transport networks, and, more recently, information systems such as telephones and broadcasting. All these activities have an element of natural monopoly, although the authors prefer to describe them by the less politically loaded term of network technologies. They are industries that have historically been characterized by costs that are high, fixed, and sunk, often quite literally. Industries that take the form of networks naturally tend toward the creation of monopoly production, a single producer often being more efficient than several suppliers. In the nineteenth century these industries grew as private operations in a free-market environment. But it became clear by the later Victorian period that market competition exerted insufficient control. This led to government regulation, which usually proved ineffective, even in setting safety standards, and interference through the successful lobbying of interest groups such as railway users. Eventually some utility and transport provision was taken into municipal control, principally as a source of revenue for local authorities seeking to improve the financial balance between a large population and a small revenue base. Later solutions manifest similarly confused and conflicting aims. The massive nationalization program introduced after 1945 was partly induced by a desire to increase efficiency through scale, but partly to effect income redistributive policies. The privatization program in the 1980s was driven by political dogma and a desire to reduce government debt.

The management and performance of natural monopolies reiterate the weaknesses identified by Tomlinson's general survey of microeconomic policy, in the lack of a clear and sustained purpose, the influence of interest groups and fairly crude political ideology, and the absence of a financial strategy. They reflect weaknesses that have been long ingrained in the British economy. As Foreman-Peck and Millward observe in the context of Victorian market failure, the British response to change was not to effect a radical economic readjustment but rather to use the political system to create a defense to prevent change. These books will certainly be studied closely by academics. Their lessons ought to be taken seriously by politicians, especially those who advocate failed solutions from the past as panaceas for the future.

C. H. LEE
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GEORGE H. CASSAR. *Asquith as War Leader*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 295. \$40.00.

Herbert Henry Asquith was one of the most masterful partisan politicians in modern British history and perched atop the "greasy pole" for eight long years. He was, however, not destined to be remembered as a great war leader. George H. Cassar, in this good and useful book, reveals a sympathy for his subject. He does not, however, turn a blind eye to the great Liberal's many weaknesses, and hence the book will not really remake Asquith's reputation for the years 1914–16. That is a very good thing.

Asquith wished to win the war essentially as the Liberals had been winning the political conflicts of the previous decade. He was no Liberal ideologue; but his political senses warned him of the dangers in rapid adoption of state control as a solution to the twin problems of labor shortages and industrial organization. Asquith longed for a way that would secure the British Army the men and shells needed without endangering his long lease on No. 10 Downing Street.

Asquith, stunned in these years by the loss of his brilliant son, Raymond (on the Somme), and his mistress, Venetia Stanley (to a rich marriage), eventually was brought down by his mistakes as much as by his enemies. He was unable to take seriously and bind to him his potentially most useful ally, the Tory leader Andrew Bonar Law. He continually mishandled the redoubtable Lord Horatio H. Kitchener (whom Cassar pluckily defends once again), alternately supporting and betraying the "great poster" until he was little use to the premier. He resisted streamlining his administration for better war management—preferring partial answers to whole solutions—until his frustrated critics caught up with him and destroyed him.

Most of all, Asquith was unable to reach accommodation with his powerful and disenchanted lieutenant, David Lloyd George, whom Cassar considers rather a rascal. The Welshman did finally organize the fall of his chief, and Cassar believes that Asquith could (and should) have dismissed him apparently as late as mid-1915. This is a mental stretch, for no government at that point could have lasted long without Lloyd George. In fact, given Asquith's diminished credibility by 1916, if Lloyd George had dropped dead, it might have been Edward Carson or Bonar Law who eventually toppled him.

Cassar offers no startling revelation in his conclusion: Asquith's approach, his leadership style, just did not work very well in the greatest war the world had ever seen. The mistakes he made were committed because he was Herbert Henry Asquith, and his strengths simply were not virtues in this war. Although the frequent use of the first person pronoun by the author and the growing practice of the demotion from proper noun status of such words as "Parliament" trouble me as a shamelessly traditionalist reviewer, this

is a good book and ought to be read by all interested in this period.

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HENRY R. WINKLER. *Paths Not Taken: British Labour and International Policy in the 1920s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. x, 245. \$39.95.

The British Labour Party came late to any active interest in foreign policy issues. Its rank-and-file members were anxious to build an organization that could advance working-class interests in London, Manchester, and Birmingham. How Foreign Office bureaucrats spent their time seemed largely irrelevant to that goal.

Henry R. Winkler's provocative monograph outlines how the party woke up to its international responsibilities during and after World War I. The most crucial role in that awakening, he argues, was played by ex-Liberals, attracted to the party more by its pacifism than by its socialism. They joined it, he tells us, "mainly to find a platform for their views on foreign policy" (p. 141).

Their principal vehicle was the party's Advisory Committee on International Questions, established in May 1918 to explore foreign policy issues and to shape specific proposals for the party's leadership. The committee's earliest advice pointed to "an almost root-and-branch repudiation of the aims of 'capitalist' and 'imperialist' governments" (p. 1). The Versailles settlement, reflecting the interests of those governments, was fatally flawed. It was a "peace of hate" (p. 54), and the League of Nations, established to perpetuate its injustices, was only an "engine of oppression" that "would inevitably promote war" (p. 65).

As early as 1922, the doctrinaire rigidity of that position had been challenged by party moderates, and most importantly by Arthur Henderson. He finally concluded that a lasting peace could only be achieved by the realistic use of existing multilateral mechanisms, the League in particular. By the end of the decade, the Advisory Committee and the party generally reflected that attitude, and in 1929, with Henderson's appointment as foreign secretary, Labour had come to champion the view "that international peace and security could only be achieved by faithful use of the machinery of the infant League of Nations" (p. 192).

Winkler's modest thesis is that the postwar foreign policies urged by both Tories and Liberals had "failed with almost breathtaking rapidity" (p. 6) and that Henderson's proposed alternatives "resulted . . . in what might have been a viable and reasonably responsible posture" (p. ix) had not the assumptions on which it was based been shattered in the 1930s. "The fact that these paths were not taken does not make them any less important," he argues. They prepared the way for the emergence of more persuasive spokesmen for Labour's foreign policy in the 1930s, men like Hugh Dalton and Clement Attlee, who "ultimately made it

possible for the Labour Party to play a crucial role in the great wartime coalition constructed by Winston Churchill" (p. 6).

Winkler's study is solidly based on a meticulous examination of the Labour and left-wing periodical press, supplemented especially by the memoranda produced in the Advisory Committee. It could be faulted mainly for its neglect of Ernest Bevin's crucial role in reshaping Labour's foreign policy during the 1930s. The Attlee government's diplomacy from 1945 to 1950 would seem much more a product of Bevin's blunt call to realism at the party conference of 1935 than of the foreign policy "preparations laid in the decade after World War I" (p. 197).

DANIEL F. CALHOUN
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NINA FISHMAN. *The British Communist Party and the Trade Unions, 1933-45*. Brookfield, Vt.: Scolar. 1995. Pp. xiv, 380. \$74.95.

This awkwardly written book by Nina Fishman is not so much about the British Communist Party and the trade unions during 1933-45 as it is about two Communist leaders, Harry Pollitt and Johnny Campbell, and three trade unions, the Amalgamated Engineering Union (A.E.U.), the Miners' Federation of Great Britain (M.F.G.B.), and the Transport and General Workers' Union (T.G.W.U.). Still, it is based on a formidable amount of research, including fifty-three interviews conducted by the author with surviving Communist Party activists of the 1930s, it provides more detailed and nuanced accounts of various industrial battles from that period than have been offered previously, and it posits "a revisionist approach to British Communism" (p. 18) that deserves consideration.

Fishman holds that Pollitt and Campbell largely formulated the Communist approach to British trade unions during the fifteen years before 1945. They believed that socialism would come to Britain through "economic struggle," and that Communist Party activists must occupy key positions in trade unions to bring that struggle forward. During the General Strike of 1926, and perhaps even during May 1937 when a number of important strikes took place, many Communists thought a revolutionary situation might be brewing. But when the revolution did not occur Pollitt and Campbell adjusted skillfully. Although they paid lip service to Comintern rhetoric supporting rank-and-file movements as the nuclei of independent, revolutionary trade unions, in fact the two men were what we might call "premature popular frontists." Schooled in British labor traditions, they believed that Communists should be faithful to the workers' organizations they had already joined, even to the point of supporting "reformist" leaders like Ernest Bevin. Fishman carefully examines the role of Pollitt and Campbell in the London busmen's strike, the drive to organize the aircraft shop stewards' movement, and the Harworth miners' strike, all of which took place during the spring

of 1937, to prove that these Communist leaders were prudent, thoughtful, and canny: "revolutionary pragmatists," as she terms them.

Fishman argues that previous interpretations of British Communism have either accepted the Communist Party's own myth, which overemphasized the party's achievements and virtues, or an alternate myth that demonized Communist goals and activities while stressing the party's opportunism and obedience to Moscow. The author's view, however, which is based on prodigious research, is less rigid. Pollitt and Campbell were astute politicians who successfully juggled international and domestic concerns. They accepted or ignored Moscow's instructions according to their own notions of "revolutionary pragmatism." They outmaneuvered the "Young Turks" in the party who were less knowledgeable about British conditions than they, and who cavalierly demanded the more militant line that the Comintern had laid down. They worked in good faith with noncommunist trade unionists, like Jack Tanner of the A.E.U., Will Lawther of the M.F.G.B., and Bevin of the T.G.W.U., to forward the "economic struggle," and by and large left Communist trade unionists on the ground to forward the "economic struggle" as seemed best to them. Pollitt and Campbell had come to believe, and taught their followers to believe, that "Life Itself" and not the Communist Party would teach revolutionary consciousness to British workers in the fullness of time.

Fishman notes in passing that this outlook bore a striking resemblance to that of the original Marxist revisionist, Eduard Bernstein, who argued that socialism's great goal was less important than the movement toward it, that revolution itself might be postponed indefinitely so long as socialists concentrated on their great crusade (p. 340). This was a curiously passive, even reductionist position for the British Communists to uphold. Fishman registers the anomaly without probing it. Yet it deserves more thought. Were Pollitt and Campbell the British heirs of V. I. Lenin, as was commonly supposed, or of Bernstein, the German Fabian? Were they, in fact, the "revolutionary pragmatists" of Fishman's description, or pragmatists for whom revolution was no longer an option? In the end one cannot help but question Fishman's depiction of the two as absolute paragons. There is room for further study.

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NEIL LONGLEY YORK. *Neither Kingdom nor Nation: The Irish Quest for Constitutional Rights, 1698-1800*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 280. \$54.95.

ALAN J. WARD. *The Irish Constitutional Tradition: Responsible Government and Modern Ireland, 1782-1992*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 412. \$19.95.

British constitutional history has not been a fashionable genre in recent decades. Indeed one Oxford scholar, Vernon Bogdanor, even pronounced its "demise" in a recent issue of *Twentieth Century British History* ("1931 Revisited," vol. 2 [1991]). Yet Ireland, the site of many monumental struggles over rights, remains a viable field for investigation in this area. Unlike most studies, which focus on socioeconomic change or manifestations of violence, the present two books examine the structural incongruities underlying Anglo-Irish relations since the Glorious Revolution and provide a better understanding of the problems that beset the current Irish polity.

Neil Longley York identifies the eighteenth-century roots of Irish constitutionalism in the ambitions of the Anglo-Irish Ascendancy for more power through the Irish Parliament and in the separatist articulations of such writers as Patrick Darcy, William Molyneux, and Jonathan Swift. Ireland, they reasoned, should be a self-governing kingdom joined to England merely by the imperial crown. Their influence was enhanced by widespread opposition to Poyning's Law and the Declaratory Act of 1720 and to William Blackstone's pronouncement in his *Commentaries* that Ireland was "a dependent, subordinate kingdom" (p. 84). These diffuse sentiments were eventually reified into the popular protest movements of the Patriots and Volunteers and into the activism of such leaders as Charles Lucas, Henry Grattan, and Henry Flood. Their efforts culminated in the celebrated "Constitution of 1782," which not only repealed the Declaratory Act but also amended Poyning's Law, granted the Irish House of Lords appellate jurisdiction, and allowed the Irish Parliament full legislative powers. York rightly concludes that the American Revolution helped achieve this success.

Despite more radical declarations by Grattan that the British Parliament had no authority over Ireland, Irish constitutionalism contained two major flaws. First, the Ascendancy failed to comprehend the overwhelming Catholic majority, taking its cues from the Protestant Molyneux rather than the Catholic Darcy. This elitism helped define the limits of democratic reform and encouraged the crystallization of two nationalist traditions in Ireland. No less seriously, the constitutional gains of the 1780s opened the way for a revolutionary element in the 1790s, inspired by James Napper Tandy and Theobald Wolfe Tone, to demand independence. York notes that "Grattan's constitutional nationalism, taken to its logical extreme, led to the republicanism . . . of the United Irishmen" (p. 241). And just as earlier initiatives were encouraged by the American Revolution, the republicans used the French Revolution as their frame of reference. Outright rebellion in 1798 showed that security may have been the price of liberty, thereby placing the Grattanites on the defensive. Fears of anarchy accompanied by wholesale bribes, curiously downplayed by York, led to the passage of the Act of Union in 1800 and an end to "independence." At least until constitutional national-

ism was revived a century later in a different guise, Ireland would be "neither kingdom nor nation."

A final chapter comparing Ireland with the American colonial experience, although thoughtful, seems anticlimactic. Further speculation that Jacksonian democracy and the United Irishmen were parallel sequels to the federalist union and Irish constitutionalism only detracts from the otherwise substantive content of this fine study.

Alan J. Ward's book shows how the emerging model of responsible government, although temporarily untracked by Union, was implemented over the next two centuries. The power of the Irish executive, along with the growing disaffection for British rule during the nineteenth century, hampered well-meaning attempts at democratic reform. "The Union," writes Ward, "had been introduced to relieve Britain's insecurity," but it "imposed enormous burdens on parliamentary government" (p. 37). Attempts to link Irish conceptions of self-government to the Canadian model of responsible government in successive home rule bills failed to calm Conservative fears over disintegration. Geographical considerations notwithstanding, Ward correctly points out that it was more a matter of distrust of the Irish that enabled the opponents of home rule to retain the upper hand until the eve of the Great War. Even if it did not mean Rome rule, constitutional lawyers such as A. V. Dicey knew home rule would be the thin end of the wedge for independence and possible dissolution of the empire. Sadly, nationalist aspirations could not be satisfied within the existing order, and violence seemed the only way to bring Ireland into step with other countries nurtured on the British model of responsible government.

Ironically, as Ward shows, it was those who wanted home rule least, the Ulster Protestants, who gained it in the wake of the Easter Rising and the Government of Ireland Act of 1920. Responsible government there, instead of fostering debate, exacerbated sectarian conflict and "guaranteed that the majority unionist community would control Northern Ireland indefinitely" (p. 132). But direct rule, imposed in the early 1970s, has brought no solutions and will likely lead to integration unless a concord emerges between the two communities.

In the South, application of responsible government was frustrated by divisions stemming from the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 and the forceful personality of Eamon de Valera in succeeding decades. Yet it was successfully introduced into the constitutions of 1920, 1922, and 1937, replete with provisions for fusion of power, party government, primacy of the lower house, collective responsibility, and a strong prime minister. Ireland not only brought itself into conformity with modern democratic practices but also helped redefine the relationship between the Dominions and the crown that formed the basis for the nascent Commonwealth of Nations. Yet in establishing a republic with Catholic religious values, the practitioners of responsible government unwittingly subverted its meaning by allowing

too much power to the "efficient" sector. The government of Ireland possesses, according to Ward, "polymaking and administrative powers that are matched in few other democracies" (p. 295). The role of Parliament is further weakened by an extension of the executive arm into local government, state-sponsored bodies, and social partnerships. Standing against this concentration of power is the practice of judicial review and recent attempts by President Mary Robinson to strengthen her office. Otherwise there is little prospect that responsible government in Ireland will ever approach Walter Bagehot's nineteenth-century ideal.

Undaunted by having to make intelligible the dry provisions of successive instruments of government, Ward provides an astute and thorough rendering of Ireland's struggle for responsible self-government. Admirably even-handed on issues that have excited passions for centuries, Ward's book shows, even more than York's account, the extent to which constitutional traditions influence the destiny of nations.

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CORMAC Ó GRÁDA. *Ireland: A New Economic History, 1780–1939*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 536. \$69.00.

There are three great works in the modern economic historiography of Ireland: K. H. Connell's *The Population of Ireland, 1780–1845* (1950), L. M. Cullen's, *An Economic History of Ireland since 1660* (1972), and Joel Mokyr's *Why Ireland Starved* (1983). These are now joined by Cormac Ó Gráda's monumental study of economic and social change between the onset of the Industrial Revolution and the eve of World War II. The approach used is quantitative and analytical throughout but the exposition itself is rarely more complicated than the subject matter demands. The themes that dominate are population and agrarian change, living standards, industrialization, and the infrastructure of economic development (communications, banking, and the role of the state). Even the prospect for an Irish fishing industry—a world that might have been—is not overlooked.

No grand theory drives this interpretation of a century and a half of Irish history. Sure enough, classical and neoclassical economic theory is brought to bear, sometimes to powerful effect, but only on specific issues within specified time periods. The style is meditative: abandoned are the pretensions of the omniscient author. Ó Gráda muses aloud on data limitations, alternative possibilities, and the tentative nature of particular findings. Thus, for example, in discussing the central issue facing Ireland in the decades before the Great Famine—a prospective clash between population growth and living standards—the author suggests that the unprecedented spurt in population in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth

centuries may have been a "temporary disequilibrium phenomenon" (p. 23), already being corrected long before the years of the Great Hunger (1845–49). The formulation, which involves comparative static analysis, places the key issues in appropriate relationship to each other. But Ó Gráda juxtaposes theory and evidence rather than imposing his economic reasoning on the patchy historical data. Thus, he is agnostic on trends in mortality and even marriage age (where the admittedly incomplete evidence points toward some kind of Malthusian restraint being exercised by large numbers of people before the Great Famine).

Among the major findings, some of which have been established in more detail by Ó Gráda in earlier papers, are that the Great Famine was far from inevitable; that the British government's handling of the crisis was inept, sometimes crass; that the rehabilitation of Irish landlords by recent revisionist scholarship has gone too far; and that alleged industrial opportunities in Ireland did not go untested by businessmen. The last point suggests that the problem of industrial retardation was due not so much to a lack of entrepreneurs as to a dearth of profitable opportunities. The discussion of the interwar period is especially provocative with the "economic war" between Britain and the Irish Free State receiving its most original treatment to date. The Irish, it seems, fared much better than might have been expected from this exercise in economics, politics, and bellicosity.

The range of subjects traversed by Ó Gráda is astonishing, and different historians will want to focus on their favorite themes. For my part, among the intriguing issues is the claim that emigration, not controls on reproduction, was the principal means of restraining population growth in the decades before the Great Famine. But the greatest deceleration in population, if one excludes the province of Leinster, occurred in the impoverished west of Ireland, where resistance to emigration appears to have been strongest. Similarly, one might wonder about the acceptance of an estimate of Irish national income on the eve of the Famine of £80 million which would imply that per capita income in Ireland was only two-fifths of the British level. This seems to exaggerate the poverty of the Irish and is difficult to reconcile with other evidence marshaled by Ó Gráda on the heights and nutritional status of the Irish relative to the English, evidence that shows little difference between the two societies. Moreover, if one accepts Ó Gráda's estimate of the value of agricultural output at £45 million, a national income of £80 million would imply that the agricultural sector accounted for close to 60 percent of national income, which is an implausibly high proportion. A national income of £95–100 million, which would leave income per capita in Ireland at about half the British level, seems closer to the mark.

The storytelling in this book is lively. Whereas a historian from an earlier generation might have reached for gilded lines from Yeats or other Anglo-Irish writers, Ó Gráda relies for color (as well as

insight) on folk songs, peasant poetry, and proverbs, often from the lost world of Gaelic language and culture. The effect is not simply to reduce the risk of quantitative overload for the reader; the triumphant result is an earthier, more authentic history of the Irish peoples.

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RUTH-ANN M. HARRIS. *The Nearest Place That Wasn't Ireland: Early Nineteenth-Century Irish Labor Migration*. Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 281. \$34.95.

Ruth-Ann M. Harris's study of Irish seasonal migration to England and Scotland in the first half of the nineteenth century challenges much of the conventional wisdom about this phenomenon. Irish migrant laborers were not feckless victims of changing economic circumstances. Instead, they maximized their resources in both the British and the Irish economies, using their earnings abroad to pay the rent on their holdings at home. Furthermore, Irish migrant laborers were not yokels unused to the modern world. Instead, seasonal migrants to Great Britain acquired first-hand knowledge about urban, industrial life, which many later put to good use when they permanently emigrated to the United States. Irish migrant workers, therefore, were not passive traditionalists as they have so often been portrayed. Instead, they were "economic men" (and they were mostly male) seeking to maximize their cash incomes in ways that their deteriorating home economy could not provide. Nevertheless, Harris tells us, "never before had a slave labor force imported itself so willingly" (p. xiii).

There is much to admire in this study, especially in Harris's well-documented delineation of the parameters of large-scale seasonal migration from rural Ireland before the mid-nineteenth century. The book is also valuable for placing Irish seasonal migration into a larger historical context; one of its major strengths lies in its description of the importance of Irish migrant workers to early English industrialization. It also joins a growing number of studies that can be best described as postrevisionist histories of Ireland that restore the Famine to its status as the watershed event in nineteenth-century Irish history. By showing how the Hunger of the late 1840s caused the virtual disappearance of agricultural laborers, the largest pre-famine social and economic class, Harris's work underlines the catastrophic impact of the potato blight on those who had once comprised the great majority of seasonal migrants.

The quality of the research is sometimes hidden, however, by poor writing. For example, both the historiographical survey that opens the book and the concluding chapter are so sketchily written that the reader must presume that they were taken directly from Harris's notecards. In addition, awkward syntax

and incomplete paragraphing are found throughout the text, transition is often choppy, and the authorial voice can change from third to second to first person without warning, all indicating a hastily written effort.

Despite these drawbacks, Harris's study is an important addition to Irish emigration and economic history, two topics that have become increasingly well-studied in recent years. In addition, the book adds an essential Irish dimension to the economic history of Great Britain in the nineteenth century. Seconding Cormac Ó Gráda's thesis that pre-famine agricultural laborers were rational operators in a changing economy, Harris's work adds to our growing understanding of this large and almost forgotten group in the pre-famine Irish population.

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DERMOT KEOGH. *Twentieth-Century Ireland: Nation and State*. New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xxi, 504. \$39.95.

Dermot Keogh's book, the concluding volume of the New Gill History of Ireland, is a well-written survey covering the major political, cultural, economic, and religious developments in Ireland since independence. One of its chief merits is the analysis of the effects of British, European, and American influences on Irish development. Besides being informed by Keogh's earlier research on European integration, Irish relations with the Vatican, and Irish labor history, the general narrative has been enriched by material obtained from interviews and the private papers of some leading Irish politicians and civil servants. There is insightful commentary throughout on the role of Ireland's creative artists in stimulating critical debate on such issues as censorship and the persistence of poverty and gender inequalities to the intractability of the conflict in Northern Ireland.

Keogh emphasizes that both Irish states were baptized in violence, leaving bitter legacies of irredentism in the south and paranoia in the north, feelings he relates effectively to the outbreak and continuation of civil conflict in Northern Ireland over the past quarter century. Describing the policies that strengthened a partitionist mentality in both states from the 1930s through the 1950s, he places the failure of the economic pragmatism of the Terence O'Neill-Seán Lemass initiative in 1965 in proper context. On the other hand, Keogh shows that despite the disorder associated with the Irish revolution and the subsequent civil war in 1922–23, the southern Irish state was more successful than other postcolonial nations in establishing a relatively stable, albeit inward-looking, democracy. Although the triumph of Eamon de Valera's Fianna Fáil party in 1932 moderated the fiscal conservatism of the Cumann na nGaedheal government, difficult economic conditions persisted for small farmers, western youth, and, especially, women. Immigra-

tion to Britain or America was the only option for tens of thousands of these marginalized groups.

Keogh judiciously assesses the political career of Eamon de Valera, noting his contributions as well as blunders in diplomatic, constitutional, and economic development. His interpretation is not new, but he does emphasize that de Valera's political genius lay in his ability to hold Fianna Fáil together despite deep tensions between its radical republican wing, led by Sean McEntee, and a more pragmatic wing identified with Sean Lemass. Often this was done by playing the "green card" which only tended to exacerbate the paranoia of northern unionists regarding southern intentions.

Keogh, echoing earlier studies, shows that de Valera was determined that Irish neutrality during World War II would favor the Allies, and he documents cooperation between Irish intelligence officials and their British and American counterparts. The sterility of political debate and the economic deprivation from the immediate post-World War II era to the early 1960s are readily apparent from the narrative.

There is full coverage of Irish elections and the role of leaders such as Sean Lemass, Jack Lynch, Charles Haughey, Garret FitzGerald, Michael O'Leary, and Dick Spring in shaping the policies of the Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael, and Labour parties. Although Keogh gives high marks to Sean Lemass for properly diagnosing the defects of the country's economic and social structure in the 1950s and early 1960s, he describes how the northern crisis and major political leaders' tendency toward politics as usual in the 1970s and 1980s resulted in missed opportunities for badly needed economic, social, and administrative reforms. He finds Charles J. Haughey's leadership of Fianna Fáil and tenure as Taoiseach especially disappointing.

Keogh's commentary on the role of Catholicism in Irish life, and especially the influence of the hierarchy in political affairs, is particularly welcome. Although the influential conservative views of Archbishop John Charles McQuaid are documented extensively, Keogh's analysis of the controversial Mother-Child health scheme of the 1950s suggests that blaming the Irish hierarchy for social backwardness has often obscured the culpability of party political leaders and the comfortable professional classes for failed reform policies.

Keogh describes the impact of the Vatican Council in provoking needed discussion by the Irish clergy and laity of economic and social justice issues. The important contribution of many committed Irish clerics and publications like *Studies*, *The Furrow* and *Christus Rex* in championing the interests of the poor and the marginalized provides some balance to the negative image of the Irish Roman Catholic church.

Keogh's analysis of Irish economic and political developments since 1980 shows that, despite real gains in developing the economy and industrial and agricultural infrastructure, there are still serious problems of poverty, unemployment, and lack of educational opportunity for the working class as well as serious

barriers to women's full participation as workers and citizens in Irish society. Contemporary Irish politicians, inclined to measure national well-being solely by free-market economic principles and statistics rather than by the well-being of the people, should read this balanced account as they face the challenges of European integration and an increasingly global economy.

Students of modern Irish history will find Keogh's volume indispensable for its up-to-date coverage, trenchant analysis, and extensive bibliography.

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J. RUSSELL MAJOR. *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles, and Estates*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 444. \$49.95.

For over four decades, J. Russell Major has pursued a research agenda of exceptional coherence and importance, as this book clearly demonstrates. In the author's words, this volume "is intended to be a synthesis of the forty-five years I have devoted to studying the history of France." It is also the abridgement of *Representative Government in Early Modern France* (1980), promised when that *magnum opus* appeared. Condensed sections of that work, reorganized and revised to incorporate findings that have appeared since its publication, comprise the core of nine of this volume's thirteen chapters. Two chapters explore the situation of the French nobility and its relationship to the crown from the late Middle Ages through the seventeenth century, also drawing heavily on the author's earlier publications on this subject. Well-constructed introductory and concluding chapters that define the basic features of the "Renaissance Monarchy" as it took shape in the fifteenth century and review the changes in the crown's relationship to the nobility and estates that had occurred by the reign of Louis XIV enable the book as a whole to form the narrative announced by its title.

As Major tells us, the prevailing interpretation of French state-building when he began graduate study in 1946 cast the rising bourgeoisie as the moving force in history. According to this interpretation, the "new monarchies" of the early sixteenth century eclipsed the power of the formerly overmighty aristocracy thanks to an alliance with the bourgeoisie and to the economic difficulties of the nobility brought on by their poor estate management and spendthrift ways. A leader among those American historians of Europe of the immediate postwar generation who set a new standard for American specialists in this field by pursuing archival research throughout their professional lives, Major devoted his research to exploring and ultimately challenging this interpretation. After his early studies of the Estates-General from 1421 to 1560 showed him the important elements of consultation still found within a governmental system that many leading specialists of the time considered absolutist, he moved on

to a series of efforts to define the character of French Renaissance government, to explore the sources of the continuing power that he observed on the part of the great nobility during this era, and to investigate the seventeenth-century fate of the representative institutions that were still so vital in the sixteenth. These are the themes that this volume draws together. After an initial exploration of the features of fifteenth and sixteenth-century government that Major sees as defining the Renaissance monarchy, the core of this book narrates the efforts of rulers from Henry IV to Louis XIV to restore and build up royal power, with primary focus on the crown's policy toward representative bodies and secondary focus on its relationship to a nobility that was increasingly divided between robe and sword.

Major has been no stranger to controversy over his career. Both his reinterpretation of the Renaissance monarchy as a distinctive period in the history of the French state marked by decentralization, frequent consultation with the kingdom's elites, and respect for the rule of law, and his attribution to the ministers Sully and Marillac of the policy that the crown appeared to be pursuing at moments in the seventeenth century of trying to eliminate all provincial estates, have been sharply questioned by other scholars. Major chooses here not to respond at length to all of the objections that have been raised against his arguments, but simply to reiterate his views with occasional modifications. The vision of the Renaissance monarchy that he now defends has the unquestioned merit of underscoring the considerable disparity that existed between the actual power and administrative apparatus of even the strongest rulers of the sixteenth century and that wielded by all French monarchs from Louis XIV to the French Revolution, but it obscures the extent to which certain monarchs of the fifteenth and sixteenth century were willing to act as if they were "legibus solutus." Meanwhile, as several critics have observed, attributions of the policy of systematically eliminating the provincial estates to specific ministers can only be speculative in the absence of minutes of council debates about such matters, especially given the broader practice of presenting all actions as emanating ultimately from the king himself. The circumstantial evidence that suggests Marillac's advocacy of such a policy appears more persuasive than that for Sully.

But this volume powerfully reminds us that Major has contributed far more to our understanding of this period than the controversial interpretations often associated with his name. Today, it is generally accepted that the Bourbon monarchs built their power not through a victorious alliance with the bourgeoisie against an enfeebled and declining nobility, but through the attainment of a complex *modus vivendi* with a Second Estate that still retained vast wealth and much vitality. His research on the wealth of the house of Foix-Navarre-Albret and on the changing forms and rituals of loyalty within the ranks of the aristocracy

contributed fundamental elements to this reinterpretation. If he is able here to draw together many other studies that provide further evidence of aristocratic vitality and adaptability into what must now rank as the best synthesis of crown-noble relations over this period, his research and teaching deserve much of the credit for inspiring this work. Perhaps more important, his demonstration that from 1630 on, royal policy turned its back on earlier attempts to eliminate representative bodies and embraced instead the policy of trying to work with and more effectively control the stronger provincial estates has been central for the insight that the changes conventionally lumped under the formula "the rise of absolutism" sprang not from any remaking of governmental institutions according to a consciously preconceived program hostile to the principle of representation, but from effective compromise with existing institutions. For discussions of early modern French representative institutions, Major's work represents the essential starting point, and is conveniently summarized here.

Our view of the growth of the French monarchical state now looks considerably more complex than it did when Major began graduate study fifty years ago. Scholars today recognize far more clearly the centrality of changes in army size and organization for early modern state-building. The genesis of many critical administrative innovations in improvised solutions to short-term crises rather than in abstract reform programs is also understood, as are the complexity of an ever-richer universe of political discourse composed of multiple languages of remarkable staying power and the ever-changing terms of negotiation between the crown and the country's elites. With this has come the dawning realization that the changes once subsumed under the rubric of the rise of absolutism can no longer be encompassed by a single narrative. The histories of administrative growth and institutional reorganization, of political thought, and of the relationship between the crown and the other loci of political authority each followed their own course. In light of this realization, subsequent scholars will probably be far less inclined than Major to invoke either the "Renaissance monarchy" or the "absolute monarchy" as the end points of a single, unified narrative. The more complex account of early modern French state-building that they will provide will nonetheless owe fundamental insights to his lifetime of scholarship. His work has been central both for our recognition of the complexity of crown-noble relations and for our understanding of why representative institutions endured in many parts of France beyond the putative triumph of absolute monarchy. This book synthesizes these research achievements clearly and provocatively.

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FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER. *Louis XII*. New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xiii, 319. \$39.95.

Frederic J. Baumgartner undertook this life of Louis XII because "there was no English-language biography for him from any era nor a scholarly study of his reign in France since the nineteenth century" (p. vii). Baumgartner has solid command of the sources, and he provides an almost encyclopedic account of things touching the lives of kings: assemblies, ceremonies, military strategies and battles, marriages and diplomacy, cultural and literary productions, financial administration and taxes, political and juridical institutions, and the management of publicity. For example, of royal expenditures we learn that Louis XII (whose nobles called him a *roi roturier* because of his parsimony) in one year gave 6,500 *livres* in alms to the poor and paid 30,000 *livres* in expenses for his *fauconnerie*. One finds little to disagree with in this biography—written in chaste prose and generally free from speculations and theories—and it will be the starting point for future studies of the reign. Its value is not so much in new discoveries as in Baumgartner's artful weaving of the concerns of current scholarship into the chronicle of Louis XII's life.

In sixteen chapters, Baumgartner follows the changing status of young Louis of Orléans: from impoverished and fatherless Prince of the Blood under Louis XI, to rebel vassal and royal favorite under Charles VIII, to king. The young duke spent his life as a subject in a forced and unhappy marriage to Jeanne of France, Louis XI's intelligent, virtuous, and physically repulsive daughter; his life as king brought him a happy and advantageous marriage to the sagacious Anne of Brittany. As king, he ably balanced the conflicting aspirations for power and wealth among the sword nobility, the third estate, and the juridical elite. In Baumgartner's recounting, Louis XII is represented as a moderate reforming king caught between medieval and Renaissance ideas and styles. He recognized and depended on talented advisers (such as Cardinal Georges D'Amboise) and field commanders (such as Pierre de Bayard); he took seriously his sworn duties to law, custom, and religion; and he acknowledged more than any of his heirs the voice of public opinion and the wisdom of keeping taxes low.

Louis XII appeared at his best when managing the restraints and resources of the institution of kingship and at his blindest as head of a dynasty. Yet, according to Baumgartner, Louis XII's "fixation on his rights to the duchy of Milan was the central feature of his reign" (p. 227). Louis XII, while preserving peace and "broad prosperity" (p. 207) in France, was consistently outmaneuvered in the international mendacity called Renaissance diplomacy. Baumgartner does not treat it this way, but he in effect studied two Louis XII's: the king in France who was solicitous of the people and the ducal heir and warrior in Italy who could only rule by conquering. The prestige of the King of France was regularly used to remedy the mistakes of the claimant. Regality did not translate well, however, and Louis XII's Italian ducal aspirations not only tarnished his image but also ended in ridicule and failure which he

tried to remedy in misguided ways, such as toppling Pope Julius II. At the age of fifty-two, Louis XII died while celebrating the formalization of a new alliance by his marriage to Henry VIII's eighteen-year-old sister, Princess Mary.

In his concluding chapter Baumgartner places Louis XII in the context of Renaissance monarchy according to the insightful criterion that mature kings, from Louis XI through Henry IV, "differed from one another in their styles of rule more than was true either of the kings of the Middle Ages or of the Ancien Régime" (p. 251). Yet his study rarely incorporates an interpretation based on "styles of rule." Louis XII remains a shadowy figure who moderately supported legal, political, and religious reforms and resisted personalizing and empowering the monarchy as his Valois successors did. His life would stand in clearer relief if Baumgartner considered style more than just a factor in politics, but as essential to an understanding of the attitudes and values of the age and person, as it is treated by historians like Johan Huizinga and Roger Chartier.

From as early as the Estates General of 1484, Louis treated ceremonies and assemblies as occasions for publicity, consultation, and managing royal administration. He accommodated new styles by being the first king to have an equestrian statue raised for him; to have his portrait on coinage; to patronize the drama of the *basoche*; to employ systematically chroniclers, artists, historians, and orators, to establish a major library; and to understand music. In 1506, a well-rehearsed assembly recognized Louis XII's solicitousness for the welfare of the people by bestowing on him the sobriquet "Father of the People." This title broke with traditional styles, and it suggests a Renaissance redefining of the monarchy based on public opinion. After Louis, it was necessary for a king to define himself by being *père* of something: Francis I of arts and learning; Henry II of the nobility; Charles IX of the French. Finally, although it is not essential, the publisher could have made the book more helpful by including better maps and, given the importance of dynastic politics, a genealogy of the Orléans family. These are quibbles, however, in the face of the book's utility and merits.

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JEAN VILLAIN. *La fortune de Colbert*. Foreword by PIERRE CHAUNU. (Études générales.) Paris: Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France. 1994. Pp. ix, 404.

Jean Villain's examination of Colbert's fortune fits neatly into the pattern of recent scholarship about the personal financial success of those who served closest to seventeenth-century French rulers. He offers us a solid contribution, but one not so compelling as the works of Joseph Bergin (*Cardinal Richelieu: Power and*

the Pursuit of Wealth [1985]) or Isabelle Aristide (*La fortune de Sully* [1989]), the first volume in the series of which this book forms a part.

Villain's Colbert, like Sully, built a sizeable but not obscene fortune. Although Villain estimates the final tally at between 4.5 and 6 million *livres*, a more accurate figure would seem to be 8 million *livres*, if one counts the elements remaining at his death (about 5.7 million *livres*) and those handed out at the marriages of his older children: combined dowries of 1.17 million *livres* to the three daughters and the marquisat of Seignelay, given to his oldest son in 1672 (worth nearly 1 million *livres*). This sum exceeds Sully's 5.1 million *livres*, but pales in comparison with the fabulous hoards amassed by Richelieu and Mazarin (20 and 35 million, respectively). Mazarin left more in cash than Colbert had in his entire estate.

One can fairly compare the two fortunes because Colbert essentially created them both. Although Villain focuses on the legitimacy of Colbert's gain, going to great pains to suggest the controller general did not engage in speculation, nonetheless he makes it clear that the core of Colbert's personal fortune came from a dubious sale of an office he owned (yet had not paid for) as secretary of orders in the queen's household (sold for 500,000 *livres*). Colbert also obtained his position as *intendant* of finances without having to pay for it, which was a most unusual situation.

Villain's book contains many fascinating details about Colbert. His art collection, which included originals by Rubens, Veronese, Champagne, Titian, and Le Brun, was displayed side-by-side with cheap copies. At the breakup of the estate, the appraisers assigned some astounding prices to such art: they priced a "Virgin" by Raphael at only 300 *livres*, and a "Mary Magdelaine" of Philippe de Champagne at a mere 30 *livres*. Villain argues that Colbert, a passionate bibliophile ("the pleasure of creating my library is almost the only one I take in my work"), had the greatest private library of his time, including 10,799 books, 6,117 ancient manuscripts, and many other items. Colbert used his extensive network of government subordinates to act as his book and manuscript agents, as well as his informants about potentially lucrative landed investments.

Villain shows conclusively the extremely conservative nature of Colbert's investments. Colbert demanded that intendants tell him only about good buys, those offering a net return of 5 percent or more. He wrote to his brother that "families can only maintain themselves by solid establishment in landed estates. I counsel you always to put your money in this sort of goods" (p. 131). He followed his own advice, buying large seigneuries at Seignelay in Burgundy, at Hérouville in Normandy, and at Châteauneuf-sur-Cher in Berry, and spending his entire life adding on to them, often in quite small parcels. Landed property accounted for about two-thirds of his wealth, if one includes Seignelay. He managed his estates in a way typical of the most assiduous owners of his day,

investing here in horse raising, there in small-scale manufacture (ultimately unsuccessful), and everywhere in new *terriers*.

Villain's Colbert comes across as a careful, calculating manager of his own wealth, as well as of that of Mazarin and, later, Louis XIV. Where Villain lets us down is precisely in this latter case, because he does not discuss the extensive network of clients Colbert had in Louis's financial system. Villain takes a much different perspective than that of Daniel Dessert (*Argent pouvoir et société au Grand Siècle* [1984]) and the book suffers badly from a failure to engage Dessert in a dialogue. Indeed, one is astounded that Dessert's book on the financiers does not even appear in the bibliography (although his article on the subject and his biography on Fouquet do). Villain intends to focus on Colbert's private fortune, to be sure, yet his work amply demonstrates the critical role played by the *intendants* in helping Colbert the private investor. In a book dedicated to the exploration of the intersection of private and public finance, one comes away disappointed from the failure directly to address the intricate connections between the public and private spheres.

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DANIEL GORDON. *Citizens without Sovereignty: Equality and Sociability in French Thought, 1670–1789*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 270. \$39.50.

Daniel Gordon offers a new interpretation of the *salons* of *ancien régime* France, holding that cultivated society of the period used them as a forum for egalitarian social relations. He seeks to revise models of politeness in a hierarchical society and criticizes the notion that *salon* culture fostered the political egalitarianism of the revolution.

Polite society in seventeenth-century France did not entirely accept the manners that regulated behavior at court. Those who frequented *salons* sought free-flowing conversation. To get it they had to treat their interlocutors with a courtesy that acknowledged that everyone had an equal right to speak and to be heard. The equality of the *salons*, however, was not universal; it applied only to those who had the learning and wit needed to shine in what came to be called "*le monde*." Neither was it revolutionary; *salon* members understood their social world as separate from the political hierarchy. It did, however, root morality in the understanding that to be happy oneself, one must facilitate the happiness of others.

In the eighteenth century "sociable" society became the high point of civilization, according to the universal history developed by David Hume and adapted for France by Jean-Baptiste Suard. Its members governed themselves but not in any political sense; rather, "their self-government was one of manners, of restraint, and of polish acquired through conversation" (p. 176). To

such urbane citizens, who needed no monarch to control their impulses, politics were irrelevant. As tensions in France increased, however, such courtesy collapsed into increasingly violent polemics. Gordon takes Voltaire's assaults on Jean-Jacques Rousseau and André Morelet's *ad hominem* attacks as signs that the tone of the *salons* had changed. Literati were no longer content to participate in a society that was separated from political reality. They sought to change the real world. Discourse became violent because so much was at stake.

But even the hot-tempered Morelet did not anticipate the mindless brutality and unexamined political assumptions of the revolution. The eruption of impatient democrats into the arena of civil discourse repelled Morelet, who found even Napoleon opinionated and lacking in civility. The *salons* had offered a refuge for individual autonomy under absolutism; when individuals began to affect and even dominate political life, the vitality of *salon* culture declined.

Gordon largely bases his arguments on courtesy manuals published between 1660 and 1770. His reading of them shows the limitations of Norbert Elias's argument that courtesy reinforced patterns of dominance in the hierarchical civilization of France. The study is less convincing in its final sections. He bases his contention that *salon* culture did not breed revolutionaries on the careers of Suard and Morelet, who both survived the revolution but failed to become significant figures. Their experiences are certainly suggestive, but they do not sufficiently support a general conclusion. Careful prosopography of more late-Enlightenment writers may provide that support. In the meantime Gordon offers a stimulating conceptualization of the world of the *salons*. Most students of the Enlightenment will want to read this book.

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MARK HULLIUNG. *The Autocritique of Enlightenment: Rousseau and the Philosophes*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 293. \$45.00.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau has often been considered the pariah of the Enlightenment, a reputation for which his *Confessions* are largely responsible. In self-imposed isolation in the "hermitage" of Louise-Florence-Pétro-nille de la Live d'Epinay in the Montmorency valley outside Paris, he resided in a troubled if not tormented state from 1756 to 1762. Mark Hulliung argues that this alienation began a decade before with his two *Discourses*, in which he had contested, quite uncharacteristically of a philosophe the advantages of knowledge and civilization.

Hulliung's thesis is original: "Rousseau's thought from beginning to end is that of a fervent advocate of Enlightenment" (p. 213). This argument is developed thematically rather than biographically, by confronting Rousseau with a broad spectrum of texts. He begins with Blaise Pascal, the thorn in Voltaire's side. Hulli-

ung finds that Rousseau vindicated a morality of self-love rather than self-sacrifice, thus challenging the church's view of the human condition and pressing "the agenda of the Enlightenment" (p. 36).

Chapter 2, "Philosophical History," examines a number of related texts that deal with the past in ways that although they would not be considered historical today, do reveal an evolutionary view of human development. Such are Jean le Rond d'Alembert's *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopedia* (1751) and Étienne Bonnet de Condillac's *Traité des sensations* (1754).

Denis Diderot is the philosophe closest to Rousseau in outlook, temperament, and modernity. Chapter 3 includes a probing comparison of Diderot's posthumous *Rameau's Nephew* (1821) with Rousseau's own introspection.

A rewarding dimension of Hulliung's work is his fresh reexamination of the philosophes' republicanism (chapter 4), which he finds to have been as extensive among the materialists (Claude-Adrian Helvétius, Paul-Henri-Dietrich d'Holbach, and Diderot) as with Rousseau himself. He discovers this in nonpolitical texts such as Diderot's drama, *Père de Famille* (1758) and Rousseau's *Lettre à D'Alembert* (1758) as well as in more obvious sources.

In the penultimate chapter Hulliung tries to establish that Rousseau was a practitioner of scientific method, thus fulfilling the "Enlightenment project of human betterment through science" (p. 213). On these grounds he calls Rousseau a "materialist," in that he supported "love, natural goodness, breast feeding and the reinvigoration of the family" (p. 200). Rousseau's belief in the immortality of the soul is underemphasized, as is his conception of a coherent self in contrast to Diderot or David Hume's view of a dispersed self. Was Rousseau a materialist? Perhaps in contrast to René Descartes, but in comparison to Holbach, Helvétius, or Diderot?

Hulliung makes a persuasive case for viewing Rousseau as an insider in the "little flock" of philosophes. But this book oversimplifies his relationship to Christianity, ignoring his famous "profession de foi du vicaire savoyard" in *Émile* (1762) and his continual denunciation of the atheist "clique Holbachique" in his *Confessions*. Yet Hulliung has as wide and deep a command of Enlightenment texts as one would want. His is a major contribution to Enlightenment studies and will challenge eighteenth-century scholars to fruitful debate over whether Rousseau should be considered a critic or an "autocritique" of Enlightenment. The annotation is abundant, but the five-page index, although good on themes, does not include titles.

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BRONISLAW BACZKO. *Ending the Terror: The French Revolution after Robespierre*. Translated by MICHEL PETHERAM. New York: Cambridge University Press or Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris. 1994. Pp. xii, 269. \$59.95.

Bronislaw Baczko's book begins in rumor and ends in myth. A tale, with a simple plot skillfully constructed to ignite the collective imagination, was launched in Thermidor: that Robespierre had plotted to become king. The Dauphin would vanish, "the Incorruptible" would marry Madame Royale, and secret diplomacy would exchange peace for recognition of the usurper. Evidence was manufactured and "discovered"; the rumor was spread by the police; and an audience living in a newly invented political arena, yet deeply committed to the mental world of the "famine plot," readily believed it. Robespierre and his followers went to the guillotine, the Convention posed as the liberator of the nation from a murderous tyrant who would be king, and the task of separating the Republic from the Terror began.

Only Robespierre's fall could have ended the Terror. Cloture was another matter, and Robert Lindet's report in the name of the Committee of Public Safety (September 20, 1794) proposed a program to achieve it (pp. 115–23). The nation, he insisted, as had many before him, had now gone through all the phases of its revolution. 9 Thermidor marked its end. Lindet's report, Baczko notes, "closed Year II, it did not inaugurate Year III" (p. 126). Vengeance, scarcely masked under an ideology of justice, now replaced the Terror.

The trials of Fouquier-Tinville, arrested on 12 Thermidor, and Jean-Baptiste Carrier, the proconsul of Nantes, focused national revenge while the *jeunesse dorée* settled local scores. The "majority in the Convention turned on the Jacobins a rhetoric and an ideology that the latter had themselves worked out" (p. 126). No one attempted to occupy the place vacated by Robespierre, whose moral superiority had sustained the Jacobins. His foes had, by rumor and deed, made it "the 'throne' of a tyrant" (p. 114).

Carrier's trial, which gradually became the judgment not of a person but a problem, is extensively analyzed by Baczko (chapter 3). Stories of his perversity and monstrous deeds—exaggerated, imagined, or invented—filled the press and the popular mind. His demonization was not unlike that of Robespierre. The Terror and the Jacobins were on trial.

Robespierre and the terrorists were even yoked to the ongoing debate on the nation's patrimony. Grégoire denounced "Robespierre-the-vandal," using the same strategy earlier employed against Hébert (p. 206). The Thermidoreans insisted they were "the single legitimate heir of the Enlightenment" (p. 222), further alienating their foes from the revolution. Just as the revolution did not escape the mental world of the *ancien régime*, so the Thermidoreans did not escape that of the Terror.

Nowhere in its sustained attack on the Jacobins and the Terror did the Thermidorean Convention admit political pluralism, "even as a necessary evil." Any adjustments "between public opinion, which necessarily varied from one election to another, and the group

in power would be from now on the result of *coups d'état*" (p. 254).

This is a book rich in erudition and suggestion, one that calls our attention to a problem as important as the origins of the Terror. Baczko is especially good on the complex, convoluted, and often coded debates of the former Jacobins as they struggled to fix the meaning of 9 Thermidor and explain away their part in the Terror. Baczko's experience of the Polish Communist Party has prepared him admirably for understanding Thermidor and its aftermath. The translation, faithful enough to the original, tends to emphasize whatever lack of elegance and ease there is in Baczko's French.

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REED G. GEIGER. *Planning the French Canals: Bureaucracy, Politics, and Enterprise under the Restoration*. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 1994. Pp. 338. \$43.50.

Reed G. Geiger's book is divided into ten chapters which, as the title suggests, are not about the building of canals in France but about planning them. He means "planning" in the broadest sense, involving the mobilization of political, financial, technical, and bureaucratic support for the large transportation project. Although the book concentrates on the Besquey canal projects of the Restoration, the first two chapters discuss both the history and the historiography of canal building and their economic importance. Chapters 3 and 4 deal with the instigators, Becquey and his men; chapters 5 and 6 examine the canal projects, including their financial ramifications; chapters 7, 8, and 9 concern the legislative politics of the public construction program, drawing connections between politics and project conceptions; and chapter 10 evaluates the significance of the canals in the larger economic and historical framework of nineteenth-century France.

The key to understanding this book, as is so often the case, is given in the subtitle. "Bureaucracy" and "enterprise" seem to be contradictory ideas, but Geiger shows them to be complementary. To do so, he has to raise the specter of the retardation debate that revisionist historians had hoped to allay a decade ago. Somewhat surprisingly, for a man thought to be in the revisionist camp, Geiger adopts the retardation thesis, but he gives it a new twist. In effect he parts company with postmodernists, who believe that language creates reality, to argue that reality—the retarded condition of the French economy—forced French innovators to abandon liberal rhetoric and economic policy in favor of statist solutions to transportation problems. It was, then, not that French engineers and politicians adopted statist solutions because, unlike their cross-channel rivals, they were imbued with Colbertist sentiments. Rather, these Frenchmen, whose *laissez-faire* ideas scarcely differed from the British, found themselves forced in practice to abandon liberal policies

that might work in economically advanced England because they would not in underdeveloped France.

Geiger's comparisons are made not so much in terms of growth per capita, which the revisionists emphasized, but market density. Geiger, quoting Maurice Lévy-LeBoyer ("Histoire économique et histoire de l'administration," in *Histoire de l'administration française depuis 1800, problèmes et méthodes* [1975]), affirms that insufficient market density prevented the government from following a policy of economic liberalism until the 1860s, when the national rail network provided the necessary market density to allow private development. Actually Geiger's views seem overly sanguine: as late as 1911 French railroads carried one-third the freight tonnage per kilometer of German and British railroads (the figures in thousands of tons are Germany 9.5, U.K. 11.62, and France 3.09), and half the passenger journeys per inhabitant (Germany 25.30, U.K. 28.6, and France 12.60). Comparative low market density seems to have been a persistent problem during the rail as well as the canal era.

Geiger has produced an admirable work. Although it appears to be somewhat technical and narrow, by working the subject into a broader context he makes a solid and useful contribution to the field. The notes and bibliography reveal a thorough acquaintance with primary and secondary source materials. The book is a pleasure to read and should be recommended reading for all historians, not just economic historians, of France.

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PRISCILLA PARKHURST FERGUSON. *Paris as Revolution: Writing the Nineteenth-Century City*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 261.

An analytic work of literary history that situates the texts on which it focuses within a series of contexts formed not only by other written texts but also by the "text" of Paris itself, Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson's book makes a welcome contribution to the historiography of urban culture. The author displays a scholarly style somewhat at variance with the ones in vogue among most historians, generally eschewing straightforward exposition in order to pursue connections among mental phenomena and social experience that often remain rather elusive. But her writing is generally free of the jargon that nonliterary historians are likely to find most off-putting, and the book certainly deserves the serious attention of anyone who seeks to understand the ways in which modern cities have been perceived and interpreted by articulate observers.

The cast of characters on which Ferguson focuses was constituted by journalistic essayists and novelists, of whom the most important for her purposes are Louis-Sébastien Mercier, Gustave Flaubert, Victor Hugo, Jules Vallés, and Émile Zola. Although Fergu-

son frequently ranges back several centuries behind 1789—as in her discussion of the evolving custom of specificity in the naming of streets—Mercier (author of *Tableau de Paris*, 12 vols., 1782–88) is the only prerevolutionary writer whom she treats at any length. He is privileged owing to the role he played in establishing a new genre of ethnology, in which urban diversity received an authorial affirmation that was to reassert itself continually during the century after the appearance of his major work. The other writers whom we encounter *in extenso* were men of the nineteenth century who wrote their own *tableaux*—some reportorial, most fictional—perhaps in part under Mercier's influence but more obviously under the influence of a series of revolutions that had begun to occur just after Mercier's work was completed.

Ferguson often returns to the ways in which *la grande révolution* and its successors, from the July Revolution through the Commune, were refracted in a literary tradition in which the French capital took on mythic proportions as a center of political upheaval and national renewal. This is not to say that all of the works celebrated either Paris or revolution. Flaubert, in particular, evinced in his *Sentimental Education* feelings of alienation (suggestive of Durkheimian anomie) that stemmed in part from disappointment as a result of the events of 1848–51. And the tenor of Zola's narrative of the Commune is conveyed quite clearly by its title, *La Débâcle*. But like Hugo and the more pro-proletarian Vallés, Zola expressed throughout his career a view of Paris in which the city, for all its faults, signified and stimulated the progressive advance of civilization and humanity. This advance, as Ferguson points out, was a matter not only of political revolution(s) but also of other transformations that characterized the long nineteenth century: industrialization, scientific as well as technological progress, and urbanization itself. Symbolized toward the century's end by the Eiffel Tower, these processes also elicited widespread fascination among men of letters.

What historians may miss the most in this book is a sense of engagement with nonliterary discourse beyond the realms of street names and guide books. To be sure, Ferguson suggests various parallels between novelists and not only Émile Durkheim but also Karl Marx. But, to cite only one example, there is no mention of any of the medical writers treated by Louis Chevalier in his *Laboring Classes and Dangerous Classes in Paris During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (1973), a book Ferguson nowhere mentions in her notes (even though it also has a good deal to say about writers of fiction). Nonetheless, on her chosen terrain, Ferguson is both sure-footed and informative.

ANDREW LEES
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CHRISTOPHE CHARLE. *La République des universitaires, 1870–1940*. (L'univers historique.) Paris: Seuil. 1994. Pp. 505. 190 fr.

Christophe Charle's prodigious publishing output characteristically combines classic prosopographical methods pioneered by French historians such as Adeline Daumard with a conceptual schema inspired by the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. The results have been consistently illuminating, transforming our understanding of French elites and intellectuals more particularly. His *Les Elites de la République* (1987) is, in my view, the most important work of French social history to have appeared during the last decade. In that book, Charle subjected the entire system of elite structures to his unique mode of analysis. In the work under review, he turns his sharp analytical gaze to just one French elite category, university professors of letters, science, and law. (Professors of medicine are treated only peripherally.)

In one respect, this book represents a narrowing of focus since professors are removed from the broad social context of the earlier book and examined in exhaustive detail. The author, however, adds a welcome new comparative element by introducing parallel data about German professors. Overall, I know of no study of academics in any language that includes so much historical information on so many different aspects of academics' lives and careers. Even when we know a great deal about particular groups, as is the case for professors of science and letters, Charle uncovers new data and produces fresh insights. Many other chapters cover subjects never fully studied before, including professors of law and the international activities of university academics. Although non-specialist readers will probably find the level of detail quite daunting, specialists will be mining this book for years to come.

Charle, however, is not just trying to present a historical sociology of professors. Like many writers before him, he is wrestling with the contemporary difficulties of higher education in France. What holds the two levels of his narrative together is his claim that the social and professional characteristics of the academics that he is analyzing are in fact responsible for many of the weaknesses of French universities. In particular, divisions and conflicts exist at every possible level of the system, not just among different categories of institutions, or between those in Paris and those in the provinces, but among generations and social roles within each type of institution. These, he argues, provoke chronic unhappiness throughout the system and, more significantly, have prevented the emergence of a single, coherent consensus about what higher education in France ought to be.

Charle's argument is extremely nuanced. He does not suggest that the French system is "blocked" or "stalelated" or that it functions badly. There is regularly innovation, the logic of which emerges from his discussion of the *Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques*. There is clearly excellence in many areas. He suggests that the pervading sense of crisis is fed by a critical rhetoric regularly used to promote reform and innovation. But there exists in France a level of discomfort

with institutions that goes well beyond anything to be found in North America. Neither does Charle ignore the many well-known causes for the real or perceived weaknesses of university education: the parallel system of *grandes écoles*, administrative centralization, or the dominance of Paris. (The only significant factor that he ignores is the chronic under-financing of university institutions.) But he chooses to place special emphasis on institutional divisions.

There are, I think, two underlying reasons for this emphasis. The first has to do with the nature of his historical project. Although Charle has utilized an impressive variety of historical sources, the heart of this book is an exhaustive prosopographical analysis. Such analysis inevitably highlights differences and similarities among the categories constructed. Analysis of annual budget debates, for instance, might bring out rather different issues and perspectives. Second and more significantly, the emphasis on professorial "cultures" reflects a moral stance. Rather than blaming the system, Charle seems to suggest to French academics that they must first address and overcome their own competing cultures. One need not share the author's preoccupation with institutional divisions to recognize that French academics could not fail to benefit from collective self-examination. One hopes that Charle's book receives the attention in France that it richly deserves.

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D. S. BELL and BYRON CRIDDLE. *The French Communist Party in the Fifth Republic*. New York: Clarendon Press of Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 294. \$55.00.

D. S. Bell and Byron Criddle have produced a companion volume to their earlier *The French Socialist Party: Resurgence and Victory* (1984), but the results here are far less satisfactory. They make no bones about their a priori assumptions: the French Communist Party (PCF) is a "totalitarian party dedicated to the success of Soviet-type systems" whose "broad strategies were not undertaken for electoral reasons but for Soviet foreign policy purposes" (p. 1). The PCF is the "pons asinorum" of world communism, its "strategic imperatives" always determined independently of its quest for popular support (p. 2). Unfortunately, no historical proposition has the force of Euclid's demonstrations; the inappropriateness of the term "totalitarian," questioned by historians even in the interpretation of Nazi and Soviet systems, here used to characterize a party that was forced to function in a democracy and whose members enjoyed free expression and the option of quitting the party, is apparent. Bell and Criddle reveal their own prejudices in their curious rendering of the Comintern (Communist International) as "Komintern" throughout the text.

Bell and Criddle insist that Soviet strategic impera-

tives determined every turn of party strategy, from the Popular Front of the 1930s through the PCF's distrust of Solidarity in 1989. They ignore much historiography in doing so, and they are at a loss to explain many events: Maurice Thorez's vehement opposition to Nikita Khrushchev after the latter's secret speech denouncing Stalin in 1956, which went so far as an attempt to conspire with the "anti-party" group in Moscow; the Eurocommunist phase of the PCF in the 1970s, during which the Soviets publicly and angrily rebuked Georges Marchais, and the PCF's opposition to Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms. In most of these cases the PCF operated as a defender of the faith, more Stalinist than Stalin; if the party often appeared as a slavish adherent to the cause of international communism against Italian schemes of "polycentrism," that was because once in power, as the inheritor of the French revolutionary tradition, it expected to inherit the patrimony. Indeed, no Communist Party has been more lost and forsaken in search of a mission since the collapse of communism in 1989.

Bell and Criddle are quite right, however, to emphasize the deleterious effects of the PCF's commitment to *ouvrierisme* and democratic centralism, both of which have helped consign it to the margins in terms of contemporary French politics. Once firmly supported by a seemingly unshakable 20 to 25 percent of the electorate, the party fell to 15 percent in 1981 and has been declining ever since; presidential candidate Andre Lajoinie received a historic low of 6.8 percent of the vote in 1988. Bell and Criddle properly see the year 1978 as a kind of watershed. Shocked by the ability of François Mitterrand's reborn Socialist Party to bypass it in popular votes, the PCF abandoned its policy of alliance of the left and resumed a program analogous to the "class against class" tactics of the 1930s, with equally disastrous effects. The period in government under Mitterrand, 1981–94, was a trap that the party sought to escape at the earliest convenient opportunity. The PCF's commitment to an obsolete working-class based ideology and action in the face of declining traditional industries and the growth of a service economy, and the eventual social-democratization of the Socialists, contributed to the continuing decline of communism through the 1980s.

Bell and Criddle offer nonspecialists the essentials of the PCF's recent sad history. Their volume contains excellent tables of electoral statistics and estimations of party membership. They are totally misleading, however, in terms of their rendering of the conclusions of scholarship about the PCF's historic place in French society.

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AIRA KEMILÄINEN. *Suomalaiset, outo Pohjolan kansa: Rotuteoriat ja kansallinen identiteetti* [The Finns, Unusual People of the North: Race Theories and National Identity in Finland]. (Historiallisia Tutkimuksia,

number 177.) Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura. 1993. Pp. 417.

Current efforts to create a European culture in the context of political and economic unification have placed questions about the limits of "Europeanness" at center stage. Historically, the identity of the European has depended on the successful definition of an Other. In the nineteenth century the construction of otherness was brought into the service of European nation-building and colonialism, and was increasingly expressed by Europeans in racial terms.

In this work Aira Kemiläinen offers a unique perspective on the construction of otherness in the European imagination, exploring the development of the idea of the Finn as Other in European race theories since the late eighteenth century. A small nation on Europe's northeastern periphery, Finland is geographically and ethnically situated at the crossroads of Arctic, Scandinavian, Baltic, and Russian cultures. The Finns are linguistically distinct from their larger neighbors, the Swedes and the Russians, both of whose languages are Indo-European. Through six centuries of Swedish domination and colonization (1154–1809), the Finns were allowed to speak Finnish although they were Swedish subjects. At the same time Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking inhabitants of Finland became ethnically mixed. Eventually the Swedish language tended to be associated with specific socioeconomic or regional groups, but it was not possible to link membership in one or the other language group unequivocally to ethnicity or "race." After Finland's annexation by Russia in 1809, the relationship between language and ethnicity was further complicated by the development of the Finnish national movement. Finns in both language groups strove to create a national culture, making Finnish the national language.

Nineteenth-century race theorists were understandably perplexed by the Finns, who might be Swedes, Mongols, Caucasians, or Asians, depending on the point of view of the classifier. Kemiläinen describes the successive attempts by Finnish and non-Finnish scholars to settle the vexing question of Finnish identity. Most European racial theorists had, in the name of science, something to say about the subject. Baron Georges de Cuvier wrote in 1817 that the Finns, like the Turkish peoples, belonged to the Scythian or Tatar branch of the Caucasian race. Because of their linguistic distinctiveness, many scholars assumed the Finns to be Mongols. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a German naturalist and one of the founders of anthropology, sometimes included Finns as Caucasians but at other times maintained that all Europeans except Finns and Lapps were white. The Finn became the Other.

Racial ideologies linked physical attributes to moral traits. European anthropologists who typed Mongols as short and yellow-skinned came to classify Finns similarly. Considered mentally slow, Finns were thought by some to be incapable of founding political societies and states, relegated to the servant class of

mankind. Thanks to the calculations of Anders Retzius, the Swedish phrenologist, and his compatriot Sven Nilsson, the Finns became the aborigines of Europe. This idea was picked up by the notorious Count Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau. Gobineau was captivated by the Finns, who became in his works an imaginary population inhabiting Europe and Asia in the early days of mankind, at war with the Aryans. Finnish nationalism was born in the midst of these wars of classification.

Kemiläinen presents a fresh look at the history of race theories, from the Finnish angle. She also contributes to the Finnish discussion on national identity, a subject of controversy even today. Although the implications of the relationship between European race theories and the formation of Finnish national identity could have been more fully analyzed, Kemiläinen has boldly related West European discussions of race to the problem of Finnish national identity. She also indirectly suggests new vistas for historical scholarship, such as the construction of otherness from the East European perspective.

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PETER BURSCHEL. *Söldner im Nordwestdeutschland des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Sozialgeschichtliche Studien.* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, number 113.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 400. DM 84.

Before the advent of universal conscription, common soldiers in European armies were drawn primarily from the large pool of rural poor and the urban underclass. Their social origins, and the increasingly proletarianized work environment that they experienced in the early modern era, would seem to make them an obvious subject for "history from below." Yet such studies are rare. As Peter Burschel notes somewhat plaintively in the introduction to this study, we know more about vagrants and criminals than we do about soldiers in the era. This book attempts to redress that balance. It is the story of the soldier's life in camp and in the community, rather than in the campaign or battle.

Burschel lays out the main elements of the quotidian existence of the soldier in four sections: the prevailing social attitudes about soldiers; the social origins of the soldiery; the customs, rules, regulations, and informal contacts of army life (much the largest section); and the soldier's recourse once he was no longer needed. His conclusions are reasonable, although not as a rule startling. He tells a tale familiar from the work of Geoffrey Parker (*The Army of Flanders and the Spanish Road* [1972]) and Fritz Redlich (*The German Military Enterpriser and His Work Force* [1964]) of massive pay arrears, cumbersome baggage trains, dependence on officers or camp followers for credit, and tensions between soldiers and civilians in quarters.

More substantively, Burschel argues that the change in terminology from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century, from *Landsknecht* to soldier, marks a real transition in the social perception and work experience of soldiers. He links the change in terminology to the development of military discipline and to changes in the supply of and demand for soldiers. In the sixteenth century the supply of poor people willing to serve in the armies outstripped the demand, but by the end of the seventeenth century demand was far greater than supply. Recruiters as a result relied increasingly on generous upfront money and subterfuge to entrap men into the army system.

Burschel is to be commended for tackling such a complex and daunting issue, but his results partly explain why no one has undertaken such a project before. The information is simply too scattered to bring together into a comprehensive detailed picture. One cannot fault his industry—he lists fifty-eight different archives in his bibliography—yet the sources are thin. A disproportionate share of the concrete descriptions of recruiting, mustering, camp life, and demobilization come from the normative literature of the period, most notably Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof's *Militaris Disciplina* (1602), written, to be sure, by a former *Landsknecht*, but nonetheless part of a distinct genre of military how-to books. Two centuries is a long time and “northwest Germany” a large area (although Burschel begs the question of how writers such as Sebastian Franck, Hans Sachs, or even Kirchhof, are applicable to that area). The mainly thematic nature of the main chapters does not disguise the fact that most of Burschel's archival evidence is from the second half of the seventeenth century and concentrated on the various branches of the house of Braunschweig. His “mosaic” approach is thinnest at precisely the points where one would wish it to be most detailed.

Burschel has brought to light a good bit of obscure information and laid out some convincing arguments about the general pattern of the soldier's life in the era. Both the index and the bibliography are helpful. But his labors suggest that we may never know much more about the experiences of most German soldiers before the eighteenth century than we can learn from normative writers such as Kirchhof or Johann Jakob Wallhausen.

JOHN THEIBALT
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ANDREAS GESTRICH. *Absolutismus und Öffentlichkeit: Politische Kommunikation in Deutschland zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 103.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 381. DM 76.

When Andreas Gestrich began working on this book, he intended it to be a study of European diplomacy in the 1720s. As he came to perceive the significant role of the printed media in the calculations and manipulations of the diplomats, however, he recognized the

need for a general treatment of “political communication” in the early modern period in German lands. In order to accomplish this latter, more ambitious task, he drew not only on his archival work and a close reading of the relevant newspapers and periodicals but also on the findings of social historians, Germanists, art historians, anthropologists, and researchers of the early development of the popular political press.

The result is one of the most important works on European absolutism to appear in recent years. Not the least of Gestrich's contributions is the conceptual one of envisioning absolutist politics as systems of two-way communication between ruler and subjects. As he quickly makes the reader aware, this notion contradicts the view of absolutism set forth by Jürgen Habermas in *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962). According to Habermas, the secrecy and censorship practiced by absolutist regimes meant that, up until the end of the eighteenth century, the “public sphere” (*Öffentlichkeit*) was not genuinely public in the sense of being a field of expression for the concerns of civil society. Rather it was monopolized by the status presentation of the prince or monarch, thereby precluding anything more than a limited, one-way channel of communication between rulers and their politically passive subjects.

Although in his introductory chapter Gestrich provides a strongly argued critique of Habermas's position, the latter's limitations become manifest only when Gestrich presents his description of how absolutist regimes actually functioned as systems of communication. He begins by probing the early modern mentality that enabled secrecy (*Geheimnis*) to serve as a technique both of ruling and, more crucially, of conferring legitimacy. The same postmedieval culture that viewed God's attributes as epistemologically inaccessible in order to preserve divine omnipotence and freedom of action correspondingly encouraged European princes to represent themselves as “earthly gods” by means of an aura of secrecy, behind which they carried out policies that violated both Christian norms and feudal legal traditions.

These centralizing, warlike policies, in turn, resulted in intense international political competition and concomitant domestic mobilizations, both of which had the effect of creating an ever greater demand for information at all levels of European society. In the heart of the book, Gestrich describes with telling examples from the diplomatic history of the 1720s how, despite official secrecy, the printed political media could procure and disseminate the required political information on a surprisingly large scale. This finding demonstrates not only that the modern public emerged almost a century earlier than Habermas and his followers have assumed, but also that it did so not so much as a challenge to, but as an outgrowth of, the *ancien régime*.

In addition, Gestrich goes beyond Habermas by not limiting his concept of the public to literate elites. He traces, for example, the process by which news from

the political capitals was transmitted even to the peasant population of remote villages. Even more eye-opening, however, is his analysis of how such public events as homage-rendering days, executions, official festivals, and the proclamations of decrees all provided significant opportunities for effective mass political expression.

Seen through Gestrich's eyes, absolutist polities thus appear to have been both more dynamic and more precarious than has generally been recognized. The legitimacy of these regimes was not a given that merely required to be "represented" but was instead an interactive, ongoing process that led ultimately to the replacement of absolutism by the modern state. Already by the early eighteenth century, Gestrich concludes, rulers such as Emperor Charles VI and the Prussian king Frederick William I were aggressively justifying their policies in terms of their economic benefit for society, and in the cultural realm the courtly cult of secrecy and deceitful concealment of motivation was being criticized by the Pietists of Halle in terms that foreshadowed its demise in the late eighteenth century.

The shortcomings of this work are mainly matters of omission. In particular, Gestrich's analysis could have benefited from a more extensive discussion of the role of the clerical establishment in the political communication process. But overall one can only admire this well-organized, multidisciplinary, pathbreaking book and hope that it will inspire historians not only of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europe but of early modern polities in the rest of the world as well.

RICHARD L. GAWTHROP
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THOMAS MERGEL. *Zwischen Klasse und Konfession: Katholisches Bürgertum im Rheinland 1794–1914*. (Bürgertum, number 9.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. xiv, 460. DM 112.

This important new work by Thomas Mergel, based on considerable archival research and a profound understanding of local politics, addresses the tangled relationship between nineteenth-century Catholicism and the German *Bürgertum*, or bourgeoisie. At the close of the eighteenth and the dawn of nineteenth century, the German bourgeoisie was characterized not so much by income or by a common life style, but rather (and for Mergel's study of paramount importance) by a common conception of itself as an urban elite, as a ruling class. The intellectual context of this book is, then, not only the history of nineteenth-century Catholicism but also the emerging work of the Bielefeld school on the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie. To that topic Mergel brings the serious study of Catholicism, whereas to nineteenth-century Catholicism he brings the rigorous conceptual approach that has marked the work of the Bielefeld historians.

Cut to its bone, Mergel's argument is that in the cities of the Rhineland between 1794 and 1848 a

powerful urban bourgeoisie existed with a strong local identity and a deep-rooted corporate self-understanding. Liberal, enlightened, and tolerant, it was a ruling elite of the best sort. And it was unified, despite the religious differences that otherwise divided cities such as Cologne and Bonn. But the rise of ultramontane Catholic piety changed all that, for it forced a process of differentiation, rendering religion and world, once separate spheres, into irreconcilable ideological systems, and forcing Catholic members of the urban bourgeoisie to decide between two social milieus, that of ultramontane Catholicism and that of the local, bourgeois, liberal elite.

Most chose the latter, as Mergel shows, but the choice proved agonizing, and in the process a tradition of urban Catholic piety, incorporating the Catholic enlightenment and containing significant elements of openness and liberality toward members of other religions, was lost. Here Mergel breaks significant new ground. In convincing detail and by exploiting new kinds of sources (family histories, for example), he delineates a surprisingly high level of inter-religious mixing and cooperation within Cologne's bourgeoisie (as manifested in intermarriage, shared sociability, and common politics). Early nineteenth-century political casinos were, for example, quintessential institutions of bourgeois socialization for the old patriciate as well as for modern mercantile classes, for Prussian administrators as well as for Rhineland intellectuals, and, significantly, for Protestants as well as Catholics. Throughout his book, Mergel posits a constant tension between class and religious affiliation, but he argues that for the Rhineland bourgeoisie the former, not the latter, was the defining moment of identity.

The picture that Mergel renders of this Catholic bourgeoisie is brilliant, but its brilliance depends, in part, on it being set against a dark, contrasting background of clerical manipulation, discipline, and control, which, in my opinion, is rendered less originally and less persuasively. Such manipulation certainly existed, but Mergel fails to analyze, with matching acuity, why it existed. The ultramontane challenge to the liberal hegemony of the Catholic bourgeoisie is thus ascribed to a *Mixtum Compositum* of class differences, demagoguery, populist politics, and religious orthodoxy, and not explored on its own terms. Nevertheless, Mergel provides us with a close and convincing, and well-written, account of the Catholic bourgeoisie in Cologne and other Rhenish cities; he has therefore filled a critically important research lacuna, and he has done so with analytical élan and considerable methodological innovation.

HELMUT WALSER SMITH
Vanderbilt University

HASSO SPODE. *Die Macht der Trunkenheit: Kultur- und Sozialgeschichte des Alkohols in Deutschland*. Opladen: Leske und Budrich. 1993. Pp. 388. DM 48.

Social historians of alcohol tend to view themselves as the natural allies of those historians who examine the use and abuse of drugs. In large measure this is the legacy of the tyranny of temperance history for more than a century, which has more often than not sought to vilify drinking and the taverns in which it takes place. Hasso Spode counters this negative view by bringing us, glass in hand, back to the dinner table. He looks not only at drink but also at food and keeps an eye open for changing table manners in general as indicators of significant shifts in society (in which he acknowledges his debt to Norbert Elias).

Although the subdiscipline is less than two decades old, writers both popular and scholarly have been chronicling the drinking habits of others for centuries. One of Spode's declared goals is to rehabilitate some of this old and largely forgotten yet "diligent and sometimes even brilliant history of culture and manners" (p. 15). He does this with a sure hand, foregoing the use of archival material and concentrating exclusively on published materials, notably those contained in the superb collections of the Prussian State Library and other repositories in Berlin. The author's approach is informed by recent historical anthropology and cultural sociology, and he has a good eye for the memorable episode and the telling detail.

Despite the narrative mode of the book, the author tries to quantify whenever appropriate. Thus, his wide-ranging examination of the various temperance and abstinence organizations in Germany includes the best estimates of their membership figures. Even combined, these societies never affected more than a tiny percentage of the population. Wisely, Spode does not dismiss them altogether and points out that even though the abstainers, for example, failed to reach their goals, they did have some effect on drinking habits. They seem to have encouraged moderation (which the abstainers themselves vehemently opposed), and a growing rejection of excess. Above all, abstinence associations regularized the medicalization and hospitalization of problem drinkers. Spode also tries to assess average alcohol consumption for the Germans. The figures are somewhat more reliable after 1870 but are still fraught with difficulties. The broad trends—a shift from spirits to beer, and a drop in the consumption of alcohol overall—have already been shown by James S. Roberts and others, and Spode confirms this change, especially noticeable after 1900. The author's canvas is broader than that of his predecessors, however, and he leads the reader to other turning points, such as the decline in consumption in the eighteenth century, following a period of apparent excess; and the caesura around 1800 in the perception of the alcoholic, who then began to be viewed as sick, not wicked. That paradigm took a long time to become established, if it ever did fully in the popular mind, and Spode undertakes a thorough and useful survey of the competing scientific literature, with special attention to the degeneration theorists of the late nineteenth century, whose ideas on eliminat-

ing the unfit were treated with such disastrous literalism in the Third Reich.

This book is a slightly shortened and revised version of Spode's dissertation, already published under the title *Alkohol und Zivilisation: Berausung, Ernüchterung und Tischsitten in Deutschland bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (1991). Two hundred pages of endnotes and bibliography there have been reduced to one hundred here, and illustrations have been added, making this the handier version for those with a general scholarly interest in the topic. Spode's broad-brush approach is to be welcomed in a field where rather narrow studies of particular temperance issues have, especially in the United States, been all too frequent.

GEOFFREY J. GILES
University of Florida

DIRK BLASIUS. *"Einfache Seelenstörung": Geschichte der deutschen Psychiatrie 1800–1945*. Frankfurt a.M.: Fisher Taschenbuch. 1994. Pp. 250. DM 19.90.

Dirk Blasius, a social historian already known for a study of nineteenth-century German psychiatry and a psychological biography of Friedrich Wilhelm IV, attempts in this volume to provide a brief overview of psychiatry in Germany through the Nazi period. His stated aims are to integrate medical and social history and to show how a branch of medicine that began with reforming hopes could collaborate so extensively with a murderous regime.

Blasius is strongest by far in his discussion of the early and mid-nineteenth century. In its aim to heal and not only to warehouse the mentally ill, he argues, the "reform" psychiatry of the pre-1848 era was representative of a bourgeois civil society struggling to emerge in Prussia before German unification. He shows convincingly how this effort drew on, but remained distinct from, English and French asylum reforms. His discussion, however, focuses narrowly on one or two institutions that he admits were exceptional at the time.

During the Wilhelmine era, asylum directors gradually accepted the programmatic shift from administration to healing the insane. But they soon came into conflict with state officials who seemed more interested in the efficient containment of social problems and tried to impose uniform rules on prisons and asylums. Blasius pays insufficient attention to the possibility that asylum directors proclaimed allegiance to the ideal of healing was a strategy to gain, maintain, or increase their autonomy from such bureaucratic policing while they practiced a more subtle kind of discipline themselves. He comes close to such a view when he argues that great researchers such as Wilhelm Griesinger and Emil Kräpelin advanced the scientific and institutional standing of university psychiatry but had little impact on actual treatment. Despite Blasius's desire to integrate social and medical history, he does

not ask whether or how the social practices of asylum keepers informed the theorizing of academics.

The chapters on World War I and the Weimar period are disappointing. Blasius takes no notice of the growing literature on the treatment of shell shock and other "war neuroses," despite the obvious importance of such topics for the standing of the profession and its relationship with social trends in this period. He brings out clearly enough, however, the tension between the Weimar era's welfarist ideals and social-Darwinistic rhetoric of "mental hygiene" and selection. Following Paul Weindling and others, he acknowledges that pressure to do something to lower the cost of keeping the insane grew as economic crisis deepened, even before the Nazis came to power.

For psychiatry, the Nazi period was a low point in every respect; for Blasius, it was the inevitable outcome of the long-growing dependence of psychiatrists on the state. He brings home with full force the ways activist eugenical psychiatrists like Ernst Rüdin, although they may not all have been Nazis themselves, helped to formulate and execute compulsory sterilization programs, and how others later helped to carry out the mass murder of the mentally ill and the handicapped. His treatment of recent controversies about the roles of particular individuals and on the alleged economic "rationality" of Nazi eugenic measures is clear and on the whole fair. In contrast, the concluding pages about the postwar period are perfunctory at best. The fundamental, still largely unresearched issues for postwar German psychiatry—the tension between continuity with and learning from the Nazi past, and the similarities and differences of psychiatric theory and practice in the two German states—are not even mentioned.

The book is intended to be an introduction to the topic for students, but it does not even fulfill this purpose particularly well. Blasius's move away from the traditional emphasis on scientific advances over social, political, and institutional realities is welcome, although hardly novel. His criticism in the introduction of erstwhile allies in this cause, from Michel Foucault to David Rothman and Andrew Scull, is so vaguely formulated that it is impossible even for well-informed readers to tell how his approach differs from theirs. His effort to present the perspective of patients is laudable, but the sources for this are mainly records kept by asylum staff about patients, and the obvious methodological problems of using and interpreting such sources are barely mentioned. It is to be hoped that local studies of mental institutions and in-depth analyses of mental-health policy in German states other than Prussia, all now underway, will soon make it possible to write a more adequate history of German psychiatry.

MITCHELL G. ASH
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CHRISTOPH CONRAD. *Vom Greis zum Rentner: Der Strukturwandel des Alters in Deutschland zwischen 1830 und*

1930. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 104.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 541. DM 78.

This is a large and exhaustively researched work of great subtlety and finesse. Christoph Conrad has done heroic yeoman service in sources that range from local archives of Cologne and Berlin through the vast German secondary literature on the subject of the elderly and their care, including a thorough grounding in the work of American, British, and French colleagues that allows him a remarkably broad comparative perspective.

On this imposing base Conrad constructs an argument that the historical development of attitudes toward and provision for old age has been anything but unilinear and unambiguous. The inherited position he seeks to nuance is that the elderly have been an obviously defined category in clear need of special attention whose care became ever more paramount as demography elevated the average age of society and whose provisioning was gradually shifted from the family and charity to the state, to the point reached today where, even in America, the legions of Florida trailer-park retirees, however much they may support slash-and-burn cuts for other government spending, have become hopelessly addicted junkies of the main welfare-state programs for their pensions and health care.

Conrad seeks to correct this view across a broad array of its facets. Demographic development has not been a pattern of constant gerontocratization but also includes a lowering of the average age in large cities in the late nineteenth century. The idea that old age was a distinguishable period in the life cycle requiring special attention evolved much later than is commonly supposed, not really taking hold, the author argues, until the first decades of the twentieth century. Even the beginning of statutory provision for the old does not mark this caesura, because social insurance initially was focused on the inability to work rather than on any particular chronological cut-off point as the indicator of need. Conrad traces the evolution from greyhead to pensioner or retiree in all its gloriously multifarious detail.

Methodologically, one of Conrad's strengths is that he brings to the study of social policy the tools of historical constructivism. Although the idea that objects of historical study are socially and temporally constructed will seem old hat in other areas, students of social policy have tended to take the problems addressed by the welfare state as givens. Conrad demonstrates, instead, the extent to which old age as a category of attention evolved laboriously through the interactions of reformers, bureaucrats, and the elderly.

Although impressive, Conrad's book is also one whose ambition to be the *Moby Dick* of the historical study of the elderly would have been furthered by the presence of a whale. Its method being centrifugal rather than centripetal, the path of its argument is

often lost in a maze of tangential observations. All too often lengthy surveys of the historiography needlessly inflate the main narrative, and in general (although this could be said of the majority of all books) there is nothing here, however admirable, that could not have been said more effectively in half the length.

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WILFRIED FELDENKIRCHEN. *Werner von Siemens: Inventor and International Entrepreneur*. (Historical Perspectives on Business Enterprise Series.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 1994. Pp. xxv, 203. Cloth \$19.95, paper \$12.95.

This volume is a translation of Wilfried Feldenkirchen's brief biography of Werner von Siemens published in German in 1992. Feldenkirchen concentrates less on Siemens's well-known technical achievements and more on his accomplishments as a successful entrepreneur and international businessman. The book is part of a larger research endeavor on the Siemens corporation and the German electrical engineering industry and serves as an introduction to his more recent study *Siemens, 1918-1945* (1995). Feldenkirchen supplements memoirs and business documents, all used extensively before, with an examination of Siemens's voluminous correspondence with numerous family members involved in the business. Thus, his book complements older studies, such as that of Georg Siemens, and newer works by Christoph Conrad and Jürgen Kocka.

After a brief survey of the German industrial revolution and the rise of electrical technology in the late nineteenth century, the author discusses Siemens's early life and military education as a background of his career. One major chapter discusses the period from the beginnings of the Siemens and Halske factory in 1849 to the reorganization of the firm in the 1860s. During this period the company concentrated on telegraphy, for example constructing the first telegraph line from Berlin to Frankfurt am Main in 1848, and on expanding into foreign telegraphy markets, for example in Russia after 1849. During this early period, several important traits of the Siemens concern became established: it was primarily based on kinship ties, with Werner von Siemens depending on his relatives to help him run his enterprises; it was an international business, with Siemens opening branches in England and Russia; and it was based on family financing with a minimum of large-scale machinery.

A second major chapter deals with the period from the 1860s to 1889, shortly before Siemens stepped down from active control of his company. This period saw diversification into such areas as laying international and undersea cables. After Siemens's discovery of a new electric dynamo in 1866, the way was open for expansion into lighting and electric railways. His insistence on a unified family operation extending to his

foreign companies caused problems, as conflicts with his brothers over company objectives increased. Siemens's conservative approach, combined with the rapid development of the electrical industry at the end of the nineteenth century, produced a number of competitors like Emil Rathenau's A.E.G. Even after the company became a public corporation in 1897, family control and a conservative business approach were continued. These policies, however, put the company in a good position to weather the storms of the twentieth century and attain a high level of economic and technological growth.

The last two chapters chronicle Siemens's political and social views and the history of the company to 1914. Although the book has a chronology comparing events in Siemens's life and business with developments in science and technology, it lacks an index.

In sum, the author does an excellent job of placing the growth of the Siemens firm within the larger context of the second industrial revolution and the growth of the international business community. The book will be of interest to both historians of business and technology.

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Virginia Military Institute

OLIVER JANZ. *Bürger besonderer Art: Evangelische Pfarrer in Preussen 1850-1914*. (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, number 87.) New York: Walter de Gruyter. 1994. Pp. xiv, 615. DM 264.

Although pastors have long been stock figures in portraits of the nineteenth-century *Bildungsbürgertum*, the Protestant clergy has rarely figured with any prominence in the burgeoning literature devoted to the German middle classes over the last decade or so. Oliver Janz's social history of Prussian pastors in the era of the Second Empire therefore fills a substantial gap in recent scholarship. This book offers an interesting and illuminating case study in the construction of occupational identity during a period of significant social and political change.

Janz has uncovered a rich and varied body of material, both quantitative and non-quantitative, including biographical data on all 1,687 pastors who served in the Prussian church province of Westphalia between 1850 and 1914. The resulting study, with its more than 2,000 notes and nearly 100 pages of statistical appendixes, is judicious and comprehensive, alert to regional variations and generational cycles as well as to the shifting currents of theological opinion and church politics. This wealth of detail helps to make a compelling case for the thesis adumbrated in the book's title. After 1850, Janz argues, pastors came to constitute a "particular sort" of middle class, an occupational caste increasingly differentiated from other groups within the emerging industrial bourgeoisie. Janz attributes this process of encapsulation in part to a loss of traditional status and functions arising from such often-cited structural factors as urbanization,

competition from alternative forms of communication (press) and sociability (voluntary associations), and the ending of clerical monopolies in such areas as marriage registration and school supervision. But he also calls attention to the long-term importance of factors internal to the church itself. If, for example, the establishment of pastors' associations and uniform salary schedules pointed toward greater professionalization among members of the clergy, such initiatives were informed and in some respects redirected by a significant "resacralization" of the clerical vocation as such, the result of resurgent orthodox and pietist theologies that stressed the primacy of a pastor's spiritual and liturgical duties and thereby underscored distinctions in social identity between clergy and laity at precisely the juncture when the historic "representational" roles and dignities of the former were beginning to erode.

Janz traces the configurations of a separate clerical subculture across a range of social indexes, from recruitment and training patterns to career profiles, associational activities, and economic status. His analysis culminates in a fascinating discussion of the clergy family, deftly interweaving quantitative evidence of deviations from prevailing middle class habits (for example, comparative birth rates) with extensive literary evidence of deviations from the prevailing ethos of middle-class family life (such as the relationship between "public" and "private" spheres and roles). In the end, sacralization tended to go hand in hand with bureaucratization; pastors compensated for extrusion from new middle-class formations by finding renewed identity and purpose in civil service models and residual ties to the state. The rhetoric of "throne and altar" so typical of the Second Empire would therefore appear—although Janz does not press the point—to have been less an expression of Protestant triumphalism than a symptom of lurking status anxiety.

Written with uncommon clarity, despite its length, Janz's book effectively integrates concerns of both church historians and social historians. In so doing it makes a distinguished contribution to the ongoing reassessment of social structures and values in modern Germany.

DAVID J. DIEPHOUSE
Calvin College

BASCOM BARRY HAYES. *Bismarck and Mitteleuropa*. Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press or Associated University Presses, Cranbury, N.J. 1994. Pp. 623.

The geopolitical, geographical, and cultural importance of the concept of *Mitteleuropa* has been debated for more than a century, although in the extensive literature it is recognized as only one of many issues facing Otto von Bismarck during his years in office. Bascom Barry Hayes challenges this traditional view by suggesting that *Mitteleuropa* was high on the list of Bismarck's concerns and at the center of the chancellor's policies.

Hayes fails, however, to make his case or even to describe Bismarck's plans in central Europe in any detail. Instead he writes vaguely about the chancellor's "sense of continuity . . . His rather traditionalist, *gesamtdeutsch* outlook" (p. 36), and declares that he "was not a state-builder at all, but a multiethnic system-builder" (p. 54), whose "aim was 'a super *Bundesstaat*' or 'a *Dreibund*' consisting of three entities, the Prusso-German Reich, Austria and Hungary" (p. 358).

Hayes believes that many of the major crises of the nineteenth century were directly related to the *Mitteleuropa* problem. In his view, the "Eastern Crisis of 1839/40 . . . provided an impetus for the emergence of a *Mitteleuropa* ideology" (p. 45). The crisis with France in 1870, he argues, was an effort "to insulate Central Europe from Russian and French influence" (p. 229). In the domestic sphere, Hayes believes that "*Mitteleuropa* politics was of central importance from the beginning" (p. 315).

Hayes's style and his fondness for German terms add to the problems of this study. Discussing the War-in-Sight crisis of 1875, for example, he writes: "Nonetheless, the recent crisis had demonstrated that a primary Middle-European deficiency was the absence of a coordination of a foreign policy and a dearth of diplomatic *Gleichartigkeit*, which perhaps only an alliance could assure" (p. 311). There are also such odd phrases as "the old *reichisch* Germany" (p. 325), "an ancient High German family" (p. 339), and various indiscriminate uses and abuses of the terms "Zollverein," "Common Market," and "Anschluss."

In the end, Hayes blames "Bismarck's limited success" on the "transitory quality of public life . . . The delicate balance between *Gesellschaft* and *Gemeinschaft* . . . was a seriously complicating factor" (p. 459). There is little doubt that the *Mitteleuropa* problem in all its details and dimensions had some impact on Bismarck's views and some of his policies. Few would question the chancellor's concern over the threat posed to the integrity of the Austro-Hungarian empire by its non-German nationalities. To make this problem the central and most important part of his policies as this study attempts to do, however, is to distort the historical record.

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ANDREA GERMER. *Wissenschaft und Leben: Max Webers Antwort auf eine Frage Friedrich Nietzsches*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 105.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 232. DM 38.

Andrea Germer argues that Friedrich Nietzsche's radical questioning of the uses of science for life drove him toward irrationalism and thus prevented him from finding Max Weber's rational answer: a properly "disenchanted" science that does not posit itself as abso-

lute can help us pursue an ethic of responsibility and face the modern world's realities unflinchingly. Germer's study has some bold and some cautious features. She makes short shrift of Nietzsche in spite of current interest in him, and she is especially opposed to the strenuous attempts by authors such as Wilhelm Hennis (*Max Weber* [1988]) to unmask Weber as a Nietzschean. But she does not go significantly beyond paraphrasing the two thinkers and following the lead of serious secondary literature, especially the systematic elaborations of Wolfgang Schluchter (see, for instance, the translation of *Paradoxes of Modernity* [1996]). The first third of the study summarizes Nietzsche's critique of positivist science and scientist historicism and finds his philosophy inadequate "for doing justice to the complex structures of modern life and modern thought" (p. 185). The remaining two-thirds are a competent and highly affirmative restatement of Weber's ethic, logic ("methodology"), and substantive scholarship.

The book, then, is a reading of renowned texts for their present-day adequacy as a "responsible" theory of modernity. Neither the old *Kulturoptimismus* nor *Kulturpessimismus*, Nietzschean or not, will do for us. Germer's is a kind of history of ideas, but it is not an intellectual history that searches for origins, influence, or receptivity. Thus, she does not address the latest Nietzsche-Weber conundrum: to what extent was Friedrich Albert Lange's famous *Geschichte des Materialismus* (1866) a neo-Kantian inspiration for both men? She is also not concerned with present-day assessments of Weber's historical evidence and their possible impact on the conceptual adequacy of his *Kulturrkritik*. For graduate students who can read German, the book will provide a readable, accurate, and concise overview of issues that remain dauntingly complex.

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KEVIN MCALEER. *Dueling: The Cult of Honor in Fin-de-Siècle Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 268. \$24.95.

In this engaging and valuable monograph, Kevin McAleer deftly explores the social and cultural meanings of dueling in imperial Germany. He begins with a concise account of the origins of dueling in medieval France and its importation into Germany in the sixteenth century, and then focuses on the years from the 1880s to 1914, an era when German dueling enjoyed its "most luxuriant flowering" (p. 5). In five main chapters he gives an insightful account of the ideas and practices that characterized the world of German dueling, stressing the centrality of *Standesehre*, the aristocratic and military code of honor, and its absorption by segments of the bourgeoisie. Dueling flourished despite legal prohibitions because the laws were routinely disregarded by the very authorities in a position to enforce them. McAleer evokes the moods and atmo-

sphere that surrounded dueling by examining in detail the hierarchical codes of honor and the intricate rituals according to which insults were defined, challenges issued, and arrangements for combat prepared by seconds. He identifies the military ethos as the driving impulse behind dueling in imperial Germany, elucidates the arcane workings of the military courts of honor, and highlights the reserve officer corps as a significant transmitter of the dueling mentality to the civilian public.

There is also a strong gender dimension in this study, for McAleer rightly sees dueling as a manifestation of exaggerated conceptions of masculinity. Duelists were obsessed with proving their manliness and with avoiding the social disgrace that befell them if they showed the slightest sign of cowardice. The cult of manliness also explains the prominence of women as the cause of deadly pistol duels because inherited notions of chivalry identified dueling as the most effective means for possessive men to protect their women and to validate their own personal dignity. The widespread use of pistols as the weapon of choice and the rigorous stipulations against merciful attempts to avoid hitting one's opponent made German duels especially deadly. The same cult of manliness permeated student dueling corps whose members aspired to rank alongside the aristocracy and officer class. But the *Mensur*, although often extremely bloody, was a contrived duel fought with a straight-edged weapon and protective gear and seldom ended in death. The broader significance of the dueling fraternity lay in the fact that so many members carried its spirit with them, along with the social prestige of a mutilated face (the *Schmiss*), when they later occupied judicial and government offices.

The singularity of German dueling is the theme that runs throughout McAleer's text. He marshals considerable evidence to support this position and for comparative substantiation includes one chapter on dueling in France. The contrasts to Germany are significant and do much to confirm McAleer's overall interpretation. He disagrees vigorously with those historians who contend that during the nineteenth century the German middle class adapted dueling to its own way of life and was not merely imitating its social superiors. McAleer argues cogently that the German bourgeoisie accepted values and behavior that seriously impeded "the development of a strong bourgeois social identity" (p. 208) and resulted in the kind of weaknesses emphasized by proponents of the *Sonderweg* thesis.

There is much to be said for McAleer's interpretation. At a minimum he has made a spirited case for the view that the German bourgeoisie did have particular faults with negative historical consequences. He has also presented his account with verve, wit, and a rich and colorful vocabulary. His joy in a well-turned phrase sometimes makes him sound flippant, a tone that may divert some readers from the force of his argument. That would be unfortunate because this

book deserves an established place in the bibliography on modern German society.

VERNON L. LIDTKE
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HARTMUT RÜBNER. *Freiheit und Brot: Die Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands: Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Anarchosyndikalismus*. (Archiv für Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte, number 5.) Berlin: Libertad. 1994. Pp. 317.

Though a small, marginal wing of the German workers' movement, anarchosyndicalism has fascinated historians because of its similarities to contemporary antiauthoritarian, green, and alternative social movements. Hartmut Rübner combines original research with the results of other recent studies to place the Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (Syndikalist) (FAUD[S]), the largest syndicalist union, firmly in the historical context of the Weimar Republic. He comprehensively analyzes the amalgamation of pre-1914 anarchist and syndicalist groups in the FAUD(S) after World War I, its conception of revolutionary unionism, organizational structure, social bases of support, relations with other radical unions and parties, tactic of direct action, ideology, and auxiliary cultural activities. Case studies of sailors (not previously researched in depth) and of cultural organizations (especially for reading, sexual hygiene, and freethinkers) illustrate his arguments. Rübner goes beyond many earlier studies by covering the entire Weimar Republic and discussing the FAUD(S) in comparative perspective. Very useful is the comprehensive annotated bibliography of German anarchist and syndicalist periodicals.

The FAUD(S) emerges from this study as a principled, nonviolent organization capable of change and adaptation. It never fully integrated anarchism and syndicalism but accommodated their often opposing cultural and union strategies for revolution. It drew support from a core of highly skilled artisans in well-defined trades, but between 1918 and 1924 also attracted industrial workers disillusioned with the Marxist parties, especially in Rhineland-Westphalia and port cities. It survived the stabilization of 1924 by adopting a more conventional strategy of economic improvements through union-negotiated contracts, while allowing members to pursue radical cultural politics outside the workplace. Rübner concludes that the upsurge of German anarchosyndicalism was linked closely to the impact of economic rationalization on workers and to the political development of the Weimar Republic. It could not survive the expansion of the welfare state and mass consumption after 1945.

Although Rübner succeeds in placing German anarchosyndicalism in its historical context, his focus on a single organization is problematic. The FAUD(S) was one of many closely interrelated radical parties and unions in the Weimar Republic, and it makes little sense to treat it separately. The study's monographic conception inherently favors ideology, organization, and political infighting over more complex and illumi-

nating social analysis. Most serious, Rübner does not discuss in depth the relations between the FAUD(S) and the procommunist Freie Arbeiter-Union (Gelsenkirchen)/Union der Hand- und Kopfarbeiter, the symbiosis of Communist strategy and syndicalist direct action in strikes, and the movement of unemployed workers, all major areas of syndicalist activity. Comparison with other radical organizations would have revealed significant similarities to their social bases of support, evolution from 1918 to 1933, and forms of industrial action. If the FAUD(S) did not differ from its radical competitors on key social structural, conjunctural, and tactical issues, we are left with the question of why some workers felt the need to create this union and were able to win enough mass support to influence the course of German history.

The FAUD(S) advocated a coherent, open, in many ways appealing libertarian alternative to the bureaucracy and authoritarianism of the Marxist parties. Studies of single left-wing organizations, however, have outlived their usefulness. Rübner clearly demonstrates that the FAUD(S) must be understood in its economic and political context rather than as a forerunner of contemporary new social movements. Needed now are comparative studies that explore the social breadth and complexity of German workers' radicalism after World War I.

LARRY PETERSON
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MAREK ANDRZEJEWSKI. *Opposition und Widerstand in Danzig: 1933 bis 1939*. (Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 36.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 1994. Pp. 248. DM 48.

The legal status and political development of Danzig (today Gdańsk) during the interwar period were unique. Under the terms of the Versailles Treaty and subsequent international agreements, the constitution of this "Free City" was guaranteed by the League of Nations, represented there by a High Commissioner. The purpose of this complicated construction was to ensure that the newly resuscitated Republic of Poland, whose customs regulations applied to Danzig and who shared equally with the city's senate in the management of the port facilities, would enjoy secure access to the Baltic Sea. Not surprisingly, the German-speaking residents of Danzig, well over 90 percent of the population, profoundly resented their city's restricted sovereignty and separation from the Reich. The parties representing them in the local parliament, or *Volkstag*, constituted a microcosm of those running the Weimar Republic. Social Democrats, Nationalists, Catholics, and Communists alike agreed, until 1933, that Danzig should revert to Germany, with the Poles retaining certain economic rights in the city. With the rise to power of the National Socialists, who exploited both anti-Polish sentiment and the exceptionally high unemployment rate produced by the Depression in the Free City, the unanimity behind this "*Heim ins Reich*"

demand began to dissolve. Hitler's appointment as chancellor and the *Volkstag* elections of May 1933, in which the Nazis won 50.1 percent of the vote and a bare majority of seats, fundamentally transformed the politics of Danzig.

Polish scholar Marek Andrzejewski, the author of several previous studies of aspects of the history of Danzig, raises some controversial issues about the significance and effectiveness of the opposition in the city until its more or less forced dissolution by the Nazi-controlled senate in 1936–37. He argues, for example, that between 1933 and mid-1935 an increasing number of German Danzigers came to recognize the League of Nations and particularly its Irish delegate in the city, Sean Lester, as their best protection against nazification (that is, institutional *Gleichschaltung* on the pattern of the Third Reich). Andrzejewski's conclusion, however—that in the immediate aftermath of the rigged voting for the *Volkstag* on April 7, 1935, up to two-thirds of the electorate swung behind the regime's opponents—lacks credible evidence. More persuasive is his distribution of responsibility for the rapid subsequent demoralization of the anti-Nazi populace and organizations. The League failed to support democracy in Danzig, and Britain and France preferred not to complicate their appeasement policy toward Hitler by insisting on a new election under international supervision. Andrzejewski's indictment of foreign minister Józef Beck is equally forthright: Poland cold-bloodedly sacrificed the Free City in the interest of the Polish-German nonaggression pact of 1934. As for the coalition against Nazism, it lacked inspiring leadership; nevertheless, although some adherents even eventually joined the National Socialists, others sacrificed their lives and homeland in often permanent exile to fight the Nazis.

Although Andrzejewski's book is doubtless the definitive account of the subject, it has a few shortcomings. The role of Danzig's more than 10,000 Jews is scarcely addressed (see pp. 101, 200–01); did they contribute financially to the opposition as was the case elsewhere in Germany? And despite Andrzejewski's protestations to the contrary, he is inclined to explain away the harshly truthful verdict of Otto Wels, chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, that his too-optimistic Danzig comrades had “learned nothing from experiences in the Reich in 1933” (pp. 170–71). On the other hand, the inflated historical reputations of Hermann Rauschning and Carl Jacob Burckhardt, the two best-known actors on the Danzig scene during the 1930s, are reduced to their proper proportions.

LAWRENCE D. STOKES
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YEHUDA BAUER. *Jews for Sale? Nazi-Jewish Negotiations, 1933–1945*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 306. \$30.00.

Few subjects are more sensitive and controversial than contacts between Jewish organizations and Nazi au-

thorities during the Third Reich. And none has generated more acrimony than payments to Hitler's regime for the release of Jews from Germany or German-occupied Europe between 1933 and 1945. Yehuda Bauer's book considers Jewish efforts to rescue Jews through ransom payments of various sorts against the backdrop of Nazi Jewish policy and practice, German resistance against Hitler, and Allied diplomacy. Bauer assesses the actions and motivations of the three sides of this tragic triangle: the Germans, the Jews, and the Allies. The result is the first self-contained and detailed study of these efforts, which included the Haavara Transfer Agreement for the emigration of German Jews to Palestine from August 1933 to December 1939; the ill-fated Evian Conference of July 1938, for the resolution of the Jewish refugee crisis in central Europe; negotiations to halt the deportation of Slovak Jews to Poland in 1942 and 1943; and negotiations with the SS to stop the deportation of Jews from Hungary to Auschwitz in 1944.

Bauer's treatment of the German position is the weakest part of the book. His account of the Haavara Transfer Agreement and Nazi emigration policy during the 1930s contains numerous errors regarding the attitudes and expectations of the various government offices. A more thorough reading of the German sources would have revealed that exports were in fact an important consideration for the German government; that support for Haavara continued at the Reichsbank, the economics ministry, and the foreign trade section of the foreign ministry even after 1937; and that emigration policy, increasingly controlled by the SS in the late 1930s, promoted the concentration of Jews in a few key areas of the world, including Palestine.

Although Bauer's treatment of attempts to rescue Jews from the death camps is considerably better, German intentions and motives remain unclear in his account. This is particularly so for Heinrich Himmler, who figures prominently in the often confusing analysis of German actions during the Final Solution. In the end, however, Bauer rightly sees no contradiction between the Nazi determination to murder the Jews and the willingness of Himmler and the SS to permit some Jews to live if a temporary tactical advantage might be gained for the Reich such as the exchange of Jewish lives for thousands of trucks in 1944.

Bauer's main focus is on the Jewish role in the process, a subject of considerable postwar debate and acrimony. He asserts that the basic issue from a Jewish point of view was and remains: “Was it justifiable to conduct negotiations with the Nazis to save Jews?” (p. 145). He counters condemnations leveled at those Jews, particularly mainstream Zionists, who favored negotiations with the Nazis aimed at exchanging goods and/or money for the release of Jews from German control or the suspension of deportations to Auschwitz. He reminds the reader that Jewish organizations inside and outside of Nazi-occupied Europe were trapped between the Nazi determination to murder the

Jews, the reluctance of the Allies to help them, and their own utter lack of power to save the victims. He effectively refutes accusations that the Zionists attempted to save only those Jews destined for Palestine, arguing that Zionists had always endeavored to rescue European Jews from anti-Semitism and persecution and that they continued this work after 1933 without regard for the ultimate destination of those rescued. Bauer concludes that those Jews who negotiated with the Nazis must not be judged negatively because they ultimately failed to save their fellow Jews, but positively because they tried.

Bauer's treatment of Allied policy is critical without being harsh. He rightly faults the Anglo-Americans for not understanding Nazi attitudes toward the Jews and the central role of the Jews in the larger war effort of the Third Reich. He is quite clear—if somewhat restrained—in his conclusion that the Allies could have done much to help save Jews without compromising the war effort. Allied support for Jewish negotiations with the SS in Hungary, without committing to provide trucks and money in exchange for lives, might have bought time, and thus Jewish lives. Bombing the camps and the railway lines would have complemented rather than contradicted Allied military goals.

As the first comprehensive study of the question of Nazi-Jewish negotiations, Bauer's book is a valuable addition to the literature. The vulnerability of Europe's Jews is brilliantly juxtaposed with the powerlessness of Jews outside of Europe to help them, despite heroic efforts. Only the Allies, not the Jews, could offer the Germans what they wanted, but they refused to help. Precisely what the Germans wanted and why, however, is not always clear in Bauer's analysis. This remains an important flaw in an otherwise timely and valuable contribution to scholarship.

FRANCIS R. NICOSIA
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RICHARD C. LUKAS. *Did the Children Cry? Hitler's War against Jewish and Polish Children, 1939–1945*. New York: Hippocrene. 1994. Pp. 263. \$24.95.

Accounts of the Holocaust regularly treat as peripheral the children who were victims of Nazi racial persecution. The children's story is easily reduced to reflections about Anne Frank's heroism or Sophie's terrible dilemma in being forced to choose which of her children to send to its death in the gas chamber. Yet the children's story is at the very center of the Holocaust. One-quarter of Adolf Hitler's nearly six million Jewish victims were children. At least 200,000 of the several million Poles deported to the Reich for "Germanization" during the war were children. Untold thousands more were murdered, starved, or died of neglect or disease in the Nazi occupation of Europe.

In this book with its apt subtitle, Richard C. Lukas sets out to repair the one-sided, adult-centered story of the Holocaust. Children, Jewish and Polish alike, we learn from Lukas, were in their powerlessness uniquely

victimized by the Nazis. Jewish children, along with the elderly, were usually the first victims of the selections at the death camps. Joseph Mengele most often sought out children for his medical experiments. Polish children, too, were sent to camps, sometimes for Germanization, sometimes for the sake of their labor. Lukas estimates that 10 to 15 percent of Poland's children were forced to work for the Reich. Those designated by the Nazis to be possessed of Aryan racial characteristics were kidnaped and brought to Germany to be added to the superior German racial stock. Of the 200,000 Polish children Lukas estimates were seized by the Nazis for "Germanization," only one in five managed to return after the war.

Students will find Lukas's chapter on "Germanization" an especially valuable introduction to the topic. The Nazis preferred to kidnap children no more than ten years old because they presumably would not yet be attached to a Polish past. A child eligible for Germanization was evaluated on a sixty-two-point scale. The Nazi emphasis was on physical traits. Arms, legs, and heads were carefully measured. Even the size of a girl's pelvis or a boy's penis was evaluated for its eventual reproductive capacity. Once seized from its parents, the child was sent to a German institution, given a German name to match its Polish one (Sosnowska became Sosemann, for example), forced to desist from speaking Polish, and then given over for adoption to a biologically and politically appropriate Aryan family.

A major value of this book is that it demonstrates both the "Germanization" process and the Final Solution to be components of the larger population project the Nazis had in mind for the conquered territories of the East. But as Lukas shows, both Jewish and Polish children were more than merely passive victims of their Nazis overlords. The child smuggler in the ghetto, the child partisan in the forests, the teenager in the underground resistance is each given its due.

After being accused of emphasizing Polish suffering at the expense of Jewish suffering in an earlier book, Lukas makes it a point in this one to stress "the commonality of suffering of Jewish and Polish children" (p. 28), an effort in which he largely succeeds. His claim, however, that because most Polish Jews were unassimilated makes "it easy to understand why some Poles remained indifferent to them during the German occupation" (p. 151) is open to question. The book is largely anecdotal and has little conceptual unity beyond taking the story of the Holocaust and adding children.

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WILLY ALBRECHT. *Der Sozialistische Deutsche Student-
enbund (SDS): Vom parteikonformen Studentenverband
zum Repräsentanten der Neuen Linken*. (Politik- und
Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 35.) Bonn: J. H. W.
Dietz. 1994. Pp. 539. DM 48.

Many observers of postwar German politics (myself included) have argued that one of the most decisive and formative experiences of the Federal Republic was what the Germans refer to simply as "1968." Opinions differ passionately over whether to interpret the contributions of the "sixty-eighters" positively or negatively. I share the view that—with important reservations and qualifications—no other development has done more to democratize public and private life in West Germany than 1968 and its most notable political heirs, the "new" social movements and the Green Party. The book under review concentrates on the predecessors of the "sixty-eighters."

Willy Albrecht, a research historian at the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in Bonn, the official foundation of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), presents in this volume a detailed account of the Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund (SDS), among the most significant forerunners, creators, and protagonists of 1968. By sheer volume of text, the meticulous nature of the research, and a surprising dearth of other studies on this fascinating organization and movement, Albrecht's volume will undoubtedly become an indispensable source for anybody henceforth engaged in studying the politics of the Left in the Federal Republic.

Following a short and analytically banal introduction in which Albrecht all but boasts that he has made chronology his sole organizing principle, the first part of the study focuses on the founding years of SDS and its establishment as a left-wing student organization at West German universities. This section, covering the period from 1946 to 1952, contains some of the book's most interesting moments. Most intriguing is that virtually all the issues that defined the essence of SDS's politics and its constant struggles, both internal and external, in later years were already present during this formative period. Thus we witness the organization's difficulties in trying to find a happy medium between university politics and global affairs. Moreover, the complexity of relations between SDS and the SPD, although far from the bitterness that eventually led to the final schism of the late 1950s and early 1960s, had important harbingers in this ostensibly more harmonious period.

Although Albrecht's detailed study aptly conveys the immense intellectual and ideological complexity of SDS over the years, a clear picture still emerges of the major contours of this fascinating association for the two decades of its sometimes turbulent but always interesting existence. Thus, for example, its members extolled Karl Marx the thinker and critic but spurned Karl Marx the prophet and icon. SDS was deeply antitotalitarian and profoundly critical of the Soviet Union, but at the same time it explicitly opposed the anticommunist hysteria that engulfed virtually all aspects of the Federal Republic's public discourse at the time, including that of the SPD. Domestically, SDS favored the opening of what it perceived as extremely elitist universities to the children of poorer parents on

the basis of merit as part of its political package of profound egalitarianism and redistributive justice.

To the organization's great credit, its members took an uncompromising stance in opposition to all aspects of National Socialism, remnants of which were present in virtually every institution of the new Federal Republic. Particularly important in this regard was the relentless mobilization of SDS against student fraternities (some of which still duelled at the time) as contemporary representatives and glorifiers of a heinous German past. Also important in this context was their insistence that the German government take explicit retributive steps toward the greatest victims of the Third Reich, the Jews and the Poles, thereby presaging two essential pillars of the Federal Republic's political identity, its special relations with Israel and its *Ostpolitik*. That this initially valiant stand was to degenerate into a blind hatred of all things Israeli by some of the later representatives of SDS and its successors is beyond the temporal and thematic purview of Albrecht's empirically impressive but theoretically wanting study.

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RUDOLF MAU. *Eingebunden in den Realsozialismus? Die Evangelische Kirche als Problem der SED.* (Sammlung Vandenhoeck.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1994. Pp. 259. DM 28.

Since the disintegration of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the unification of Germany, bitter debates have arisen over the degree to which non-communist leaders and institutions bowed to the ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED) and collaborated with the State Security Police (Stasi). As the recent controversy over the consistorial official and Social Democratic Minister President of Brandenburg Manfred Stolpe makes clear, the conduct of the Protestant churches has also come under scrutiny. The church, so the argument goes, subordinated itself to communist rule, while effacing its mission to proclaim the gospel and preserve the Christian community.

In this book, reminiscent of the first attempts to document the resistance of the Christian churches to the Third Reich, Rudolf Mau offers a passionate defense of the Protestant churches in the GDR. Using the archives of the State Secretary for Church Questions (Stattssekretär Kirchenfragen), that in the author's view provide a more accurate picture of church-state relations than Stasi documents, Mau argues that far from being a compliant tool of the party, the church was an intractable problem for the SED.

Marxist-Leninist ideology confidently expected the disappearance of religion with the establishment of socialism. Yet the SED could never abolish the public space that the church claimed for itself, despite the discrimination that clergy and lay persons endured. To be sure, church-state relations gradually adopted the

appearance of coexistence. The oppressive measures of the Walter Ulbricht era that were intended to transform the church into a marginalized sect gave way in the 1970s and 1980s to the more subtle and less draconian strategy of "differentiating" between "progressive" ecclesiastical elements and those deemed less cooperative. In 1971, the improving relations between the GDR and the Federal Republic sustained a church seemingly willing to accept the SED's legitimacy by declaring itself the "church in socialism" at its Eisenach synod. Nevertheless, asserts Mau, church leaders increasingly criticized the government's human rights abuses while affirming the church's role as a public voice for political reform. At no time did the SED find a significant cadre of pastors or lay persons amenable to compromising the church's integrity or its critical distance. Unlike Protestants during the Third Reich, who confined themselves to preserving church autonomy, the Protestant regional churches in the GDR more consistently recognized that affirming Christianity meant direct conflict with the state. Alternatively, the SED never ceased to regard the church as a threat to its totalitarian claims, even when its attacks on the church as the tool of West German Social Democracy undermined the SED's ideological coherence just as the GDR was pursuing better relations with the West German Social-Liberal coalition.

Aside from responding to the critics of the church, this book is relevant to such broader controversies regarding the GDR's alleged similarity to the Third Reich and whether or not *Ostpolitik* hastened or slowed the GDR's demise. Yet few who know of the complexities of everyday life during the Nazi period will find Mau's treatment of the SED dictatorship satisfying. Notwithstanding the SED's totalistic ideology, social life in the GDR involved negotiation and compromise as well as intimidation and conformity. To be sure, the GDR was not the Third Reich. Popular disaffection in the GDR, after all, became far more effective than it ever did under the Nazis due in no small measure, as Mau implies, to the Protestant Church. Nevertheless, Mau's description of an abiding incompatibility between two institutions with sharply divergent belief systems will likely prove deficient as a way to understand the relationship between Protestantism and politics in the GDR.

SHELLEY BARANOWSKI
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STEFANO ANDRETTA. *La venerabile supervia: Ortodossia e trasgressione nella vita di suor Francesca Farnese (1593–1651)*. (Sacro/santo.) Torino: Rosenberg and Sellier. 1994. Pp. 255. L. 37,000.

Stefano Andretta's book flows into a widening river of work on religious women in early modern Catholic Europe. Studies of individual nuns and their convents form an important tributary of this scholarly current. Recent contributions concerning the Italian scene include works by Sara Cabibbo and Marilena Modica

on the Sicilian Maria Crocifissa Tomasi (1989), Francesca Medioli on the Venetian Arcangela Tarabotti (1990), Danilo Zardin on the Milanese Prospera Corona Bascapé (1992), and Craig Monson on the Bolognese Lucrezia Vizzina (1995). All these well-born, literate seventeenth-century nuns maneuvered within and occasionally challenged a Counter Reformation ethos that prescribed humility and obedience on the part of enclosed women but did not succeed in obtaining abject compliance to its dictates.

Like the works just mentioned, Andretta's book is not a conventional biography but instead a nuanced exploration of the problems and possibilities presented by that seldom gilded cage, the post-Tridentine convent, that seeks to strike a balance between "oppression" and "agency." Andretta shows that Isabella Farnese, born into a secondary branch of the noble Roman clan that had spawned many notable ecclesiastics and military men, was a pawn in her family's strategy of extending its patrimony and enhancing its prestige. Raised in Parma by her cultivated mother and maternal grandmother, the attractive and accomplished child was undoubtedly destined for marriage when an attack of smallpox, followed by an accident with a burning torch, left her severely disfigured. At the age of nine, she was placed in a prestigious Roman convent of Poor Clares to be socialized by her aunt, the abbess, into the only career now open to her: one that could conceivably shed luster on the Farnese name.

The Poor Clares' relaxed rule did not force Suor Francesca (as she became on professing in 1609) to abandon her interests in music and secular literature. Before long, she realized that such pursuits provided insufficient scope for her ambition. She later wrote (p. 79): "Because, being a woman, I could not make myself famous through arms or letters, I finally decided that it was necessary to be holy" (*essere santa*, which can also mean "to be a saint").

A combination of family clout and persistence—the latter interpreted by Andretta as a form of psychological compensation both fascinating and repellant—enabled Farnese to aim at holiness/sainthood on her own terms. Her father bought her a convent in the family's stronghold west of Lake Bolsena. Having undertaken a rigorous personal regimen of devotional exercises and penances, she drafted constitutions requiring the same extreme austerity of her nuns. She established three more houses of Clarisse Farnesiane in the Lazio region and wrote religious verse, published posthumously. Some parts of her confessional autobiography, no longer extant, were incorporated by Andrea Nicoletti into a *vita* (1660, 1678) designed to forward the beatification and canonization of this Roman noblewoman.

Unlike numerous female contemporaries with similar curricula vitae, Farnese was never inducted even into the lower order of the company of saints. Andretta attributes the failure of the promotional campaign to extrinsic factors: the decline of Farnese family fortunes; a passing mention of her name by the

Quietist Miguel de Molinos, whose ideas about mental prayer the Congregation of the Holy Office judged heretical in the 1680s. Yet as his title indicates, Andretta plays judge, too. Even by the strange standards of her era, he suggests, his antipathetic protagonist was much too proud and peculiar to "deserve" sainthood.

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CESARE S. MAFFIOLI. *Out of Galileo: The Science of Waters 1628–1718*. Foreword by RICHARD S. WESTFALL. (Nieuwe Nederlandse bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der geneeskunde en der natuurwetenschappen, number 49.) Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Erasmus Publishing. 1994. Pp. xx, 509. P. 125.

The study of flowing waters as a mathematical science was born, according to Cesare S. Maffioli, following Benedetto Castelli's visit to the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Ravenna in the mid-1620s to investigate river hydraulics. The new science of waters had tenuous connections with the engineering and technical traditions. Rather, it owed its conceptual framework to Galileo's views on fluids and his science of motion. Unlike the better studied science of motion, however, the science of waters did not emerge in contrast to a preexistent philosophical tradition dating back to Aristotle, therefore its development during the seventeenth century followed peculiar and autonomous features.

Besides the introduction outlining some methodological and historiographic themes, Maffioli's book consists of three parts charting the growth of the science of waters in Italy from Castelli's *Della misura delle acque correnti* (1628) to Giovanni Poleni's *De Castellis* (1718). The very structure of Maffioli's book reveals a shift in Italian intellectual life and especially mathematics from Tuscany to Bologna and finally to Padua. Part 2 deals largely with Medici-sponsored mathematicians, notably Castelli, Evangelista Torricelli, Famiano Michelini, and Giovanni Alfonso Borelli. Part 3 focuses on the last quarter of the seventeenth century and on the Bologna area, especially Geminiano Montanari, Bernardino Ramazzini, and Domenico Guglielmini. Curiously, all three showed strong interest in medicine besides the science of waters. Part 4, following Guglielmini's move to Padua University, continues the northeastern march toward Venice, culminating with the works of Poleni and Bernardino Zendrini. According to Maffioli, after the first quarter of the eighteenth century the science of waters moved out of the Galilean conceptual framework and grew in specialized branches.

In addition to charting the intellectual dimension, Maffioli has been able to characterize several broader aspects, such as the history of universities, the life of academies, and biographical data on the central figures. His study is based on a massive body of information from published and unpublished sources collected

from several archives. Had he added a glossary of technical terms and appendixes for the physico-mathematical discussions, however, the author would have provided at the same time fuller explanations of the theoretical and experimental achievements and easier access to the reader.

A welcome feature of this book is the extensive use of illustrations and especially maps, providing an indispensable aid to understanding how river beds, experimental settings, and geographical features were conceived and represented. Unfortunately, in some cases the reproductions of maps are so small as to be illegible (for example, see pp. 42–43 and 160–61).

By exploring a famously neglected area of seventeenth-century Italian intellectual life, Maffioli has been able to reassess some historiographic issues, notably patronage, the role of architects and engineers versus university-trained mathematicians, and the supposed decline of Italian science after Galileo. In the second half of the century, and especially after 1667, we witness the shift of patronage relations from the court to civic authorities and universities; by the end of the century courts were no longer decisive centers of patronage for the mathematical disciplines and experimental philosophy. Architects, engineers, *periti* ("experts"), and other technicians in charge of the construction and supervision of waterworks in the sixteenth century were progressively replaced by university-trained mathematicians, often holders of university appointments, despite the fact that with all their knowledge they hardly achieved better results or were in agreement among themselves. Maffioli's technicians appear sporadically because, in his opinion, their contribution to the new science of waters was negligible. Lastly, the decline of Italian science after Galileo is looking more and more like a myth of positivist historiography. While convincingly refuting that myth, Maffioli has given us the main source on the science of waters from Castelli to the eighteenth century.

DOMENICO BERTOLONI MELI
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SANDRO ROGARI. *Proprietà fondiaria e modernizzazione: La Società degli agricoltori italiani, 1895–1920*. (La società moderna e contemporanea: Analisi e contributi, number 40.) Milan: FrancoAngeli. 1994. Pp. 262. L. 36,000.

This book reasserts the thesis of liberal Italy's partial and insufficient adaption to modernity, a view that has come under intense criticism from revisionist scholars in the past decade. Specifically, Sandro Rogari traces the history of Italy's first national farmers' organization from its founding in 1895 to its closing in 1920. Reflecting the limited vitality of the organizational life on the peninsula in general, the Società degli Agricoltori Italiani (SAI) emerged relatively late, in his view, because of Italy's industrial backwardness and deeply ingrained agrarian traditionalism. In a country where

landed property still enjoyed exalted status, rural proprietors were slow to embrace interest group politics, clinging instead to an older vision of themselves as a ruling class that expressed the general interests of the society. Such a vision marked the SAI as an organization that aspired to provide a single voice for all segments of Italy's agricultural community.

Both in its leadership and membership, the SAI was dominated by agrarians from the north and center, while the south remained largely underrepresented. Although its statutes emphasized technical functions, Rogari shows how the new federation, which included a strong parliamentary representation, soon took up controversial questions of the day, evolving rapidly into an active agricultural lobby in Rome.

The portrait of the SAI that emerges from Rogari's book is that of an organization with grandiose aspirations but modest achievements. The SAI did enjoy a brief golden age in the years between 1898 and 1904. Its longest-lasting achievement was a series of national surveys of farmers and landowners soliciting their views on commercial treaties, agrarian reform, contracts, and strikes in these years. In its aspirations to provide unified representation for the entire agricultural community, however, the SAI enjoyed little success as a result of increasingly divisive sectoral, regional, and social conflicts in the Italian countryside. Indeed, Rogari argues that the association's inability to provide a class defense of landed property condemned it to decline, especially after Italy entered World War I.

Rogari's account rests primarily on a close reading of the SAI's bi-weekly bulletins and the published proceedings of its congresses, a research base that is both the main strength and the chief limitation of his study. It does permit him to write a painstakingly detailed narrative of the organization's internal debates and activities. Such an insular narrative, however, neglects the larger context in which the SAI operated and sheds little light on the overall effectiveness of the association. Moreover, Rogari employs a theory of modernization that, as John Davis and Raffaele Romanelli have recently argued, embraces teleological assumptions about political and economic development, and relies on comparative European sociological models that are in many ways inapplicable to Italy.

ANTHONY L. CARDOZA
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DAVID G. HORN. *Social Bodies: Science, Reproduction, and Italian Modernity*. (Princeton Studies in Culture, Power, History.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 189. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$14.95.

David G. Horn's book is a brief but somewhat disappointing overview of the various aspects of fascist demographic policy. The author links in a common framework the efforts to increase the birthrate, expanded assistance to mothers and children through the

Opera Nazionale Maternità ed Infanzia, legislation against abortion and contraception, the battle against urbanization, and the rise of social work to replace charity. Horn argues that fascism viewed the entire population, but especially women and children, as "social bodies." An entirely new and modern science of the social organism was developed in order to intervene in what was heretofore reserved to the realm of private life. Needless to say, interest in the health of mothers and children was not dictated by concern for the individual but rather by the needs of the organic nation. According to Horn, key fascist policy makers such as Alfredo Rocco, Giuseppe Bottai, and Corrado Gini viewed society as an organism constantly assaulted by various diseases and dangers and reacted by designing measures for social defense.

The brevity of Horn's approach raises some problems. The ambiguities of fascist "positive" racial policies and their connections with German and later fascist "negative" race policies aimed at Africans and Jews is analyzed insufficiently and largely in the notes. (The way material is consigned to the notes is a problem throughout the book and seems to follow no pattern.) If the population is viewed as a social organism, constantly assaulted by disease, the gap between policies aimed at the improvement of the race and those designed to exclude unwanted elements from contaminating the race was considerably narrowed when the social body was confronted by the unassimilable "other," as happened with Africans during the Ethiopian war. When the regime embarked on official anti-Semitism and inaugurated the Jewish census, the science of statistics, which Horn views as a weapon in the arsenal of positive race policy, was turned to the exclusivist ends.

But the concept of "social bodies" raises difficulties. The biological conception of the state was not held by all fascists, even those who made social policy. Catholic social thought did not accept it, nor did the Gentileans. Horn probably exaggerates Rocco's commitment to the organic nation. Rocco's views on population were based more on economics and tied to his views on protectionism and imperialism. (In fact, Horn admits as much; see p. 13 n. 24.) The author simply does not have a broad enough evidentiary basis for his claim that fascist policy results from the conflation of the "social" and the "organic."

This book is good as a short survey. Once he moves past the theoretical introduction, with its faddish references to discourses, readings, and constructions, Horn offers a reasonably reliable and coherent account of fascist population policies. For more detailed analyses, however, we will have to await the publication of Maria Quine's study of the Italian eugenics movement and fascist population policy and Carl Ipsen's book *Dictating Demography: The Problem of Population in Fascist Italy* (1996).

ALEXANDER DE GRAND
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REBECCA GATES-COON. *The Landed Estates of the Esterházy Princes: Hungary during the Reforms of Maria Theresa and Joseph II.* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, 112th Series, number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xxi, 312. \$48.50.

After the battle at the White Mountain (1620), the Habsburgs managed to impose a new aristocracy on Bohemia, and for the next three centuries the Czech nobility loyally fought and paid for the monarchy's dynastic ambitions. Despite many victories over Hungarian noble rebellions, the Habsburgs could never repeat that process in its other kingdom. Although they won many Hungarian magnate families to their cause and to their court, the rulers never managed to penetrate the county political organization or to push through reforms that would break the nobles' hold over the peasantry. The Habsburgs did not recognize the dual nature of their monarchy until 1867, but for most purposes it existed as such ever since the sixteenth century.

Rebecca Gates-Coon's study of the princely house of Esterházy in the second half of the eighteenth century examines in considerable detail the wealth, household management, and social and political role of the family that has come to symbolize the great Magyar magnates who dominated the economic and political life of Hungary before the modern revolutions. The Esterházys offer a classic example of a paternalistic household whose management of their vast estates required a *Hofstaat*, a modest bureaucracy whose leading figures had titles imitating those of the imperial court, headed by a *Hofmeister*. The head of the family lived and managed his patrimony regally, moving between a palace in Vienna and the palaces on his estates in eastern Hungary. Although the Esterházys, like other Magyar magnates, participated in court society, at least for the winter season they spent in Vienna, their attachment to the imperial court was always limited by recollections of the seventeenth-century uprisings and their brutal repression. While they banqueted and danced in Vienna, they did not participate in imperial political affairs. Their exclusion from high offices, Gates-Coon argues, resulted more from their own wish than from any Habsburg prejudice against them.

The Magyar elite from the beginning regarded "foreigners" with suspicion and resentment. They found their refuge against a "foreign" ruler in the traditional structures of county government. The magnates, with estates scattered through many different counties, could exert considerable influence over them, but they were also caught up in the narrow localism of their interests. This was not a society that looked favorably on change, and at all levels the nobility resisted efforts of the state to intrude into their domination over the dependent population they governed: peasants, towns, and the Jews. As the Habsburgs began reforming the central administration after 1740 to increase the re-

sources they could organize for war, the imperial government increasingly interposed itself by issuing laws regulating *robot* labor on noble estates and directly taxing its subjects at all levels. Maria Theresa won a degree of cooperation by cajolery and moderation; Joseph II had a more direct approach that strained his relations with the Magyar magnates to the breaking point. Paternalistic conservatives who adapted to circumstances, the Esterházys gave reluctant obedience to reform so long as Maria Theresa lived, but in the face of Joseph's high-handed efforts to overturn the traditional relation between lord and peasant, all the while trying to Germanize them both, reluctance turned to truculent obstruction.

Gates-Coon provides a good introduction to Hungarian noble life in the period, with many anecdotal tales from estate records to bring it to life. The sources are rich on some aspects of estate management, notably noble charity and justice. They are more scant on the peasantry. Although Gates-Coon's conclusions are not surprising, her evidence goes a long way toward filling in a picture that is hazy in Western historiography. She explains both the mentality of a magnate caste vigorously resisting its incorporation into a modern bureaucratic state and that caste's occasional recognition of the fact that it would have to rely on the imperial state to maintain existing social and economic structures. This is a most welcome addition to the literature on European nobility in the *ancien régime*.

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H. GORDON SKILLING. *T. G. Masaryk: Against the Current, 1882-1914.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 248. \$39.50.

While studying in Prague in 1937, H. Gordon Skilling witnessed Tomáš G. Masaryk's final public appearance in July and the widespread grief at his death two months later. Now Skilling has written one of the better books in English on Masaryk to have appeared in recent years. It is not a formal biography but a study of Masaryk's ideas and activities as "a persistent nonconformist." The story begins in 1882, when the thirty-two-year-old Masaryk came from Vienna to teach at the new Czech university in Prague. It ends in late 1914, when he left Bohemia for Western Europe to promote the Czech cause while war raged on the Continent.

Six of the book's ten chapters are familiar from previous publication, four are new. Their headings characterize Masaryk as an "academic iconoclast," "religious heretic," "arch-critic of Austro-Hungarian foreign policy," and similar phrases that explain the book's subtitle. It is extensively documented with citations to writings by Masaryk and published studies about him in English, German, and Czech. The general reader need not be distracted by the many reference notes, but they do provide an excellent introduction to the scholarly literature on Masaryk.

Masaryk's career in the Bohemian and Austrian political and cultural orbits is relatively easy to follow because he left an immense paper trail of letters, articles, speeches, lectures, and books. He was simultaneously a teacher, scholar, literary critic, publicist, editor, author, polemicist, politician, and deputy in the Austrian parliament. In most of these roles he achieved distinction, sometimes notoriety. Skilling attributes this activism to Masaryk's powerful convictions and impressive personality as "an unrelenting critic of conventional wisdom, established institutions, customary practices and habits," and to his posture as a "radical dissident" on public and private issues (p. xii). The reasons why Masaryk maintained his critical stance for so many years and the roots of his discontent with the world as he found it are less emphasized here than the ideas, confrontations, and struggles that engaged him and that have bolstered the adulation of Masaryk for many years. Skilling is wise not to pursue his themes into Masaryk's long tenure as first president of the Czechoslovak Republic. On becoming chief of state in 1918, Masaryk the dissident and nonconformist metamorphosed into "T.G.M.," the revered sage and authority, whose dicta on politics and morals discouraged dissent and forged the new conformity that helped the infant state to survive its birth pangs.

The image of Masaryk as outsider, gadfly, and sometimes martyr goes back almost a century, but few have delineated it as even-handedly as Skilling. He presents Masaryk's alienation from Habsburg Austria as a process that was still incomplete in 1914. He sees the inconsistencies in Masaryk's concept of democracy, which wavered between a government of experts and leaders and one more responsive to the popular masses. Skilling pays tribute to Masaryk's concern for the Slovaks under Hungarian rule and his recognition of a distinct Slovak cultural identity, but he also notes Masaryk's insistence, against accumulating evidence to the contrary, that Slovaks and Czechs formed a single nation. Skilling's highest praise is reserved for Masaryk's stand against the ritual murder superstition in a chapter on anti-Semitism. There, and in a chapter on women's rights, he comes closest to explaining the thirst for truth and justice that inspired Masaryk to become a teacher not only of university students but also of his errant countrymen.

This book is clearly written and renders cool judgments, but it needed better editing. Masaryk was not the first to demand a second university in Brno (p. 17); the Brno town council and others long preceded him. He was not "ironically" unmentioned as editor of a new Czech encyclopedia (p. 3) launched in 1888 (not 1887) because he had resigned as editor a year earlier. Skilling's assertion that by 1893 Masaryk was reputed as a "knowledgable statesman throughout the Monarchy and Europe" (p. 43) is dubious and unsupported. Nor did Masaryk travel to the United States in 1893 (p. 116); therefore the remarks about male-female relations attributed to him by Skilling were actually made by another Czech who had visited America or were

fabricated. The misspelling of the name of Peter Brock, Skilling's longtime colleague at Toronto, on the page facing the title page is an embarrassing publisher's error.

Such blemishes will rightfully disturb specialists. The book will enable the general reader interested in Masaryk, however, to see important aspects of his life in a new perspective, and that is a useful contribution.

STANLEY B. WINTERS

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JOHN FENNELL. *A History of the Russian Church to 1448*. New York: Longman. 1995. Pp. xii, 266.

When John Fennell died in August 1992, he left in typescript an unfinished history of the Orthodox church in Rus' to the end of the sixteenth century. Fortunately, the text of volume 1, spanning the period from the origin of Christianity to the declaration of autocephaly by the Muscovite controlled metropolitanate of Rus' in 1448, was virtually complete. With minimal editing by Michal Giedroyc and a bibliography by Wladimir Vodoff, it constitutes the work under review. The final product is very much in the tradition of Fennell's other writings: mastery of chronicle and epistological materials, awareness of the contributions of others, judicious conceptualization, narrative history that is close to the sources. True to its title, it is a history of the church as determined by the policies of metropolitans, princes, and the like, rather than a history of religious belief.

Fennell's survey has two parts divided by the Mongol invasion, each with a historical introduction. Although they break no new ground, the chapters in which Fennell describes the long and varied Christian presence in Kiev as context for Vladimir's conversion and baptism of Kiev's citizens into Orthodoxy in 988 are particularly well done. Concise topical chapters follow: on the organization of the church, religious life (including monasticism), the process of christianization, Orthodox and Latins, church writing, and the church in princely politics.

In his chapter on christianization, Fennell uses the *Questions of Kirik (Voproshanie Kirika)* to discuss pastoral care, which is both fascinating and original. His discussion of witchcraft, sorcery, and "double faith" is also of interest. Fennell attributes the enduring anti-Latin tradition in Rus' to news of the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the subsequent appearance of Latin crusaders in the Baltic, whereas the schism of 1054 passed virtually unnoticed.

Fennell describes the church after the Mongol invasion almost entirely through the careers of its metropolitans: Kirill II, who allied with Prince Aleksandr Nevskii to reestablish the church under the Mongols; his successor Maximos, who, Fennell suggests, recognized Vladimir of Kiev and his grandmother Ol'ga as saints at a church council of 1284 and moved his residence to the town of Vladimir in the northeast; and succeeding metropolitans whose greatest challenge

was to maintain the unity of the metropolitanate as its members became objects of a political tug of war between Mongol-controlled Moscow, Lithuania, and Poland. Ironically, southern-born metropolitans Petr (d. 1326) and Aleksei (d. 1378) turned out to be Moscow's greatest partisans. Fennell thinks Kipriian, usually depicted as concerned with reviving respect for his office in Lithuania after Aleksei's tenure, may have persuaded Prince Iagailo of Lithuania not to ally with the Mongols against Moscow, thereby making possible Dmitrii Donskoi's victory in 1380 at Kulikovo.

Finally, Fennell rehashes the complex story of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39) and the Muscovite dynastic war of 1446–47, as a result of which Grand Prince Vasili II of Moscow had a synod of only four bishops elevate Archbishop Iona to be autocephalous metropolitan without, in his view, any intention of seeking the approval of Constantinople. There is a chapter accounting for the explosion of ecclesiastical landholding from the mid-fourteenth century, but it is short and largely neglects the spiritual aspects of that remarkable story. Moreover, Fennell overlooks the importance of the bishop of Sarai as an intermediary between the Kipchak Horde and Byzantium, and it is puzzling that he suggests caution in accepting the testimony of late sources, which claim that Saint Sergius of Radonezh blessed Dmitrii Donskoi's resistance to the Mongols in 1380, although he uncritically relies on unsubstantiated testimony of the sixteenth-century Nikon Chronicle regarding a church council in 1284 and other matters. He also continues to use the misleading term "Russian" to describe the church before there was a Russia. But these are of little account compared to the achievement, a learned survey that well serves both general readers and specialists.

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Ia. S. LUR'E. *Dve istorii Rusi XV veka: Rannie i pozdnie, nezavisimye i ofitsial'nye letopisi ob obrazovanii Moskovskogo gosudarstva* [Two Histories of Rus' in the Fifteenth Century: Early and Late, Independent and Official Chronicles of the Formation of the Muscovite State]. (Collection historique de l'Institut d'études slaves, number 35.) St. Petersburg, Russia: Dmitrii Bulanin or Institut d'études slaves, Paris. 1994. Pp. 238.

Ia. S. Lur'e, author of numerous works on the early Russian chronicles (including, for example, *Obshcherusskie letopisi XIV–XV vv.* [1976]), here sets out to apply his vast knowledge on this subject to many commonly accepted but, to his mind, mistaken conceptions about early modern Russia. The principal foci of the book are the civil war early in the fifteenth century, the annexation of Novgorod, and the concluding stages of the reign of Ivan III (1462–1505). Not all readers will be willing to brave the detailed comparison of chronicle texts or study the stemmata that dot the narrative, but Lur'e insists on their importance. With-

out careful examination of the relationship among surviving texts, use of this voluminous evidentiary base is impossible.

Noting the influence of Muscovite chronicles on later historiography, Lur'e accuses the sixteenth-century texts—the Nikon chronicle and the "Book of Steps"—of having overlooked inconvenient episodes in the accumulation of Muscovite power and simultaneously of having rewritten earlier, local histories. "Only by turning to earlier and unofficial chronicle traditions can we remove late fabrications and fill the 'blank spots' in the history of Muscovite Rus'" (p. 222). Following in the tradition of A. A. Shakhmatov and, to a lesser extent M. D. Priselkov and A. A. Zimin, Lur'e examines in sometimes dizzying detail the fifteenth-century chronicle tradition in order to uncover some surprising results.

For example, Lur'e debunks the notion that the early fifteenth-century civil war represented a struggle between two factions or principles: centralization or decentralization. He also overturns the notion that Dmitrii Shemiaka, one of the losers in that war, was unpopular; far from all the influential and well-intentioned in Muscovite society supported Vasili II (pp. 92–93). Contrary to the prevailing view, the collision between Novgorod and Moscow that eventuated in annexation had nothing to do with Novgorodian appeals to Lithuania; unspecified disorder in Novgorod and the conscious Muscovite policy of expansion better explain this history. As Lur'e pointedly observes, at the very moment when Ivan III allegedly accused Novgorodians of consorting with Catholics, he himself was marrying a woman who had been nurtured and educated by the pope (pp. 136–43, 154–57). Lur'e also gives a fresh reading to the dynastic crisis of the late fifteenth century (pp. 210–16).

These, however, are but illustrations of the general point: the surviving chronicles are themselves texts that require a careful reading informed by a knowledge of their origins and their textual relation one to another. If earlier in the fifteenth century Novgorod, Rostov, and other principalities had managed to generate chronicles that, even if pan-Russian in perspective, were independent, these traditions had died out by the late fifteenth century, supplanted by chronicles that manipulated earlier traditions and retold stories to suit the politics of the Moscow princes. Lur'e is persuasive in arguing that only by separating out local, independent chronicle traditions from later, official texts can we hope to understand the complicated history of early Muscovy.

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JOHN J. STEPHAN. *The Russian Far East: A History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 481. \$49.50.

One person's Far East is another person's "near abroad." John J. Stephan has crowned his many years

of studying the Russo-Japanese frontier with a definitive political history of "an area of 1,201,400 square miles embracing the Priamur, the Primorye, the Okhotsk seaboard, Kamchatka, Chukotka, Sakhalin, and the Kurile Islands" (p. 7). Focused on this "core area" and occasionally spilling over into Russian America, Manchuria, and adjoining parts of Siberia, the story proceeds from "prehistory" to perestroika by way of "the Chinese Millennium," the Russian penetration, the Murav'ev acquisitions, and (most thoroughly and successfully) the Civil War (fought by, among others, Cossack atamans, Czech legionnaires, Hungarian internationalists, and American "Wolfhounds") and Soviet rule (represented, for the most part, by party satraps, labor camps, and border guards). This is a marvelous, fast-flowing narrative history complete with decisive battles, unfair treaties, missed opportunities, near escapes, and occasional "amatory assaults" (p. 248) (suffered, in one instance, by "moonstruck doughboys" [p. 140] stranded in that "unique blend of provincial Russia, treaty-port Shanghai, and the American Wild West" that was the turn-of-the-century Vladivostok [p. 132]). The prose is zestful (Eduard Berzin, the first head of the Dal'stroi labor camp empire, "was vulnerable to flushes of decency" [p. 227]); the cover evocative; the maps well executed; and the appendixes, including an administrative chronology and a thirty-page biographical dictionary, unusually useful as well as numerous. This is a well-crafted book all around.

Sweep and speed have their price, however, much of it in the shape of occasional tolerance toward historiographical hearsay: "the Khanty and Mansi welcomed Russians as deliverers" (p. 22); "poor Cossacks . . . supported local soviets," whereas the rich ones did not and the middle ones wavered (p. 120); "the peasantry and bourgeoisie stayed on the sidelines" (p. 121); Ian Gamarnik "inspired trust and loyalty" (p. 176); and "[Vasilii] Blucher continued to enjoy . . . genuine popularity well into 1938" (p. 213). Another casualty is social texture: indeed, it is the exceptional (in both senses) chapter on the Chinese, Korean, and Japanese communities in the late nineteenth century that makes one miss a comparable look at seventeenth-century Okhotsk, eighteenth-century Petropavlovsk, or twentieth-century Magadan. Trade on the tundra frontier and survival in the Kolyma mines are overshadowed by (high) politics.

But what constitutes the political history of a place that has not always had formal political structures and has always been politically dependent on other places? A narrative based on "Far Eastern" sources and centered around Khabarovsk and Vladivostok is naturally expansive on the "Volochevka days" and Stalinist administrators but remarkably brief on the conquest of Kamchatka, the construction of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, or the conduct of the Russo-Japanese and Korean wars. A self-conscious wariness of "Eurocentric or Asiatic prisms" comes with its own set of "blinkers" (p. 1).

Whatever the sources, however, "the Russian Far East" also has geographical boundaries, and neither Manchuria nor Korea are included in Stephan's definition of his subject (although Kamchatka, and indeed everything north of Nikolaevsk, is clearly peripheral to it). That is precisely the problem. Why does the author define his subject the way he does? What are "the Priamur" and the "Primorye"? Where does the Far East end and Siberia begin? Why is Chukotka included in the "core area" (although not really in the narrative) whereas Harbin is not? When did these concepts appear and how and by whom were they used? In other words, if the Far East is a "matrix of overlapping borderlands" (p. 1), then what endows it with "internal contours" subject to "administrative vagaries" (p. 8); a "core" capable of definition; and ultimately a past that can be rendered in narrative form? Stephan does not tackle these questions, but he does endow a large part of the world with a wonderfully rich past. We are all richer as a consequence.

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PETER GATRELL. *Government, Industry and Rearmament in Russia, 1900–1914: The Last Argument of Tsarism*. (Cambridge Russian, Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies, number 92.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 399. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$27.95.

Historians have long recognized the importance of heavy industry and metallurgical workers in late-imperial Russia, and new monographs on these subjects continue to provide fresh insights and spark debate. Now Peter Gatrell has provided an exhaustive investigation of the Russian defense industry and its resurgence before World War I. Approaching his subject as an economic historian, Gatrell focuses on three inter-related themes: the impact of rearmament on Russian economic growth; the evolution of managerial and bureaucratic practices; and changing relations between government and private enterprise. Gatrell's conception of economic history is broad and inclusive. In addition to worker attitudes and labor relations, he examines a host of political, military, and diplomatic questions. Historians will be pleased with Gatrell's eclecticism, although some economic historians may fault him for a lack of methodological rigor.

Gatrell begins with an overview of the Russian defense industry. He stresses the long tradition of state armories and paternalistic labor relations. He shows that state armories and the less significant private contractors performed fairly well in the Russo-Japanese War, making concessions to workers when necessary and successfully expanding production. Military defeat and the virtual destruction of the Russian fleet at Tsushima provided a rationale for rebuilding the military after the war, but the powerful ministry of finance resisted for budgetary reasons. Eventually, as

Gatrell demonstrates, the combined pressure of military planners, private industrialists, and elite public opinion tipped the scales in favor of greatly increased spending. Crucially, Tsar Nicholas II was an enthusiastic supporter of a big navy.

By 1910 Russia had embraced massive rearmament, the centerpiece of which was the creation of a modern fleet in the Baltic and the Black seas. Russia's industrialists, who after 1906 lobbied hard for rearmament as an escape from economic stagnation, played a major role in new ship construction. Thus the composition of the Russian arms industry changed substantially in the last prewar years as a large private sector emerged alongside state armories and naval yards.

Gatrell reaches three main conclusions. First, he argues that rearmament rescued the Russian economy and sparked renewed rapid economic growth from 1910 to 1914. Naval rearmament especially fueled an investment boom and promoted industrial modernization and technological sophistication throughout heavy industry. Second, the emergence of large private defense contractors, drawing heavily on foreign capital, technology, and management, was a striking development. But there was no fundamental change in relations between the state and private business. Government hostility toward private entrepreneurs remained strong, and state armories and some naval yards were modernized and expanded to provide a counterweight to private contractors. Third, Russian rearmament was fairly successful because it stimulated the economy, produced world-quality ships, and countered a real German threat. State management of the growing defense complex, however, remained inadequate. Russian planners also made bad strategic decisions, spending far too much on the navy and slighting the army.

Carefully researched and displaying genuine erudition, this work substantially enriches our understanding of late tsarist industrial development and economic organization. It will be the fundamental work on the Russian defense industry in this period for the foreseeable future. Gatrell's analysis of the various arms producers and the advent of foreign naval contractors is particularly valuable. There is nothing like it in the literature.

I do have a few reservations about Gatrell's interpretation. Rearmament coincided with an economic boom, but it seems less clear that it actually caused the boom or that massive rearmament—as opposed, say, to building new railroads—was the only means to achieve renewed economic growth. Further, Gatrell follows historians who make much of enduring government hostility toward capitalism and private enterprise before 1914. Yet his evidence might also be read as a mutually advantageous collaboration between a monopoly buyer (the Russian state) and a few oligopolistic sellers (the reorganized private shipyards) in a highly concentrated industry.

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MARY SCHAEFFER CONROY. *In Health and in Sickness: Pharmacy, Pharmacists, and the Pharmaceutical Industry in Late Imperial, Early Soviet Russia*. (East European Monographs, number 386.) Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs; distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1994. Pp. viii, 703.

"Where have all the footnotes gone?" asked Gertrude Himmelfarb (*Looking into the Abyss* [1994]). To the back of this book, apparently; 3,046 of them, occupying 197 pages (6.875 notes per page of text), surely a generous allotment by anyone's standards. Source citations occupy only about half of this space; the remaining notes add a plethora of detail to what is already a heavily detailed text, so that it is often difficult to discern what principle Mary Schaeffer Conroy used to place material in the text or assign it to the notes. A rigorous editor, one suspects, would have insisted that both text and notes be shortened, and this book would have been the better for it. Not that there is anything wrong with long books or full scholarly apparatuses, provided the subject has been approached in an analytically rewarding way. Without good questions, however, long books are merely tedious.

With what purpose does the author approach the impressively large mass of manuscript and published material on which this book is based? To give Russian pharmacists "their day in the sun," we are told in the introduction (p. 1); the balance of scholarship allegedly needs redress because so many previous books have focused on liberals, revolutionaries, and intellectual leaders whose numbers were, it is claimed, no greater than those involved in pharmacy, and whose work was less "crucial to Russia's health and well-being" (p. 1). Her second purpose is to provide a homily for the New Right or, as she puts it with ominous candor, "a handbook . . . on how theorists destroyed a fairly healthy sector of the Russian economy . . . [thereby confirming] the perils of socialized pharmacy in particular and excessive government control in general. How much better to trust in 'the invisible hand'" (p. 8). Both of these goals are pursued throughout the book with single-minded determination; no matter where the material takes her, the litany that passes for an analytical framework always remains the same: first misguided socialists undermined, and then evil Bolsheviks destroyed, entrepreneurial pharmacy in Russia, and here is a lesson for us all.

What a pity that an enviably long and thorough acquaintance with the sources should be guided by such theoretical poverty, historiographical naiveté, and polemical intent! The result is a book whose whole is considerably less than the sum of its parts. Nevertheless, those parts contain a wealth of information on subjects as disparate as pharmacy education, the adulteration of food, the use and abuse of drugs, the medicaments crisis during World War I, and the radicals' skillful manipulation of the pension fund. Some parts, it is true, deliver rather less than is

promised: the chapter on "Pharmacists and Nationality" focuses almost exclusively on the situation of the Jews, despite the fact that a sizeable number of pharmacists in Russia were Poles or Germans. Likewise, the chapter on "Gender" contains information about women pharmacists, but little serious discussion of gender issues. Specialists may be taken aback to find *zemstvo* dispensaries referred to as "socialized public pharmacy" (p. 57 and following), and Jonathan Sanders labeled a "latter-day partisan ... [of] militant pharmacists" (p. 88).

To what audience is this book directed? Historians of revolutionary Russia will be disappointed by Conroy's lack of engagement with the issues that have exercised those interested in the historical role of the professions in a country which seemed to lack a middle class, or in the creation of civil society and public identity in the late-imperial period. Scholars in the social history of medicine will be surprised to find that the author pays little attention to the classic works on the historical sociology of the medical professions, and indeed of professions in general. Historians of pharmacy who are unacquainted with Russia would likely prefer a less-detailed, more comparative treatment. Sad to say, a much-abbreviated translation would probably be devoured by those Russians who are anxious to have confirmed their belief that 1917 was an unnecessary disaster.

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JON JACOBSON. *When the Soviet Union Entered World Politics*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 388. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$18.00.

Jon Jacobson has written a highly original, creative, and seminal book on Soviet foreign relations in the decade after the October Revolution. His stated task is ambitious: to integrate the study of early Soviet foreign affairs with world politics and recent scholarship on Soviet domestic events during this same formative period. More specifically, Jacobson analyzes the role of diplomacy in making the Soviet Union a world power. He concentrates on the era between the autumn of 1920, when the Communist leadership began to reappraise the global situation and formulate a foreign policy for the fledgling state, and the spring of 1929, the culmination of the "great turn," when the Soviet economic and political system acquired the basic characteristics that remained essentially unchanged until the collapse of the government in late 1991. Jacobson has achieved his goal in masterly fashion. Although this study is not based on new Russian archival materials, it incorporates the most recent historiography on domestic affairs to present a fresh analysis of foreign relations.

It would be virtually impossible to enumerate all the valuable insights on early Soviet history so eloquently articulated in this splendid work. Many of Jacobson's

ideas are controversial, and some should even be disputed, but in part he wants this reaction. Above all he intends his book to serve as a model for a thorough reevaluation of Soviet foreign affairs, starting with the 1920s but eventually focusing on later periods as well. Jacobson's principal argument is that during the "capitalist encirclement" of the 1920s, as the Western powers developed an increasingly stable international system, the Soviet state sought security in traditional diplomacy, ideological rigidity, economic self-sufficiency, and military preparedness.

Jacobson correctly points out that, during the first three years of its existence, the Soviet state essentially maintained two foreign policies. The Comintern supported national rebellions in Asia, while the commissariat of foreign affairs practiced conventional diplomacy, yet this dual policy had little actual integration. Jacobson holds that V. I. Lenin offered no strategy for advancing international revolution on a global scale. L. D. Trotsky and N. I. Bukharin were convinced that national liberation in Asia depended on successful proletarian revolution in Europe. Interestingly, according to Jacobson, Joseph Stalin accorded greater significance to revolution in Asia than any other Communist, including Lenin, and regarded revolutionary developments there and in Europe as closely interconnected.

Jacobson implicitly rejects the standard treatment of Soviet diplomacy between the wars, which places G. V. Chicherin and M. M. Litvinov at opposite ends of the spectrum in foreign affairs. Although he admits that the available evidence is inconclusive, he argues that the Politburo actively directed foreign relations and that the post-Lenin leadership played a greater role than has been previously assumed. Jacobson also repudiates the conventional "East-West alternative thesis" in favor of the "simultaneity of attention" in both Europe and Asia, particularly between 1918 and 1923 (p. 120). His hypothesis has a great deal of merit, especially when considering foreign relations in light of domestic affairs.

By 1924, Jacobson suggests, Soviet diplomacy seemed quite successful, but at the end of the year serious reverses began to occur; the future of Soviet foreign relations was at stake by the mid-1920s. Chicherin wanted a flexible foreign policy, but Stalin was convinced that the capitalist powers were preparing for a renewed military intervention. Jacobson discerns a shift in foreign policy by 1926-27, as economic plans presupposed that grain exports could not balance the machinery import requirements of accelerated industrialization.

Still, only in 1928 did Stalin and his supporters become convinced that the rapid pace of industrialization had to be sustained and that the economic difficulties caused by the grain procurement crisis could not be resolved by the market mechanisms of the New Economic Policy (NEP). Stalin made the "foreign threat" the main tenet of his foreign policy. But Jacobson questions whether the NEP ever actually

constituted a viable option for economic foreign relations. By the same token, the "great turn" produced changes not only in domestic affairs but also in foreign relations. Peaceful coexistence gave way to a new era of wars and revolutions as a means of both national integration and national security.

Jacobson is to be congratulated for an excellent book on early Soviet foreign affairs. It will be read with great interest by both specialists and graduate students. It may be hoped that Jacobson will eventually turn his keen analytical mind on other, later periods of Soviet foreign relations to provide a fresh examination of these events as well.

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WALTER LAQUEUR. *The Dream that Failed: Reflections on the Soviet Union*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 231. \$25.00.

The Soviet Union has become even more controversial in death than it was in life. Since the debacle of 1991 American Soviet studies have been the target of impassioned polemics by a group of high-profile old-timers in the field, taking their younger colleagues to task for overestimating the success and stability of the Soviet regime, underestimating its weaknesses and its cruelty, and above all failing to predict the collapse of Communism. Walter Laqueur is a prolific commentator on themes of contemporary history ranging from Nazism and nationalism to the Russian intelligentsia. Now he joins the school of outraged anti-Sovietism, to reiterate its denunciation of Sovietology.

In a spirit of inverted political correctness, Laqueur equates practically all historical and social-science work on the Soviet Union with the "revisionism" of the post-1960s generation of scholars. Their alleged Marxism and New Leftism supposedly gave them "a special interest in this new world" and led them to resist the evil truth about the Soviet regime, so that they failed "to see the unfolding disaster in time" (p. 3). They were wrong to discover limits to totalitarianism or parallels with Western modernization. Their study of social history and regional developments was highly questionable, since "by shifting the emphasis from the center to the periphery, and from political leaders and parties to social groups, the essential issues were neglected or dropped altogether" (p. 45).

Laqueur faults the revisionists for downplaying the shortcomings of the Communist regime yet finds them soft on the Soviets for thinking that the system might have been reformed. They will not admit that they "got it wrong" (p. 113) and that the system could not really be reformed without inviting collapse, although Laqueur acknowledges that exact predictions of such events is impossible because of the role of individuals and accidents. (He cites Mikhail Gorbachev's rashness and the failure of the August coup but oddly omits Boris Yeltsin's role in breaking up the Union in pursuit of his vendetta against Gorbachev.)

Laqueur takes issue with some of the more extreme critics of Sovietology, notably Martin Malia (*The Soviet Tragedy* [1994]), and declines to refer the alleged errors of the field back to "socialism" or even to the Enlightenment. He takes a balanced position on the totalitarian model (a useful abstraction) and on the Soviet nationalities (quiescent until their surprising surge under perestroika). He is good on the crisis of self-confidence in the last years of the Soviet regime, although he overlooks what Gorbachev said of the mess in 1984.

The difficulty for Laqueur and his school in coming to terms with "revisionism" is accentuated by their ahistorical conception of the Soviet experience. They see it as the straight-line pursuit of a doctrine-driven "experiment"—the "dream" of Laqueur's title—which they believe failed primarily because its initial utopian premises were wrong. Rejecting any distinction between Leninism and Stalinism, their reasoning excludes the actual evolution of the Soviet system and the reinterpretation of its doctrine from the fanaticism of the early years through the pragmatism of the 1920s to the power-madness of Stalinism. Although he notes the end of "enthusiasm" in the 1930s (p. 36), Laqueur says nothing of Joseph Stalin's repudiation of revolutionary culture and his liquidation of most of the real Leninists.

What ultimately failed in the Soviet Union was not an ideal but a postrevolutionary despotism that had hijacked the language of revolution. Its endurance was more surprising than its eventual collapse. More challenging for analysis is the question why post-Communist reform has done so badly and why this new failure was not anticipated by Sovietology's critics.

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DAVID L. HOFFMANN. *Peasant Metropolis: Social Identities in Moscow, 1929-1941*. (Studies of the Harriman Institute.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 282. \$32.50.

David L. Hoffmann argues that even in the midst of the dramatic, and often horrific, changes of the 1930s, Moscow workers were able to draw on peasant culture to circumvent official regulations and lessen the influence of government propaganda and coercion. Hoffmann's innovative contribution is to show peasant culture as a source of identity strong enough to resist the state's effort at cultural transformation. Soviet authorities expected that once in-migrants acquired technical skills they would be transformed from superstitious peasants into "conscious" proletarian supporters of the "working-class" state. But even after acquiring skills "new workers" refused to accept the identity Soviet authorities sought to impose on them and drew on peasant modes of passive resistance to frustrate attempts to dictate their behavior. Official goals and myths had no appeal, especially to those unable to forget collectivization. New workers opposed antireli-

gious campaigns and ignored campaigns to shun drunken carousing. Political propaganda was no more effective than attempts at cultural education. And, contrary to the image undergraduates continue to receive from the American worker John Scott's eyewitness account (commonly used because of the dearth of evidence on worker attitudes), Hoffmann argues that few newcomers responded positively to party leaders' calls to sacrifice for the sake of building socialism. Officially sponsored campaigns to raise productivity proved effective only to the extent that they offered concrete material incentives.

Hoffmann's emphasis on individual worker resistance is in step with recent social and cultural studies of the 1930s. He concludes that the confrontation between Soviet officialdom and the mass of peasant in-migrants forced each side to make accommodations. The state shifted in the mid-1930s from encouraging cultural revolution to reaffirming more traditional values and blatant materialism in an effort to create some kind of cultural unity between government and workers. In this history, unlike even recent biographies of Joseph Stalin, there are clear limits to the "revolution from above." The ruling elites possessed enormous political power, but they were forced to accept their inability to socialize in-migrants to adopt official attitudes.

But for all the emphasis in this study on the in-migrants' use of preindustrial traditions, networks, and culture, it is clear that, as Hoffmann recognizes and others such as Donald Filtzer have argued, workers' ability to resist managerial attempts to control the pace and intensity of work was largely due to the huge demand for labor created by Stalin's industrialization drive. The acute labor shortage deterred managers, who faced exaggerated production targets, from firing workers for lax work discipline, shoddy work, or absenteeism, or from invoking repressive labor legislation against more than a small number of workers.

Hoffmann shows hegemony in the Soviet workplace during the 1930s to be contested not only by management and workers but also by groups of workers competing against one another. Undermining any incipient sense of working-class solidarity, "established workers" made clear their resentment of the flood of newcomers. The enormous influx of unskilled peasants into the work force—23 million peasants moved permanently to cities between 1926 and 1939—disrupted established hierarchies, shop-floor customs, and work routines. Although he provides few detailed examples of conflict, Hoffmann cites cases in which new worker opposition to shock work and Stakhanovism turned violent.

Throughout the study, even though the author's argument is based on archival materials, I wished for more direct evidence of how workers coped with factory conditions and urban life. Hoffmann compensates, sometimes effectively, for the shortage of workers' own voices in the archival and other written sources by quoting *chastushki* (peasant songs) and

interviewing old workers on park benches. A more specific problem is that because this study is so focused on male peasant in-migrants it fails to take into sufficient account that the majority of new female industrial workers during the First Five-Year Plan were of urban origin. I also wonder whether peasant networks have been romanticized, since village-based *artels*, for all their much-valued assistance in helping migrants find employment and housing, also exploited the new arrivals' needs, as Hoffmann notes in passing.

In sum, this is an important contribution to our understanding of the experiences and attitudes of the mass of anonymous workers in Stalinist Russia, but much remains to be done.

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NEAR EAST

SHEILA S. BLAIR and JONATHAN M. BLOOM. *The Art and Architecture of Islam, 1250–1800*. (Pelican History of Art.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 348. \$65.00.

Until recently the art and architecture of the Islamic world in the modern period was often dismissed by Western scholars as decadent and uninventive; standard works like A. U. Pope's *Persian Architecture* (1965) or Basil Gray's *Persian Painting* (1961) can muster little enthusiasm for anything produced after 1600. A revisionist perspective was introduced in F. Robinson's striking *Atlas of the Islamic World since 1500* (1982), and there is now an increasing awareness of the variety and liveliness of Islamic art in the late medieval and modern periods. There is, too, an increasing recognition that the vitality and inventiveness of this tradition lasted beyond the Mongol invasions of the early thirteenth century or the beginnings of European influence in the sixteenth. Sheila S. Blair and Jonathan M. Bloom's study sets a sort of seal on the change of perspective, looking at the art of the period on its own merits rather than as the decadent coda of a great classical tradition.

This volume is a successor to Richard Ettinghausen and Oleg Grabar's *Art and Architecture of Islam, 650–1250*, published in the Pelican History of Art in 1987. The series has now been taken over by Yale, and the new publishers must be congratulated on the high quality and excellent reproductions in this, the second volume produced under their auspices. Blair and Bloom are conscious of the pattern set by other volumes in the series. This is intended to be a clear, detailed, and essentially uncontroversial account, the first point of reference for any student or scholar. If it reads in parts like an annotated catalogue, that is part of its purpose. The descriptions and discussion are always useful, and Blair and Bloom make intelligent use of the space available.

There are notable shifts of emphasis compared with Ettinghausen and Grabar's volume. Little use is made of archaeological evidence whereas bookpainting and carpets become central to the history of the art. Geographically as well the focus changes, from the central Islamic lands of Syria and Iraq to Turkey, Iran, and India. It is good to see the Maghreb being given serious consideration as well. For much of this period, Persia performed the functions of Paris in modern Europe as the center of culture and the model for other patrons. It is striking how much of the court cultures of the great empires—Ottoman, Safavid, and Mogul—were developments of themes first adumbrated at the courts of Tamerlane and his successors, above all in the elegant paintings celebrating the princely life style: its hunting, fighting, and feasting; its sumptuous pavilions, opulent fabrics, and refreshing gardens. Only the Maghreb remained immune from this pervasive Timurid legacy.

Any reviewer can find omissions and gaps, favorite buildings and items apparently neglected, but in the main Blair and Bloom's coverage is balanced and comprehensive. More questionable is the decision not to include nineteenth-century material on the grounds that European influence had by then become all-pervasive. Instead the volume closes with a short chapter on the impact of the Islamic world on the West and the legacy of traditional forms in the Middle East. On the one hand, the chapter is really too short to do justice to the Orientalist tradition; on the other, it means that the art of Qajar Persia and nineteenth-century Istanbul, which have attracted considerable scholarly interest in recent years, are almost completely omitted. Blair and Bloom have succeeded admirably in achieving what they set out to do. There is no doubt that this work will be the definitive textbook on the subject. If the authors shy away from speculative and conceptual problems, it is not, as they make clear in the introduction, that they are unaware of them, but rather because this is not their purpose. Instead they have produced a volume that will stand the test of time and that I, and anyone interested in Islamic art, will refer to again and again.

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KAREN BARKEY. *Bandits and Bureaucrats: The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*. (Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 282. \$35.00.

This book addresses three debates. In the first, scholars like Theda Skocpol argue that social scientists have neglected the state and must "bring it back into" their studies. In the second, scholars debate Eric Hobsbawm's idea that bandits were primitive rebels. In the third, revisionist Ottoman historians critique views of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an era of decline.

Karen Barkey, a sociologist, reexamines conditions in the seventeenth-century Ottoman countryside, particularly what are usually called the Celali revolts. These, she argues, differed in kind from European peasant rebellions. The Ottoman state used prebendalism (the timar system) and rotation in office to prevent the rise of a landholding elite rooted in the countryside. The Islamic courts provided another safety valve, deterring the formation of class solidarities that might have led to revolt. Rather than being anti-state rebels, Ottoman bandits were landless peasants who seized opportunities created by changes in military technology and manpower needs to enroll as mercenaries. Demobilized after the campaign, they resorted to banditry, living off the peasantry pending eventual remobilization.

Historians will probably see Barkey's most original contributions where she concentrated her primary research: on the workings of the timar system and the Islamic courts. She also advances several stimulating interpretations, for example, in discussing the reigns of Osman II (1618–22) and Murad IV (1623–40); (pp. 220–22) or in critiquing Hobsbawm (pp. 178–80).

Historians will also have questions about the book. The ratio of original research to reanalysis of other scholarship and comparative or theoretical discussion will seem low to historians, although perhaps not to other social scientists. The book focuses on Anatolia and adjacent parts of Syria, inviting questions about whether peasant revolts occurred in the empire's Balkan or Arab provinces. Barkey's repeated observation that rebels did not seek independence from the sultan ignore the Islamic expectation of a single united polity, within which demands for autonomy had a long history. The study expands the categories "bandit" and "state" to a point where little else is visible, let alone endowed with agency. The bandits include everything from small bands to the Canbolad family, who controlled "the region from Kilis to Aleppo for at least a generation" (p. 214) and sound more like the local notables who later dominated the provinces. So omniscient is the state, in turn, that Barkey's finding, that the state created the bandits and used them to further centralization, is practically predetermined. What about historical forces that even the state may have been unable to master in this era of crisis? If social scientists have neglected the state, the same is less true in Ottoman studies, where "state" translates *devlet*, which historically stood for "state," "empire," "dynasty," and "power," all paramount concerns.

Although not all revisionist Ottomanists will agree with her fully, Barkey's work will stimulate debate among both sociologists and Ottoman historians.

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YAACOV BAR-SIMAN-TOV. *Israel and the Peace Process, 1977–1982: In Search of Legitimacy for Peace*. (SUNY

Series in Israeli Studies.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 338. \$21.95.

This study explores the Israel-Egyptian peace process that began in 1977 and culminated in the Camp David Accords and the peace treaty between the two countries in 1982. Yaacov Bar-Siman-Tov's main argument is that the transition from war to peace is an arduous process demanding significant adjustment in a country's foreign policy. Such transition forces the leader to embark on a major campaign aimed at transforming the people's mentality in order to forge consensus for the process and reduce domestic opposition. This theoretical argument is applied to the peace process initiated by Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin, who was faced with an unprecedented predicament that led him to seek legitimacy from his party as well as from the public. Begin sought to build national consensus by numerous methods including the use of national ideologies and symbols.

The initial stages of the peace process were conducted by Begin without consulting his government. The peace process forced him to adopt painful decisions that neither he nor his party were ready to accept. These included a complete withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula, and the removal of the Israeli settlements. Legitimacy became critical especially when it was the time to apply the agreement. At that time Begin used his political talent to the fullest. First, he sought to obtain legitimacy from his cabinet. Second, he began convincing his party, Herut, and the Likud, to support his plan. Third, he consulted the Knesset, not only in order to obtain its consent but also to force it to share responsibility for his plan. Fourth, Begin made strenuous efforts to obtain the support of the ultranationalist extraparlimentary groups that refused to abandon territories that they regarded as part of Israel's biblical homeland. The conclusion of the peace treaty was eventually made possible. This was largely due to U.S. pressure and to Begin's realization that there were no other alternatives.

Although it was difficult to acquire legitimacy, Begin's government managed to obtain the support of the Knesset and the public. Opposition to the peace process remained limited despite bitter opposition from ultranationalist parties and groups that constantly criticized Begin's moves and called for a reassessment. Even the government's decision to dismantle the settlements on the Israeli-Egyptian border was carried out without causing a civil war. This was, however, a traumatic experience for Israel and will undoubtedly have impact on future peace agreements with the rest of the Arab states.

This book is the first thorough analysis of the peace process. Bar-Siman-Tov establishes a clear conceptual framework that helps him explore the twists and turns of Israeli diplomacy during this crucial stage. The book is well documented but somewhat lengthy and many of the arguments are repetitive. Nevertheless, it constitutes an important addition to the literature on the

subject. It is recommended for the scholar and the lay reader alike.

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AFRICA

JAN VANSINA. *Living with Africa*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1994. Pp. xv, 312. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$19.95.

Jan Vansina is of Belgian extraction. He started his career researching and lecturing in ethnography and museography in Belgian Africa (that is, Congo, Rwanda, and Burundi) and proved to be one of the most talented and productive historians throughout his career in the United States. Therefore he has ties to three continents; to Europe by birth and his training as a medieval historian; to Africa, his historical "object"; and to America, site of his academic career. This three-fold identity, just like the tension between ethnology and history—a characteristic of Vansina's hard-to-define trade—is at the core of his writing and conception of African history.

Thus, this work tells the story of those journeys, imaginary and intellectual criss-crossing between three continents, each story carrying historiographic, aesthetic, spiritual, and intellectual traditions. The book is a chronicle of those travels and of the author's multiple activities. In the meantime, it reports wonderfully the clearing of new ground for studies of Africa, at the moment when the continent is discovering its historicity, making its way slowly and painfully toward international sovereignty, a sovereignty for which the rehabilitation of the *longue durée* in understanding African societies and the revival/renovation of African civilizations and cultures is crucial as Africa recovers initiative in historical matters and attains its place on the world scene.

The book also gives an account of the epistemological, social, economic, and political challenges involved in this dual awakening to history and international relations, in a context of the Cold War and ideological battles in which African nationalism is key to the (re)construction of African identity. The challenge is to lay the foundation for an African writing on and about Africa's history.

Vansina's chronicle refers to voices (oral traditions and testimonies), meetings in Africa and/or during international forums, objects (artistic and physical expressions of cultures), and accurate mapping of actual or fictitious environmental transformations. The key markers of those historical sequences are the collection of data, the methodologies used to process it, the establishment of institutions and appointment of professionals, and the development of doctrines. This book is composed like an initiation trip, throughout which Vansina highlights norms and procedures specific to the production of African history, including both reconstruction procedures and exposition modal-

ities guaranteeing an optimal intelligibility of the African past.

From the collection of portraits Vansina draws—from the founders in Europe (Roland Oliver and John D. Fage), America (Philip Curtin), and Africa (Kenneth Dike, Saburi Biobaku) to the established or iconoclast sons (David W. Cohen) and smugglers (philosophers turned historians and/or those who discuss history, V. Y. Mudimbe, Johannes Fabian, and Bogumil Jewsiewicki)—controversies unfold as well as faces of those men “living with” and “in” Africa. Details on place of residence, origin, and/or professional “object” become important. The issue of who is reconstructing Africa’s history and who will control that new territory—Africans or Africanists—shapes the African historiography.

With Vansina’s skillful use of carefully classified personal archives, oral traditions, as well as voices and African iconography, he goes beyond the reconstruction of Africa’s past and relates the slow institutional emergence of African history in European, American, and African universities and international institutions, particularly UNESCO. He therefore adds to the chronicle a new dimension with a testimony on the founding of African studies departments and the training of Africanists.

Yet this book goes beyond the duality of chronicle and testimony. It is a milestone in the battle for African history, at a time pervaded by Afro-pessimism celebrating the continent’s return back to barbarism and to its dark ages. Vansina shows a firm conviction that it is possible to decipher Africa’s past from “oral texts.” More precisely, the precolonial past—old Africa—before the Europeans, even for areas excluded from the major Sahelian imperial constructions (accounted for by Arab sources and local Arabic *tarikhs*) is accessible to historical inquiry. For Vansina, this period preceding colonial conquest and rule is the only one that is “historyworthy;” it is the only one likely to enable any reconstruction of African societies’ genuine and indomitable identity.

Vansina sharply rebuts the new approaches in the current writing of Africa’s history, especially literary criticism and philosophy, which offer on the Africanist intellectual market postmodern approaches dominated by the subjective perspectives on the production and/or invention of history. Because African historians are essentially excluded from such a market, Vansina raises the issue of the African history audience. For whom is Africa’s history written?

Vansina’s diatribe against the so-called “stars” of African studies stems from his deep conviction that the historical venture is both an art and a science and is neither literary criticism nor philosophical work. In other words, the historian’s main task is to make the past intelligible but not to reinvent texts that anthropology has deemed illegible and do not conform to scientific objectivity. According to Vansina, such a reduction of Africa’s history to literary venture is all the more dangerous when the reconstruction of the

continent’s history is dominated by non-Africans, an unprecedented situation.

As chronicle and testimony, with bold and provocative conclusions, Vansina’s book is about the battles fought by one of African history’s founders; it is a book whose author does not take seriously his own iconoclast children. Maybe this position makes this testimony more of a life history than a manifesto.

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Dakar, Sénégal

RONALD R. ATKINSON. *The Roots of Ethnicity: The Origins of the Acholi of Uganda before 1800*. (Ethnohistory Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 320. \$34.95.

The Acholi of Uganda are Luo-speaking Nilotes of Eastern Africa along with the Nuer, the Shilluk, and the Kenya Luo. Their deep history over the last two millennia was almost totally unwritten, and a reconstruction of that past has invited multidisciplinary approaches incorporating archaeology, linguistics, and oral history. Three decades ago B. A. Ogot pioneered the use of oral traditions for the recovery of the Luo past. Generations of Luo historians have modeled their methodologies on the framework that Ogot built, and his approach was enthusiastically applied to all the non-kingdom Uganda communities by J. Bertin Webster in the late 1960s. Ronald R. Atkinson undertook his fieldwork during the Webster era, interviewing informants about the Acholi past, collecting narrative and non-narrative traditions, and establishing their relative chronologies before coming up with the history of Acholi society as a whole during the eighteenth century. Atkinson thus makes wider claims for the validity of oral traditions for an earlier period than has been attempted in Eastern Africa.

The period under study is specifically the 1720s to the 1790s. Atkinson’s concern is with purposive movement: how a wide variety of clans, exploiting varying environmental niches in the African savannah, simultaneously built up political alliances organized around dominant-clan chiefdoms, constructed regional histories, and at the same time evolved an Acholi sense of ethnicity. Part of the process of ethnicization involved the incorporation of non-Luo-speaking people into the Luo speech community, after which processes of socialization led to “a broadly common historical experience social order and political culture.” He continues: “These features in turn provided crucial foundations for the evolution of a society and a collective identity eventually called Acholi. These foundations were absent, or were at most barely present when the 1720s drought struck, by 1790 they had become securely established. Or, to shift the metaphor, the roots of Acholi ethnicity had been set” (p. 261).

The hub of everyday political activity lay in the kingdoms and chiefdoms, each with its remembered lineages of the chief. The ideologies of kingship and

chieftainships were Luo in origin, first elaborated by the Babiito dynasty in Bunyoro-Kitara. These ideas filtered back to Acholi through the mediation of the Paluo, another Luo group earlier studied by Ade Adefuye. The Paluo domesticated and passed on to the emergent Acholi chiefdoms "(1) The basic Paluo concept of *rwot*, king or chief, as a hereditary ruler who enjoyed great prestige and respect; (2) organized tribute payments to rulers in recognition of their authority; and (3) their possession of royal regalia, most importantly royal drums, as symbols of their rule." Once imported from Paluo, Atkinson adds, "these features embodied the fundamental ideological elements and principal centralizing structures of the Acholi chiefdoms" (pp. 81–82).

The punch of Atkinson's argument is that Acholi ethnicity predates the colonial twentieth century, but that the notion of an Acholi "tribe," as conjured and manipulated by the British colonizers of Uganda, was nonetheless foisted on a people who had their own distinct mental category of ethnic identity. Currently, ethnicity has become the urgent problematic in African studies. Atkinson rightly concludes, using the words of John Lonsdale, that it is "the unfinished process of coming-to-be." Recent sociological theory nevertheless warns against this seemingly inexorable pattern. Modern ethnicity, John Rex and others argue, is a process of manipulation for power and resources by Machiavellian leaders. They create a usable past; they do not necessarily invoke the historian's past. It is a challenge of which Atkinson is aware, and he promises to tackle in a follow-up volume.

ATIENO ODHIAMBO
Rice University

NIELS KASTFELT. *Religion and Politics in Nigeria: A Study in Middle Belt Christianity*. New York: British Academic of I. B. Tauris; distributed by St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. xii, 204. \$59.50.

This slim book by Niels Kastfelt is about the interplay between religion and politics in the former Adamawa Province of northern Nigeria, a region also known as the Middle Belt, but now located in the newly created Adamawa State. This area was populated by various immigrant groups, including the Muslim Fulani, whose cultural and political influence predominated since the nineteenth century. But, as Kastfelt notes, the non-Muslim peoples of Adamawa, notably the Bachama, who later embraced Christianity, not only resisted Muslim Fulani expansion into the region in the nineteenth century but have continued to resist Fulani political domination to this day. This study thus deals essentially with "the history of the Bachama people and of Christianity in what used to be Adamawa Province" (p. x). Kastfelt focuses on the period between 1940 and 1960, the critical period of decolonization in Nigeria.

The book has four chapters and a summary. In the first three chapters Kastfelt discusses the political

impact of Danish missionary enterprise in Adamawa after 1913; the British colonial administrative system, with special reference to the British-Fulani nexus; and the development of contemporary Bachama political consciousness, as illustrated in Bachama relations with the Danish missionaries on the one hand and the Muslim Fulani on the other. First, Kastfelt discusses the "radicalization and politicization of religion" (p. x) as manifested in the demands of elite Bachama Christians for control of the local Lutheran church. This process toward self-government, he notes, was not an isolated phenomenon; rather, it was "closely associated with the process towards self-government in the wider political world" (p. 42). Although the Danish missionaries initially demurred, they nevertheless bowed to the inevitable.

Second, Kastfelt discusses the political environment in which Bachama nationalism surfaced, noting in particular the emergence of political parties and the struggle for political dominance in the region. He argues that the prospect of Muslim political domination aroused the anxieties of both missionaries and local Christians, resulting in the active participation of Middle-Belt Christians in both local and regional politics (p. 137). As Kastfelt rather pointedly puts it: "The missionaries and many Nigerian Christians saw Islam as a serious threat to the future of Christianity in Adamawa as well as in Nigeria as a whole. They mainly interpreted Islam in political terms, as a movement aspiring for political dominance, and were particularly worried that the Muslims of a future independent Nigeria would control Northern Nigeria completely and block the expansion of Christianity" (p. 37).

Religion was not, however, the only determining factor in catalyzing Bachama involvement in politics. Ethnicity also played a critical role. According to Kastfelt: "To the Nigerian Protestants . . . ethnicity was as important as religion. To them politics was a matter of religious and ethnic survival in the face of Muslim threat of political domination, and this was much more important to them than the question of national independence" (p. 77). Thus, rallying around religious symbols as well as the new ethnic associations and political parties, the peoples of the Middle Belt immersed themselves in active politics partly for the maintenance of ethnic and cultural identity but also to challenge Muslim Fulani political domination. Life histories of Bachama politicians illuminate the interplay of religion and politics in Adamawa.

Kastfelt shows versatility in handling various kinds of material: historical, cultural, political, and religious. The result is a welcome case study of the interaction between religion and politics in a northern Nigerian state.

FELIX K. EKECHI
Kent State University

ROBERT C.-H. SHELL. *Children of Bondage: A Social History of the Slave Society at the Cape of Good Hope, 1652–1838*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New

England, for Wesleyan University Press. 1994. Pp. xlii, 501. \$59.95.

Robert C.-H. Shell offers us profuse information on slavery in the Cape of Good Hope. In the course of twelve chapters Shell examines reasons for the introduction of slavery by the Dutch in the sixteenth century, the nature of the slave trade, and its effects on slaveholding at the Cape. We learn about conditions in the Company Slave Lodge in Cape Town, the emergence of racialized attitudes and stereotyping, and about the establishment of a Cape vernacular architecture. Shell's major contribution lies in the painstaking statistical data he has compiled from a survey of archival records dealing particularly with the period from the late sixteenth century through the eighteenth century. His statistics pay welcome attention to the ways in which men and women slaves were differentially incorporated into the slaveholding political economy; Shell demonstrates that women were much less likely to be sold than their male peers, and that women slaves employed as wet nurses or child minders had the greatest chance of being manumitted.

Shell positions his book as a counter to what he terms the "naive neo-abolitionist" (p. 206) interpretation of scholars such as Robert Ross and Nigel Worden, who have argued that Cape slavery was founded on and perpetuated by violence. Shell argues instead that the "chains of slavery were principally psychological" (p. 410). He contends that slaves at the Cape were incorporated into the slaveholding household on the same basis as children and brought up to think of themselves as minors of the slaveholding family. With slaveholding widely distributed among the settler population and with few slaveholders owning more than eight slaves, Shell has good reason to argue that Cape slavery was primarily experienced in the household (the Company Slave Lodge being the exception). But his analysis is fundamentally flawed. This is best illustrated in chapter 7, "The Metaphor of Family," which is the analytical linchpin of the book and, tellingly, the weakest chapter.

Shell analyzes slavery from the points of view of Cape slaveholders, but he pays little attention to the perspectives of slaves themselves. This allows him to conflate the intimacy of Cape slavery with paternalism and to conflate paternalism with benevolence (although here and there he protests such an interpretation). Shell appears trapped in the old resistance versus accommodation debate that inspired much of the writing on slavery in the 1980s. What is required is a more nuanced reading of the ambiguities and ambivalence within Cape slavery. He argues that far from being outsiders, Cape slaves, particularly slave women, were incorporated into the Cape settler family and that they accepted this slaveholding household as their primary social and emotional identification. He bases his argument on a literal reading of the law which made slaves, women, and children subject to the same "domestic correction," and, extraordinarily, on quotes

taken from slaveholders. For example, he quotes Samuel Hudson as saying that instances of slaveholder cruelty were rare at the Cape (p. 210). Shell assumes that the practice of slavery can be read from legal statutes, mistakes the lack of power shared by children and slaves within the slaveholding household as evidence that their status and positions were synonymous, and assumes that slaves adopted the point of view of the slaveholding class. This argument is just not borne out by the evidence of slaves' ongoing struggles to bring to light the abuse they suffered at the hands and whips of their owners, and to define their emotional lives as separate from the slaveholding family. Indeed, much of Shell's own rich evidence contradicts his analysis: in an interesting chapter on naming he shows how slaveholders ridiculed slaves by naming them after Gods as well as the days of the month.

Shell's book is likely to prove valuable to those in search of new statistical data on Cape slavery, but it fails as a theoretical contribution to our understanding of slavery in the Cape Colony.

PAMELA SCULLY
Kenyon College

ASIA

GERMAINE A. HOSTON. *The State, Identity, and the National Question in China and Japan*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 628. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$24.95.

This is a big book. It is big not only because of its length, the sheer magnitude of the research conducted (in Chinese, Japanese, and several Western languages with over two thousand footnotes), or the nature of the issues addressed (Marxism, nationalism, culture, and the state). Rather what makes this a monumental work is Germaine A. Hoston's application of these formidable research skills to important issues while constantly crossing and questioning national boundaries between China and Japan. In the process she calls into question the national paradigms that still influence many historians, assumptions of what constitutes the historical subject at the very moment that renewed calls for an East Asian community are increasingly being heard.

Hoston argues convincingly that much of the work on nationalism in East Asia has failed to grasp the underlying political dynamics and popular attractiveness of nationalism because of "the anglophone conflation of the notions of nation/state and nation/people within the single term *nation*" (p. 4). The nation, as she reminds us, originally referred to a community based on ethnic ties, as its origin in the Greek notion of "ethnos" suggests. In contrast the state, with its basis in the concept of "polis," is a political unit that may or may not coincide with national identities. Yet Hoston rejects John Breuilly's argument (*Nationalism and the State* [1985]) that nationalism is a movement that at its core opposes the state, and she draws instead on Ernest Gellner (*Nations and Nationalism* [1983]) to

suggest that "nationalism is an integrative ideology" (p. 4) that seeks to harmonize national identity and the state, ultimately in the form of the nation-state.

This belief that the nation always leads to a state provides the framework for Hoston's analysis of nationalism in the different processes of state-building in modern China and Japan. Her judicious use of current theories on nationalism uncovers how political discourse in both Japan and China maintained the distinction between nation (*minzoku* in Japanese; *minzu* in Chinese) and the state (*kokka* in Japanese; *guojia* in Chinese). This long overdue revelation constitutes one of the most significant contributions yet to the study of nationalism in modern East Asia.

But Hoston is not concerned so much with the problem of nationalism in China and Japan as with how Chinese and Japanese Marxists grappled with their indigenous, non-Western cultures in their critiques of the state. After summarizing some of the difficult implications the problem of nationalism posed for Marxists in the West, she pursues the problem of indigenous, non-Western culture and Marxist theory. Each of the book's four parts shifts between analyses of China and Japan to emphasize how Marxists in both countries could not wrestle free from the tug of the state.

Hoston maintains that such emblematic moments in the interwar years as the embrace of the state by Japanese Marxists Takabatake Motoyuki and Sano Manabu and the victory of Li Dazhao's nationalism over his rival Chen Duxiu's internationalism in China reflected the realities of Japan and China in the threatening international arena of the early twentieth century (p. 180) as well as a shared pre-Marxian philosophical tradition that allowed "no conceptual distinction between state and society or state and nation" (p. 120). In the end she attributes China's turn to a Marxist state and Japanese Marxists' reconciliation with the state to historical timing: Japan's state was in place when Marxism was introduced, China's was not. The similarities, she suggests, are partly the result of a shared non-Western cultural tradition that refused to renounce the state as its best hope for survival.

Hoston's argument for the magnetism of the state in modern China and Japan rests on the assumption that Marxists should have been the most rigorous critics of the state but were not. A more broadly focused approach might have turned up non-Marxist nationalists who resisted the state (some liberals and conservative romantics argued this position in interwar Japan) or Marxists who did not reconcile with the state (such as Tosaka Jun). Hoston's use of "political culture," especially her suggestion that the problem of nation and state in East Asian Marxist theory can be usefully examined in the context of non-Western culture (for example, in her reference to African Marxists such as Julius Nyerere and Amílcar Cabral, p. 359) will surely spark controversy. There remains an unresolved tension throughout the book between a notion of

unmediated non-Western culture and modern historical context as explanations for why Chinese and Japanese Marxists drew close to the state. More detailed treatment of the problem of "ethnic minorities" in post-1949 China seems warranted, for this issue is defined in Chinese by the same term (*minzu*) Hoston recognizes elsewhere as "nation."

All things considered, however, Hoston has written what is likely to be not only an important study of Marxist thought in modern China and Japan but essential reading for anyone seriously interested in the problems of nationalism, culture, and the state in the modern world. Her courage in pursuing these issues across national boundaries is to be commended, and if this transnational approach makes the book difficult to adopt in the classroom, then perhaps we should change how we teach.

KEVIN M. DOAK
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DONALD F. MCCALLUM. *Zenkōji and Its Icon: A Study in Medieval Japanese Religious Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 268; 88 plates. \$39.50.

This book by Donald F. McCallum is an important and useful work, both for its contribution to Japanese medieval art history (especially Amida triads related to the Zenkōji cult), and to our understanding of Japanese popular religion. Purists in either art history or religious studies may complain that the book muddies its art with religion or its religion with art, but it is precisely in doing both in a more or less integrated way that this book finds its distinctive voice.

In fact, the book comes off as a kind of art and religion sandwich, with the opening and closing chapters devoted largely to socioreligious considerations of the nature and historical development of the "Zenkōji cult" (especially from the mid-Heian period through the Edo period), and the middle chapters devoted to a close analysis of the variety of copies or supposed "replications" of the original (hidden, secret) icon or sculpted image, a small Amida triad with two Bodhisattvas on either side.

The importance and usefulness of this well-researched and well-argued book lies, for me, in three distinctive areas. First, little has heretofore been known about the Zenkōji cult, and this book introduces to a non-Japanese audience what has obviously been a widespread and important part of Japanese religious practice from at least 1100. In the process, we learn about the beliefs and legends, the central practices (including temple systems and organizations), the early Kamakura political patronage, and the religio-historical influences (for example, shamanistic and/or *hijiri* contributions) that have all played a significant part in this cult.

Second, one of the book's important contributions is its careful tracing of the replication tradition in which copies of the original prototype (or at least of an

imagined prototype) are made and enshrined in a diversity of temples or sub-temples situated along or around pilgrimage routes used by the Zenkōji believers over the centuries. Although the author analyzes and compares them on aesthetic/stylistic grounds, he never loses sight of the fact that these have been functioning religious icons whose meaning—in the context one would normally have found them—is or was religious.

Finally, the author has the courage of his belief that disciplinary boundaries are often artificial and unhelpful (or worse), and need to be subverted regularly in order to reflect more faithfully both historical facts and cultural meanings. In this case McCallum successfully integrates sociopolitical history, art history, and religious history in an engaging way that contributes enormously to our understanding of Japanese cultural history.

RICHARD B. PILGRIM
Syracuse University

JOHN E. WILLS, JR. *Mountain of Fame: Portraits in Chinese History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 403. \$24.95.

In what he describes as a "somewhat episodic survey of the Chinese past" (p. 360), John E. Wills, Jr., weaves a history of China based on the biographies of some of its most famous and interesting people. Wills obviously meant this history that stretches from Neolithic times to the present for a wider audience than simply China scholars; the tone is often conversational ("But when [the great khagan] summoned you, you went" [p. 182]) and much of the information basic. It will be a first-rate choice for a beginning class in Chinese history, but it is also a work that specialists may profitably read and ponder for its insights about the Chinese state and political system.

Wills self-consciously points the reader to the reasons for (and sometimes the difficulty in) making the choices for the biographies he includes. He has balanced them well politically, with key figures from both the People's Republic and Taiwan. He has included women (Ban Zhao, the Empress Wu, and, in shorter versions, Qiu Jin and Chai Ling) who contributed in the largely male-dominated society. He has dealt with the major philosophical systems that have shaped the Chinese way, from Confucianism, Daoism, and Buddhism to Maoism.

Wills enhances the coherence of his episodic account with frequent references and analogies to previously or yet-to-be treated biographical subjects. He points, for example, when dealing with the utopian vision of Taiping leader Hong Xiuquan, to the "utopian strain" of Wang Mang, the "Daoist collectivism" of rebellions in the Han, and the policies of Mao Zedong (p. 272). In his biography of Liang Qichao he reminds the reader of roles of effective administrators such as Su Dongpo and Wang Yangming. Some nonsubstantive passing references, especially to geographical sites

involving previous subjects, seem forced and not particularly felicitous: for example, "Liu Binyan was born . . . near Shenyang, where the Manchus had founded their state" (p. 368).

One problem in using the biographical approach to detail a larger historical context is that biographies of individuals may make it difficult to include in an unobtrusive manner key aspects of the period. Wills deals with this problem by simply telling readers what they are missing from a biography. In his biography of Zhuge Liang, a figure immortalized in the historical novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, Wills points out that from the novel (and his biography) "[l]ittle comes through of the diverse and intense cultural world of visionary revolt, magical practice, Daoist speculation, Buddhist beginnings . . . The politics and economics of a state dominated by great landed families are nowhere to be found" (p. 101).

Wills's history of China, however, goes beyond biographies and techniques for connecting them and filling in lacunae. Substantively tying the work together is the theme of the "Way of the Ruler and the Minister" (p. xiii). Wills points to the Zhenguan period in the early Tang dynasty as "a nearly ideal realization" of "effective and morally proper government" (p. 130). He traces the crucial one-to-one relationship of minister to ruler as it appears in the lives of figures from Confucius and Sima Qian (who was castrated for trying to play the role conscientiously) to Zhuge Liang, Yue Fei, and the Qianlong emperor. In the end, Wills shows that the writings of Liang Qichao on the emerging new public morality highlighted the death of this traditional system of political roles.

In addition to this contribution, the biographies frequently offer cogent points about political issues important in the long stream of Chinese history. He notes, for example, the long-range consequences to Chinese politics of the series of eleventh-century reform proposals: the emergence of "an intensely moralistic style of politics that esteemed purity more than practicality" (p. 153). He argues that this style dominated Chinese politics until the seventeenth century and that echoes of it are seen in the Cultural Revolution. As another example, he notes the "emergence of the nonmobilizing state" in the Song dynasty, a development that he argues has left a legacy down to the present (p. 180).

R. KEITH SCHOPPA
Valparaiso University

MICHAEL LOEWE. *Divination, Mythology and Monarchy in Han China*. (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, number 48.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 353. \$69.95.

This is a collection of thirteen articles on a broad range of issues that, as suggested rightfully in the title, are related to the cosmology of the Han era and its relationship to the legitimation of Han imperial authority. These articles have been previously published

and can therefore be read independently of one another. Michael Loewe does not intend for this collection to convey comprehensively to readers his vast body of knowledge. Nevertheless, a reader can still discern the interpretation presented by a veteran Sinologist on the Han *mentalité* and its interaction with politics. A high degree of coherence is detectable throughout the entire collection, and the diversity of themes actually is an asset for readers interested in scanning an array of topics.

Loewe displays his strengths as both a historian and a Sinologist. Chapters 4, 6, and 12 are all related to the characteristics of Han imperial authority and to interactions between politicians and intellectuals. Intellectuals fulfilled a dual role as legitimizers of the regime and critics of its real politics. In chapter 4 the author reveals how Han politics differed from the stereotyped images of the Han period in standard dynastic histories and even in many Chinese historical works today. Thus, Loewe's revisionist view deserves attention. In chapter 12 he again reminds us that Confucianism was not fully or successfully established in the Han period. He therefore points our attention to a crucial phenomenon: the failure of Confucian ethics in the later Han period left a vacuum for Buddhism to enter and to develop.

As a Sinologist, Loewe follows the Sinological tradition in introducing readers to Chinese terms and concepts, which often sound strange to Westerners. His chapters on animal themes, comets, clouds, winds, dragons, and so forth are presented more for description and explanation than for historical analysis and interpretation. The author, however, obviously has particular focal points in these chapters. One is divination, which he explains as something the Han adopted for the sake of penetrating the order of cosmos, since Han Chinese regarded the cosmic order as a system of interaction between the human and transcendental sectors. Chapters 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10, in one way or another, elaborate this particular theme and explain why Loewe uses divination as the leading word of his book's title. Chapters 1 and 11 should fit into the category of mythology as suggested by the book title, although they represent a rather small portion of the subjects' distribution.

These thirteen articles were written over a period of several decades, and new discoveries and recent discussions are not included. For instance, debates on the method of Shang divination as presented in the journal *Early China* (vol. 14 [1988]: 989) is not mentioned in chapter 8. Again, the discoveries of Han Ching-ti's tomb in recent years is missing in chapter 13. Loewe does, however, try to make a survey in his introduction on recent developments of scholarship in studies of early China.

A very valuable source of rich information, Loewe's book makes otherwise scattered articles available in one volume for readers who are interested in Han studies, giving them access to findings on Han Chinese *mentalité*. Because of rapid changes in the field, we

welcome more of this kind of work, that is, collections of proven scholarship that reflect the accumulated wisdom of a veteran scholar.

CHO-YUN HSU

University of Pittsburgh

JIWEI CI. *Dialectic of the Chinese Revolution: From Utopianism to Hedonism*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994. Pp. viii, 281. Cloth \$39.50, paper \$15.95.

This book is not about the Chinese Revolution as historical event but about "the path traversed by Chinese consciousness in the past half-century" (p. 207). Jiwei Ci describes his approach as "philosophical-psychological" and undertakes to "reflect on history rather than to describe it" (p. 2). His reflections resist grounding in identifiable events or processes, following instead their own abstract internal logic. This endows his argument with an elegant coherence. Although Ci's argument is anything but simple, the elegance is nevertheless achieved at the cost of a reductionist simplification of the complex history of the revolution.

As the subtitle indicates, Ci perceives "the path traversed by Chinese consciousness" in terms of a movement from utopianism (an exaggerated investment in the future accompanied by present asceticism to achieve it) through nihilism (loss of meaning in response to the repeated postponement of the promise of the future), to hedonism (abandonment to the pleasures of the present). If these phases in the "progress" of consciousness refer to historical periods, they would correspond roughly to the Maoist and early post-Mao years, the decade preceding the Tiananmen Square tragedy of June 1989, and the years since then.

The most original aspect of Ci's argument is that Chinese utopianism, for all its asceticism, contained all along a hedonistic core in its promise of a future of plenty and pleasure. Utopianism was appealing because it promised "a quick way out of poverty" (p. 3). Quoting E. M. Cioran, he describes utopianism as a product of "the delirium of the poor" (p. 153) which, in the case of China, was dynamized by a "*rustic hedonism*" (emphasis in the original). This argument, developed fully in chapter 4, is fundamental to the book.

Ci supports this basic argument by examining different aspects of the phenomenology of Chinese consciousness. Chapter 1 considers communism as a "detour" on the way to capitalism that required for its final acceptance the abandonment of a century and a half of obsession with difference from the West. Chapter 2 examines the ways efforts to erase memory after 1949 ended up perpetuating it, so that it would come back to haunt the Communist Party once faith in its leadership had dissolved. In chapter 3 Ci takes up the issue of morality to argue that the Communist location of morality in the teleology of history stunted its cultivation in the practice of life in the present. Chapter 5 outlines the emergence of nihilism out of the fatigue caused by the repeated postponement of utopia, and

chapter 6 reflects on the loss of a sense of the future that became the immediate condition for hedonism.

Since 1989, Ci implies throughout the book, hedonism has been encouraged by the Communist Party because it had abandoned its earlier utopian goals. With the shell gone, the hedonistic core appeared in all its nakedness. Hence the "dialectic of the Chinese Revolution." Ci is no ideologue for the post-Mao regime. The controlled anger that pervades his argument further invigorates the eloquence of his logic. His book abounds in insights, rendered all the more provocative by unexpected turns in their phrasing.

The argument, however, is sustained by a reductionism both in Ci's understanding of utopia and his obliviousness to the complexities of utopianism in twentieth-century China. Utopianism emerged not out of "the delirium of the poor" but as an accompaniment to an emergent national consciousness, and it was intellectuals who sustained it over the years. Although his argument concerning the hedonism in utopianism is to be taken seriously, this hedonism also had much to do with the prevalence of a fetishized developmentalism, in the cause not of the poor but of national wealth and power. Utopianism itself was not merely a function of economic goals, moreover, but could and did serve another purpose: a critique of the existing state of Chinese society.

A genuinely dialectical approach to the problem should also be cognizant of the ways in which utopianism held hedonism in check (rather than merely serving as a cover for it), in which case the extinction of utopianism becomes a condition for the abandonment to hedonism. Antiutopianism has become fashionable these days among Chinese intellectuals, who seem oblivious to their own complicity both in an earlier utopianism and to the space created for hedonism by their own activity in extinguishing utopianism (and with it the possibility of conceiving alternative futures). Finally, as Chinese society and the Chinese Revolution are complex, so is China's relationship to the outside world. The hedonism in China today is tied inextricably with a global consumer culture that requires more attention than it gets in Ci's reflections.

Without a consideration of these problems, Ci's study opens itself up to simplistic readings in these antirevolutionary days as another attack on the Chinese Revolution and another instance of blaming the victims (the poor) for the undesirable turns in the revolutions of the last century. It deserves better than that.

ARIF DIRLIK
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BRAJADULAL CHATTOPADHYAYA. *The Making of Early Medieval India*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 270. \$24.00.

This work is primarily a collection of essays that together seek to explore the processes and nature of change in Indian society over a period of about 600

years, approximately between the seventh and the thirteenth centuries. The essays were written over a long period of time and were previously published in various learned journals and volumes. As Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya admits, "they are not really products of a systematically designed research project on early medieval India" (p. ix). In these essays, the author has dealt with various topics such as irrigation, urbanization, formation of a dominant ruling caste, political processes, and the structure of polity in general.

In the introductory essay Chattopadhyaya shows the concept of change as being represented by processes of progressive transformation, and in this respect his position has been amply vindicated by the conclusions he draws in all the remaining essays. In the second essay, he explores irrigation in Rajasthan in the early medieval period, emphasizing the methods of artificial irrigation. The third essay examines the question of the origin of the Rajputs in the early medieval period as a process that may have had parallels in early medieval developments outside the region. The author concludes that there are two chronological stages of the emergence of the Rajputs. In the first stage, the entry into the Rajput fold basically continued to be through political power and the need for legitimization remained. The second stage saw the rise of the Rajputs as a comprehensive social phenomenon.

The fourth essay concerns the pattern of local commerce in early medieval Rajasthan. The first phase, Chattopadhyaya concludes, saw the proliferation of local centers of exchange within the domains of emergent Rajput lineages and in agrarian spatial context. The second phase is marked by the resurgence of local merchant lineages already in operation and the emergence of hitherto unfamiliar lineages, which resulted in wide intraregional and interregional networks. The main focus of the fifth essay is on the social origins of early memorial stones of Rajasthan and on how such origins were linked with the pattern of the Rajput polity.

In the sixth essay the author attempts to review the entire problem of the decline of trade and urban centers in the geographical areas of Indo-Gangetic divide, the upper Ganga basin, and the Malwa plateau during the post-Gupta period. The cases of four selected urban centers are useful examples of the continuity of inland trade and of urbanization associated with it in early medieval North India. The seventh essay examines urbanization in early medieval India. Two more phases of urbanization, namely, in the protohistoric Harappan culture and the sixth century B.C., preceeded this period. Chattopadhyaya raises questions about the ways that early medieval urbanism differed from early historical urbanism and the factors that contributed to the fresh emergence of urbanization after a lapse.

In the eighth essay the author asserts that the problem of political formation in the early medieval Indian period is in urgent need of reevaluation. He concludes that the structure of the early medieval

polity was a logical development from the territorially limited state society of the early historical period to a gradual but far greater penetration of the state society into local agrarian and peripheral levels. In the last essay he attempts to analyze how trends in religion that are a vital part of the social orientation of this period are reflected in Rajasekhara's *Karpuramanjari*, at least at the level of royalty.

In the beginning of his book Chattopadhyaya introduces a kind of exercise in Indian historiography by underlining the need to redefine the term "ancient" in light of recent archaeological discoveries and research. After a careful study of political, economic, and social attributes of the period preceding the early medieval era, he suggests the term "early historical" in place of "ancient."

Although a glance at the Indian society of the period between the seventh and thirteenth centuries would show it to be vastly different from Indian society of the early historical period, the change, according to the author, is not to be viewed in terms of a collapse of the early historical social order. On the contrary, the making of early medieval India may be seen in terms of the scale of certain fundamental movements within the regional and local levels. Thus, this work provides an alternative as well as an integrated view of the study of early medieval society in India and is a valuable addition to the field.

KALYAN KUMAR SARKAR
University of Windsor

SINNAPPAH ARASARATNAM. *Maritime India in the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 294. \$24.95.

This book challenges recent world-systems studies that propose a seventeenth-century "crisis" in indigenous Indian Ocean trade, which is in part due to a perceived European hegemony over the Asian spice trade. The view from the Indian subcontinent is that of a vital and interconnected Asian trade community. Indeed, Sinnappah Arasaratnam's most notable contribution is his ample consideration of the exchange networks between India's coasts (especially its east coast) and Southeast Asia, in contrast to the well-studied maritime commerce that linked India's Gujarat and Malabar coasts to the Middle East. Whereas India's trade with the West increased during the seventeenth century, its trade with Southeast Asia increased even more. Unlike South Asia's trade with the West, which was overly competitive if not glutted, commerce in the Bay of Bengal and maritime Southeast Asia brought greater profit. The Indian Ocean marketplace prevailed over European attempts to impose monopoly or pass systems. The Europeans' strength was the sea, where their firepower and superior ships gave them an advantage. On land they were subject to effective reprisals at the hands of Mughal and other regional powers who controlled European access to exports and hinterland markets.

Arasaratnam is clearly in command of the Indic, English, Dutch, and Portuguese primary sources as well as the most recent secondary works, yet I found it unusual and frustrating that there are no accompanying footnotes or bibliography. Bibliographic essays that conclude chapters broadly introduce the historical literature, but there is no opportunity for the reader to follow up on textual references to documents or the scholarly debate on interpretation. The author's view is primarily that of his European sources: external trade is a motor for change, which corresponds to or engenders a favorable response in the hinterland. Approach to the coast by the political or economic elites in the hinterland was as yet limited, which allowed coastal commercial communities a good deal of autonomy and opportunity.

Previous studies addressed India's maritime trade within the context of Indian Ocean or Asian trade networks, or they focused on specific regions of the Indian coast. This book is an excellent consideration of the Indian coastline in its entirety. Arasaratnam divides the coast into four zones. Each had its own distinct trading system, but commonly three types of maritime trade were transacted: long-distance, regional, and coastal (or riverine). In the seventeenth century, Surat became the dominant port of the Gujarat coast, which specialized in cloth production; its long-distance trade looked westward and its coastal trade southward to the Malabar coast. The Malabar-Kanara coast, which was especially noted for its pepper production, was the center of European rivalry during the century. Malabar ports supplemented Europeans' previous long-distance trade connections with the Middle East by increased linkage to ports in Southeast Asia. This allowed Malabar ports to conduct a re-export trade in Southeast Asian spices. The exchange of locally produced textiles for Southeast Asian spices was the staple of the Coromandel coast's long-distance trade, which was centered in Masulipatnam. When, at the end of the century, trade opportunities in Indonesia became restricted after the decline of Aceh and following Dutch victories against Bantam and Makassar, Coromandel merchants redirected their efforts to Burma and Thailand. During the seventeenth century, the Bengal coast was the center of a Bay of Bengal regional trade network and became important as the export center for a coastal trade in rice. This rice trade provided an alternative supply of foodstuffs for the eastern coastline and decreased dependency on food flows from the hinterland that had restricted coastal growth. Bengal's rice surplus therefore could sustain deficit areas; there were fewer food shortages and greater stability for rice prices than before. With the guarantee of adequate food supply rural-to-urban migration increased. Artisans no longer had to live in the hinterland where they might shift their economic efforts to food production during periodic famines.

KENNETH R. HALL
Ball State University

HASAN ZAHEER. *The Separation of East Pakistan: The Rise and Realization of Bengali Muslim Nationalism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xxxi, 511. \$36.00.

Aging flower children who remember Bangladesh primarily as a concert should consider that the events of 1970–71 in South Asia were in many ways a portent of subsequent political dissolutions. In 1947, the British cut loose their empire in the subcontinent. They created Pakistan. The nation had a “West Wing” anchored in Punjab, the Northwest Frontier, Baluchistan, and Sind. Its “East Wing,” separated from the West by nearly 1,000 miles of India, consisted of the eastern districts of Bengal.

Hasan Zaheer’s book is a study of how the East and West Wings moved almost inevitably from mutual incomprehension to political separation. Zaheer himself was a member of the Civil Service of Pakistan (CSP), the successor to the British empire’s Indian Civil Service. An elite corps mobilizing the talents of the brightest and the best, the CSP was responsible for day-to-day administration as well as long-range planning in such crucial areas as economic development. After serving his first tour of duty in the East Wing, Zaheer was drawn into economic planning. He returned to East Bengal in the last days of a united Pakistan. From the capital at Dhaka, he was a witness to the military’s attempt to suppress Bengali nationalism, the rebellion that the army’s indiscriminate repression provoked, and, finally, the Indian invasion, which allowed Bangladesh to emerge as an independent country.

Zaheer’s book is a compendium of political and economic events. The author constantly refers to personalities who dominated both West and East Pakistan from 1947 to 1971. They include not only major figures such as Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Gen. Ayyub Khan and Gen. Yahya Khan, Mujibur Rahman, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto but also a host of less well-known individuals who had some hand in the evolution of the crisis that fully erupted in 1970–71. The book contains no new revelations or interpretations of events, but experts on South Asia will find it a useful compendium of names, events, dates, and places.

The book is somewhat mistitled since its focus is not so much on Bengali nationalism (and Zaheer displays no deep insight into the wellsprings of the Bangladesh movement) but rather on the preoccupations of West Pakistanis. Zaheer, himself a West Winger, is unstinting in his condemnations of almost everyone concerned. That the book was published in Pakistan is in itself something of a wonder.

Students of comparative nationalism have, potentially, the most to gain from a careful reading of Zaheer’s book. In the light of the current debacles in Bosnia and Chechnya, his comments on the politics of international relief and his accounts of United Nations as well as great-power involvement in the Bangladesh fracas are instructive.

Nation-states were seemingly the most durable legacy of the age of European dominance in Asia and Africa. Their fragility was initially demonstrated in places such as Bangladesh. The separations of Czechs from Slovaks, of Flemings from Walloons, and someday perhaps of Scots or Welsh from Britons may prove that those imagined communities always were illusory and were maintained, like the Union of Pakistan, more by inertia than shared values.

GREGORY C. KOZLOWSKI
DePaul University

JOHN PEMBERTON. *On the Subject of “Java.”* Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 333.

For an example of cutting-edge work at the intersection of anthropology and history, John Pemberton’s study of Java—the island that is home to over half of Indonesia’s 190 million people—uses ethnographic insights to question historical constructions. Half of Pemberton’s book is devoted to readings of pre-twentieth-century manuscripts from the central Javanese court city of Surakarta in the colonial Dutch East Indies. These readings evoke pain, pathos, and humor as his elegant translations bring into view the ambivalence of Javanese authors struggling to come to terms with Dutch power and presence. Pemberton brings about a refreshing shift in perspective that allows his readers to see Javanese court life and the Dutch through Javanese rather than Dutch eyes. Subtle wit is balanced with empathy as Pemberton contrasts the Java of these eighteenth and nineteenth-century texts with the “Java” of the late-colonial and the postcolonial state. The quotation marks that make Java into “Java” slowly reveal their meaning as Pemberton explores the constructions of culture and history that enable political repression. “Java” exists in tension with colonial and postcolonial efforts to coopt text and ritual to serve the needs of totalizing state power.

In the first three chapters of the book, Pemberton’s readings of selected Surakarta court manuscripts focus on royal processions, weddings, wedding attire, and marriage alliances as a window through which to view the changing elite personalities who chose or were forced to inhabit the required ritual attire. With attention to both substance and style, Pemberton shows how the European celebration of “progress” and colonial technologies of surveillance both seduced and constricted the movement of Javanese elite groups into domains defined by Dutch control. Compelling scenes from mid-nineteenth-century manuscripts illuminate figures like the “crazies”—court servants often misshapen and thought to possess supernatural power—who disrupted the wedding in 1865 of Pakubuwana IX, ruler of the major court in Surakarta: “The crazies loved a good laugh, / free was the mood as they entered / from the cookery into the courtyard / prancing to and fro like horses, / some shouldering a penis [dakar] / the size of a man’s calf” (p. 106). Pemberton

shows how the "crazies" burst on the scene of the ruler's wedding, reconfiguring the hybrid maze of Dutch and elite Javanese power struggles. But here is where Pemberton's argument becomes increasingly complex, foreshadowing his later analysis of life under the post-1965 Indonesian New Order government.

By appearing in one mid-nineteenth-century Javanese text in such a dramatic way, the crazies "could now be bracketed as disorderly enough to provide an amusing contrast to ceremonial order." Following his nuanced argument, as the crazies become domesticated in the text, they also "textually exceed the brackets that would contain them" (p. 106). This sense of unending deferral and displacement ties Pemberton's discussion of court manuscripts that unsettle colonial rule to postcolonial rituals that exceed the space demarcated by village, urban, or national attempts to preserve the appearance of order so desperately desired by the New Order government. It is in this moment of excess, in the act of spilling over the site that would contain ritual practice or textual convention, that Pemberton offers some hope for those who seek the signs of everyday resistance, a word that Pemberton carefully avoids rather than trivialize it or intrude upon the possibility of its manifestation.

Proceeding with his cultural critique, Pemberton unmasks the manipulation of Javanese and other Indonesian regional cultures in his discussion of Taman Mini ("Beautiful Indonesia"-in-Miniature), the Indonesian government theme park in Jakarta that celebrates carefully chosen regional cultures by representing them as lilliputian caricatures. Taman Mini signifies the New Order government's attempt to tap and tame the power of recovered "tradition" for development, tourism, and, most important, state control. Complicating Clifford Geertz's well-known identification of the Javanese *slametan* as the quintessential ritual for the preservation of harmony in Javanese villages, Pemberton discusses the Javanese practice of *rebutan* or struggle. As the inverse of the search for *slamet* or well-being, *rebutan* signifies a rowdy and violent practice of disorder enacted as crowds of participants fight to grab remnants of ritual offerings. These images of daily violence disturb carefully constructed ideas of docile and mystical Javanese, and Pemberton's closing discussion of the "mysterious shootings" of 1983 show how much the book has done to demystify orientalist imaginings about "Java." My review has barely touched the surface of this rich and important book but, as a parting image, let me mention the spirit of the village of Bayat who demands, in addition to the usual offerings of chicken, rice, and local fruits, a bottle of Dutch gin and three cigars. As reflections of the humans who seek to placate them, Pemberton shows how the spirits of contemporary Java confound easy distinctions between East and West, anthropology and history, observer and observed.

LAURIE J. SEARS
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RUDOLF MRÁZEK. *Sjahir: Politics and Exile in Indonesia*. (Studies on Southeast Asia, number 14.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell Southeast Asia Program. 1994. Pp. x, 526. \$20.00.

Americans should know about Indonesia: the world's fourth most populous country (behind the United States but way ahead of Russia), with by far the largest Muslim population; a member of OPEC and rich in natural resources; strategically located, separating the Indian Ocean from the Pacific; and a fast emerging exporter of cheap labor manufactures. Indonesia is, however, little known and little studied here, so that the news of a major study of Sutan Sjahrir (1909–66) was very welcome.

I held Sjahrir in high regard as a major actor in the struggle for Indonesian independence and in the shaping of the new republic. As an Indonesianist, I had learned that he had suffered years of imprisonment and internal exile at the hands of the Dutch; that while many nationalists collaborated with the Japanese during World War II, Sjahrir was involved in a resistance network; and that having been instrumental in ending President Sukarno's budding authoritarian system, he served from November 1945 to June 1947 as prime minister of the embattled republic. In 1948 he founded the Indonesian Socialist Party (PSI), the home for a large proportion of Indonesia's tiny intellectual class. During Sukarno's late Guided Democracy phase, Sjahrir was arrested but survived briefly into the opening of the dictatorship of General Suharto, which still exists. Above all, Sjahrir was a democrat, an intellectual, a man of reason and rationality.

Rudolf Mrázek's scholarship and tenacity are awesome: hundreds of pages march atop a verdant landscape of footnotes whose sources range from Dutch police archives to interviews with those who had known Sjahrir personally. Nevertheless, the result is disappointing. There is a wealth of information that is often of intrinsic interest but, alas, without obvious relevance to our understanding of either Sjahrir or the course of Indonesian politics during his lifetime. Mrázek is not concerned to develop more than event-by-event explanations of what happened, while Sjahrir, at least as presented here, was simply incapable of incisive sociopolitical analysis. He seems not to have known his own country or countrymen well. One is at a loss to explain the coterie of intelligent and educated devotees who gathered around this admirer of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.

From my reading of Mrázek's evidence, Sjahrir was aloof, a snob, self-indulgent, indolent, and indecisive. As presented by Mrázek, maybe unwittingly, Sjahrir exhibited little warmth or affection, and less passion. His one public passion was abhorrence of Javanese *ningrat* (feudal-aristocratic) culture and behavior, but that could well have been caused in part by jealousy at the ability of Sukarno in particular to use them to develop a mass following. Sjahrir was an unmemorable public speaker.

After a youthful sojourn in the Netherlands, where he engaged in neither work nor formal study, Sjahrir returned to the Indies to establish the Pendidikan Nasional Indonesia (Indonesian National Education). This pro-independence cadre training movement was, according to Mrázek's investigation, so ineffective that one is still astonished that Dutch colonial authorities would consider Sjahrir sufficiently threatening to warrant an indefinite term of internal exile (first in the Boven Digul prison camp in New Guinea, and then on a remote eastern island). There was, it seems, no anti-Japanese underground worthy of mention. By this point in the book, one suspects that Sjahrir would not have been decisive or courageous (foolhardy) enough to have committed himself if there had been.

With the unexpected Japanese surrender and the subsequent declaration of Indonesian independence, Sjahrir, at age thirty-six, was cast briefly but with little power onto center political stage: the republic needed a front man who would be acceptable to the victorious Allies, and Sjahrir had the necessary credentials. As prime minister he preferred to remain in Dutch-occupied Jakarta rather than accompany the core of the republic to Central Java. His own political party, PSI, with its Western-educated leaders, was to prove accessible and attractive to inquiring Westerners but not to the Indonesian people, as was clearly demonstrated in 1955 in the country's only free general elections. Sjahrir remained an elitist with little trust in the good sense of the masses; and he apparently never did get around to clarifying what he meant by socialism in the context of Indonesia.

Sjahrir was one of several Minangkabau (from West Sumatra) who rose to prominence in the earlier years of modern Indonesian politics. Others included Mohammad Hatta (Indonesia's first vice-president, constantly upstaged by Sukarno), and Tan Malaka (a maverick Communist, executed by fellow Republicans in 1949, and the author of a wonderful autobiography, excellently translated and edited as *From Jail to Jail* [1991]). The historical reality for the offspring of all secondary ethnic groups was that once Indonesian politics became mass politics, ethnic Javanese would dominate: first Sukarno, and then General Suharto.

DONALD HINDLEY
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WILLIAM J. DUKER. *Sacred War: Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam*. New York: McGraw-Hill. 1995. Pp. xx, 289.

The most striking question to come out of the Vietnam War, William J. Duiker writes, is "not why the United States lost, but why the Communists won" (p. 2). His book is an attempt to explain this victory.

According to Duiker, Vietnam's Communist Party "became the primary actor in the struggle against colonial rule" (p. 4), and when the defeat of Japan created a vacuum in 1945, the Communist-led Viet Minh seized power. In the ensuing war against France,

Viet Minh guerrillas found a way to deal with the United States, the Soviet Union, and the Chinese, refined their battlefield tactics, and eventually struck a decisive blow at Dien Bien Phu in 1954. The text goes on to describe efforts by the Americans and their allies to set up a new state south of the seventeenth parallel; relations among the Viet Minh, the Soviets, and the People's Republic of China; conflicts in Laos; and events leading to the resumption of armed struggle, led by the National Liberation Front (NLF), against the southern regime in 1960. Duiker remains convinced that this revolt was "an insurgent movement inspired by local conditions in the south but guided and directed from Hanoi" (p. 137).

When dealing with the 1960s, Duiker offers sections on "The NLF in Action" and "An NLF Profile," while also attending to Washington, Saigon, Laos, Moscow, and Beijing. Planners in Hanoi sought ways to combat U.S. troops in the South and U.S. bombing attacks against the North. The Tet Offensive weakened the northern army and "decimated" the NLF, but it also undermined U.S. resolve, opening the possibility of "new initiatives" against the American presence (p. 218). Continued fighting and Richard Nixon's diplomatic maneuvers could not prevent the defeat of Vietnamization and victory for the Communists in 1975.

A new work from a scholar of Duiker's quality is always welcome. At the same time, his commentary on why the Communists won (effective organization, popular program, sophisticated strategy, leadership of Ho Chi Minh) contains few surprises. The book has the air of an introductory text (beautifully chosen illustrations heighten this impression) rather than a definitive treatment of "nationalism and revolution in a divided Vietnam." He has consulted newly available sources, especially on the Vietnamese side, but specialists may conclude that the book does not surpass what the author has already achieved in *The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam* (1981).

Duiker is rare among scholars of the Vietnam War in never losing his temper, and his book is informed by a palpable generosity of spirit. But it also might be argued that he is polite to a fault in dealing with morally charged issues. Some scholars will question his benign treatment of Vietnamese Communism and will want to know why the "brutal class conflict" instigated by the Viet Minh during land reform in 1953-56 (p. 98) and the "Hue Massacre" of 1968 (pp. 212-13) are mentioned only in passing. Others will object that he slights Vietnam's social revolution as well as the economic, the imperial, motives of policy makers in Washington. For more on the U.S. role, see his *U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina* (1994).

Finally, the book is not about "the Vietnamese side of the war," as the preface asserts (p. xvi); it concentrates on the Communists and says little about the Vietnamese who fought against them or who sat on the fence. People of the Saigon milieu remain orphans in

the literature. I hope that Duiker, a central figure in the field, will lead our efforts to redress this neglect.

DAVID HUNT
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Boston

MARGARET MAYNARD. *Fashioned from Penury: Dress as Cultural Practice in Colonial Australia*. (Studies in Australian History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 235. \$54.95.

Because fashion is usually seen as "women's business," it has often been dismissed as "trivial" and unworthy of scholarly study. According to Margaret Maynard, this is especially problematic for those studying dress within the context of Australia, since the national mythology has focused on a particular image of masculinity. "Australian men have had the reputation of somehow existing outside fashion, and thinking about their clothes for as long as it takes to put on stubble shorts, thongs and a toweling hat" (p. 1).

Yet Maynard insists that clothing has always been central to Australian identity and that many of the myths about Australian dress need to be reevaluated. She demonstrates that the colonists did not always slavishly follow English fashions and shows that class tensions existed despite a relatively egalitarian style of dress. In particular, she investigates the phenomenon of "bush dress." She also documents how clothing was an issue in Aboriginal-colonial relations. Aboriginal men and women were often semi-naked, and colonists devoted considerable efforts to coercing them to wear clothing. The Aboriginals' pierced noses, scarification, and use of body paint also offended colonial sensibilities.

Perhaps the most significant part of Maynard's book is the section devoted to penal dress in the period from 1788 to 1840. Convict uniforms, especially the parti-colored dress for gangs performing hard labor, were specifically designed "to brand their ill conduct with a public mark of disgrace and to distinguish them from the better behaved" (p. 18). These black-and-white or yellow-and-white uniforms were directly descended from the dress of the medieval fool and dramatically identified the prisoners. Some convicts were also literally labeled, as their clothing was daubed all over with arrows and letters such as PB (Prisoners' Barracks). Nevertheless, despite these attempts to categorize convicts, the vast majority wore unremarkable working-class clothing.

Convict women "were never subjected to the indignity of parti-colored dress" (p. 24), although officials constantly attempted to regulate their clothing in other ways. Earrings, for example, were forbidden on the grounds that they were frivolous trinkets associated with immoral conduct. Dress could also be "a site of resistance to authority." In 1840, for example, one group of convict women, labeled "The Flash Mob," wore earrings and silk scarves as a deliberate protest against factory rules (pp. 24-25).

As Maynard points out, "Dress is a disturbing subject, partly because of its personal nature and its troubling associations with sexuality and the body" (p. 3). Well researched and well presented, this book usefully extends the study of the history of fashion into hitherto unexplored territory.

VALERIE STEELE
Fashion Institute of Technology

ANN LARSON. *Growing up in Melbourne: Family Life in the Late Nineteenth Century*. (Australian Family Formation Project Monograph, number 12.) Canberra: Demography Program, Australian National University. 1994. Pp. xvi, 248. \$A24.00.

Ann Larson embarked on this study for her PhD thesis at the Australian National University. To an American demographer, familiar with the rich census materials of the United States, the Australian project presents considerable challenges: almost all Australian nineteenth-century census manuscripts appear to have been destroyed. Nevertheless, Larson has persevered, using published census tables, birth and marriage certificates, school registers linked with residential rate books, factory inspector reports, advertisements for employees, and the employment records of a particular biscuit factory. Her aim is to construct a detailed picture of life course transitions in post-gold rush Melbourne. In doing so, she has made a significant contribution to Australian social history. Her methods and conclusions will also be of interest to scholars of fertility decline in other countries. Larson begins with an analysis of fertility patterns in late-nineteenth-century Victoria, showing how the size of families began to decline in the 1880s and accelerated during the severe economic depression of the following decade, when the birthrate fell by 20 percent. She demonstrates that this decline was mainly the result of increased spacing of births practiced by all classes in society, but especially among business, professional, and artisanal occupations. The rest of the book is an exploration of the reasons for this trend. Her investigation of the educational and work experiences of Melbourne's youth concludes that there were no major changes in the late nineteenth century that would suggest a shift in the flow of wealth between children and adults. Rather, the increasing incidence of family limitation must be attributed to an "economic lag" whereby changes in attitudes occurred well in advance of the ability of most parents to achieve their aims and aspirations. Parents were increasingly aiming to provide their children with a dependent childhood and a measure of adolescent independence, even though this involved financial sacrifice on the part of the parents. Family limitation was a strategy to cope with the additional costs of these choices.

The evidence presented is consistent with Larson's argument, yet it is by no means conclusive. Although the argument is fairly persuasive, it neglects circumstantial factors affecting fertility decline in favor of an

emphasis on rational decision making. As she notes, the most dramatic decline in fertility occurred during the depression of the 1890s. Much of this decline is accounted for by factors other than a fall in the marital birthrate, that is, the emigration of large numbers of men from Victoria and consequent rise in the number of unmarried (and childless) women. The increased spacing of births no doubt also owed something to the fact that large numbers of urban unemployed men were separated from their wives and placed on rural labor schemes.

Larson's account could also arguably have made more allowance for sexual desires and fears. The growing resistance to live-in domestic service owed something to class-based fears of sexual exploitation of female servants. The discussion of transitions to work nowhere mentions prostitution as an option taken by thousands of Melbourne girls and women in the late nineteenth century, a result of relying too much on census and factory returns. Nevertheless, Larson generally makes imaginative and sensitive use of the admittedly flawed statistical material and offers plausible new explanations for this crucial period in Victoria's history.

RAELENE FRANCES
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JUDITH A. ALLEN. *Rose Scott: Vision and Revision in Feminism*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 331. \$53.00.

In recent years historians have become increasingly sensitive to diversities among women's agendas based on class, race, culture, and national origin. Particular attention has been given to the often conflicted relationships between women in colonizing and colonized countries. Judith A. Allen offers a new perspective on international feminisms with her study of the work of the Australian suffragist and reformer Rose Scott (1847–1925). As part of the English-speaking world, the Australian women's rights movement shared many similarities with movements in Britain and the United States, but Allen also identifies and analyzes significant differences that help highlight unique characteristics of each movement.

This study of Rose Scott is not principally a biography but rather is focused on the development and transformation of her feminism. Allen nevertheless provides detailed information within a chronological framework about Scott's life and family. Born in New South Wales into a middle-class colonial family, the eighth of eleven children, Scott did not marry, but she lived with her mother until the mother's death when Rose was age fifty. Only then did Scott seriously begin her public career as a suffragist. After the achievement of Australian women's suffrage in 1902, Scott founded the Women's Political and Educational League to marshal women's votes for such reform causes as child protection, social purity, and peace. The central "revision" that Allen notes in Scott's feminism, as high-

lighted in her subtitle, was from her earlier conviction that women formed a unified group to a recognition in the post-suffrage era of the differences and splits among women.

Drawing extensively on Scott's writings and offering a theoretical framework for her analysis of Scott's feminism, Allen provides a fascinating view of one variety of feminist activism within the early twentieth-century Anglophone middle-class world. What most set Australian feminists apart from those in Britain and the United States was that in Australia women's suffrage was achieved early, without a militant struggle, and enfranchisement was not the end but rather led to the continuation of the first wave of feminism. Social factors also created different circumstances. Allen, for example, explains that Scott's spinsterhood would not have been questioned in Britain or the northeastern United States, with their demographic overabundance of middle-class women, but in Australia it was an anomaly.

The frustrating aspects of this study largely stem from the fact that, although biographical in organization, it does not aim at explaining Scott's life but rather her ideas. Nevertheless, placing the development of her feminism within her family background and life story, Allen raises intriguing questions about Scott's life and personality, but she leaves them unanswered. Allen does not investigate Scott's feelings about sexuality, even though Scott, an ardent sexual-purity advocate, remained unmarried, with ostensibly her major male love object an unavailable cousin. Her closest companions were female friends, including the feminist author Miles Franklin, whose decision to leave Australia devastated Scott. Allen does not explore the emotional meaning of these attachments, but merely says that Scott was not lesbian. She adopted and raised her deceased sister's son, but this nephew and her experience of mothering are barely mentioned.

On a more practical level, although Allen is excellent in providing the context for such women's movements as temperance and antiprostitution, she does not help the reader who is unfamiliar with Australian history and politics understand such issues as the controversy over federation at the end of the nineteenth century, which greatly affected the strategy of the women's suffrage campaigns. Anglo-American readers might be confused by references to "Victorian women," not understanding that the reference was usually to women from Victoria, although the word is also used in the text in its more commonplace adjectival sense.

In addition to what is lacking, the book is also weakened by some of what is included. Allen is repeatedly defensive throughout the book about views that Scott held, especially on social purity, which Allen does not think would be popular with contemporary feminists, and she labors too much to justify Scott within the historical context. Such constant justifications are unnecessary. Feminism today, hardly monolithic, includes diverse views on sexuality, including

those whose antipornography campaigns equal the efforts of Rose Scott and who have been dubbed "the new Victorians." More importantly from a historian's perspective, scholars these last twenty years have been examining the antisexuality of the late-nineteenth-century New Women and are generally aware of the social-purity concerns of the suffragists. If Allen could eliminate the unnecessary defensive verbiage, and could provide more political context for non-Australian readers, then her valuable study would be even more accessible and engaging to the international community of historians who would make a ready audience for a full biography of Rose Scott.

NANCY FIX ANDERSON
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CHRISTINE STEVENS. *White Man's Dreaming: Killalpaninna Mission 1866-1915*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 308. \$39.95.

This book is the story of an impossible dream, that of German Lutheran missionaries going out into the Australian desert to convert Aborigines to Christianity. The missionaries set out in the 1860s in huge, unwieldy wagons from German towns in the Barossa Valley of South Australia to establish a mission in the northeast of the state. The local Aboriginal people, the Diyari, greeted the missionaries' arrival with hostility, forcing the Lutherans temporarily to withdraw. Nevertheless, the Lutherans persevered, establishing the Killalpaninna Mission, which survived until 1915. Thereafter the Diyari maintained themselves by stock work on ranches or on the fringes of towns such as Marree.

Christine Stevens has used her mainly Lutheran sources to great effect to present a well-written, often moving account of the Lutherans and their determined attempts to maintain themselves through inevitable droughts and scorching summers. Some of the vignettes are beautifully evocative as Stevens draws biographical sketches of many of the Lutherans, male and female, who worked at Killalpaninna. She details their early years in Germany, their commitment to the mission enterprise, and then their encounters with the harsh environment of the Australian interior. Some mission workers had to leave after a few years. Many of the women found the arid loneliness debilitating; others remained for decades. Anna Vogelsang went to Killalpaninna as a new bride in 1877 and did not leave the interior until 1917, outliving her husband and the mission.

Although Stevens presents the German Lutherans as well-rounded figures, she is less successful in bringing the Diyari associated with Killalpaninna to life. The few biographical sketches are brief, leaving the Diyari as rather shadowy figures. Missionaries' reports and recorded Diyari oral accounts could have been better used to flesh out these people's lives.

Stevens devotes a chapter to linguists and ethnogra-

phers. She points out what gifted linguists many of the Lutherans were. They translated religious texts, including the Old and New Testaments into Diyari. Three of the missionaries, Reuther, Siebert and Strehlow, also kept detailed ethnographic notes. But Stevens, who is not an anthropologist, seems a little uncertain how to deal with this material. She does point out that the missionaries interpreted Diyari beliefs and culture from their own committed Christian perspective, which inevitably colored their assessment of what they regarded as an inferior, pagan society. But overall her discussion of this important legacy of the mission enterprise is unsatisfactory.

Rather surprisingly, Stevens makes little use of the Lutheran ethnographic works in her own description of pre-mission Diyari society. It is not clear whether this is because she deems them unreliable or because they are less accessible than subsequent studies undertaken by anthropologists. A minor irritation is her insistence on the current spelling of Diyari over the previous Dieri. The older version appears frequently in the text, always as Dieri (*sic*). But Stevens is not consistent on linguistic correctness: Aranda does not appear in its current spelling, Arrernte. A note on orthography at the beginning of the book could have dealt with such linguistic issues without disrupting the text. A more important criticism is that this study makes no reference to other literature on Australian or Lutheran missions, nor does it locate itself within the volatile field of the historiography of Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations.

The strength of this book is the lively and engrossing history of the white man's dreaming. Perhaps the Diyari experience can never be brought back to haunt us in the same way; or will an equally gifted writer be able to reflect the other side of the mission experience? We will also have to wait for an analytical assessment of the ethnographic and linguistic writings of these missionaries who tried to straddle several cultural divides: German Lutherans in a British colony, living in the desert with the Diyari.

PEGGY BROCK
Edith Cowan University

ALISTAIR THOMSON. *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. vi, 282. \$45.00.

Memories die. This book has to be one of the last oral histories of the generation that fought in World War I. It is also one of the best, a superb account of the interaction of private memory with public myth. Working through the tradition of Luisa Passerini and the Birmingham Popular Memory Group, Alistair Thomson shares their frustrations with both simple hegemonic notions of popular national myths being imposed from above, and wishful thinking that oral history can arrive directly at "what actually happened" from below. He develops a concept of "composure" as a way to describe the process of remembering. The

ambiguity is intentional. On the one hand, it refers to the way in which memory "composes" experience, selecting, shaping, and articulating experiences according to acceptable public forms. On the other hand, it refers to the more private process of composing a past we can live with, a past that can make sense and provide a feeling of composure. The book brilliantly explores the link between the two, showing how popular myth maintains resonance in ordinary lives, and how "the apparently private process of composing safe memories is in fact very public" (p. 11).

The process has particular significance in Australia, where the experiences of the 330,000 "Anzacs" who went off to the Great War forged an especially potent and enduring national mythology. The Australians were all volunteers, suffered one of the highest death rates, and fought far from home. The public legend bound these elements with a celebration of "ordinary heroism" (p. 62) and national traditions of mateship and larrikinism, producing both a popular national myth and an affirming personal identity for working-class diggers. Anzac Day, commemorating the landing at Gallipoli, became, popularly, the "real" national day. Anzac memorials sprang up everywhere and the rituals of Anzac provided a civic religion for the new nation. Thomson's own experience of the myth and its silences, a working out of middle-class schoolboy desires surrounding Australian soldiers and tensions resulting from his "deserting" the family's military traditions in favor of peace activism, also becomes part of his intricate pattern.

Paul Fussell noticed the habit in the Great War of thinking by threes, and Thomson has certainly acquired it. The book is structured around three distinct periods, the war itself, the immediate postwar years of return, and the last thirty years, when the experience of Vietnam led to extensive revisionism in Australia's war history, while a growing nationalism also revived interest in Anzac. Each period gets three chapters, one devoted to conventional oral history re-creating the experience of his subjects, one to the composing and reworking of the public myths of Anzac, and one to three "memory biographies," in which Thomson examines in detail the more private process through which three men negotiated with the public myth to compose memories they could live with. This structure seems programmatic but in fact works very effectively to give a rich and subtle account of how lived experience, memory, personal and collective identities, public legends, and the rituals of commemoration all rub up against each other and evolve over time. Within this framework, the subtleties of the men's class and sexual identities are perhaps not given the attention Thomson initially promises, but this might be explained by his sensitivity to the ethics and embarrassments of the interview process.

Through the memory biographies we come to know real people. Percy Bird always returned to a rigid narrative performance that affirmed the public myth and his place in it. Bill Langham's enjoyment of the

rituals of commemoration and mateship did not fully contain his more contradictory and disturbing memories of war. Fred Farrell's war experience left him in a state of stuttering nervous collapse, entirely unable to relate to the public myth until involvement in radical labor politics gave him an appropriate identity as a victim of a capitalist war. Later still, post-Vietnam revisionism and Anzac revival found a new place for his pacifist digger identity within a transformed public myth. Thus, Thomson provides a cautionary tale for those who would simply reproduce the memory of history and offers instead a history of memory that is rich, fascinating, and original.

RICHARD WHITE
University of Sydney

UNITED STATES

CHRISTOPHER LASCH. *The Revolt of the Elites and the Betrayal of Democracy*. New York: W. W. Norton. 1995. Pp. x, 276. \$22.00.

Christopher Lasch, who completed this book just before his death, assumes his familiar and invaluable role of public moralist. The title is adapted from José Ortega y Gasset's famous book, and Lasch inverts its main argument. The defects Ortega attributed to the masses Lasch finds in today's highly educated and highly paid cosmopolitan elites: an unreflective belief in limitless personal possibility, and a rejection of "historical duties," obligation, and excellence. He believes that a new class, made by education and making its living by the manipulation of information and financial instruments, has emerged in the United States. Its most notable and lamentable quality is its withdrawal from our "common life." The changes in the economy that have made this new class have put devastating pressures on the less educated, for whom a secure family and working life has become quite problematic, with worrisome political implications.

Like Alexis de Tocqueville, Lasch seeks a democracy that has room for aristocratic values: of place, tradition, obligation. But the word that Lasch uses most frequently is not aristocratic. It is from the self-consciously democratic culture of nineteenth-century America. He values competence both as a skill and as a status. Neither meaning of competence, however, seems to be surviving as value or fact in contemporary America.

Democracy for Lasch, as for John Dewey, is justified by its capacity to educate citizens. To those, like Walter Lippmann, who argue that ordinary Americans are too ill-informed, too lacking in competence to be genuinely empowered, Lasch retorts that "it is the decay of public debate . . . that makes the public ill-informed" (p. 162). For him, democracy is not about procedural fairness, or even a reasonable distribution of material goods, important as both are. Rather it is about an inclusive and deliberative work of making a common life. Lasch insists, moreover, that political

equality is the result as much as it is the precondition of democracy. "Citizenship," he writes, "confers equality"; it equalizes "people who are otherwise unequal" (p. 88).

Many of Lasch's complaints seem to align him with contemporary conservatism, but his unambiguous affirmation of a revitalized democracy distinguishes him from that ilk. And his insistence, like Walt Whitman, that democracy implies and demands a moral order distinguishes Lasch from liberals who in the name of toleration would deny democracy the capacity for moral judgment in a world of difference. Contemporary liberal tolerance, he fears, has displaced ethical judgment, or even common sense. Are liberals really more exercised about smoking in midtown Manhattan restaurants than they are about cocaine addiction in the South Bronx?

Lasch in these essays is mainly the moral critic; in his recent *The True and Only Heaven* (1991), which had much the same argument, the material was shaped by historical narrative. But one ought not overlook the historiographical significance of this book. Each essay is anchored by a historical interpretation. In one, for example, he examines the question never raised by students of social mobility: when and how did social mobility become the singular marker of equal opportunity? What happened to the multifaceted antebellum notion of opportunity? He speculates that social mobility became identified with the promise of American life when it was no longer tenable to propose classlessness, and he notes that the first use of the phrase occurs in an essay in which Frederick Jackson Turner ponders the implications of the closing of the frontier.

Another essay offers a provocative reading of Horace Mann. Giving short shrift to the "social control" interpretation of Mann, he finds an even more disturbing and consequential defect. Because of his fear of passion and enthusiasm, or, even, rhetorical disorder, Mann deliberately depoliticized, secularized, and rationalized education. That impulse diminished imagination and isolated education from politics and civic life. The legacy of Mann in this reading is thus political and aesthetic miseducation, which continues to undermine democratic politics and culture. Similarly, the decline of the press into a supposed ideal of objectivity is examined and blamed for the demise of political debate. These and other historical speculations invite fuller and more systematic inquiry.

One of his essays is titled, provocatively and unexpectedly, "Does Democracy Deserve to Survive?" But the real heart of the book is the more obvious question Lasch knowingly displaces: can democratic practices as they emerged in the middle third of the nineteenth century be adapted to the conditions of an industrialized, bureaucratized, pluralized nation entangled in global economic structures and transnational cultural movements? This was John Dewey's question in 1927, in *The Public and Its Problems*, and Robert H. Wiebe's in his *Self Rule: A Cultural History of American Democracy* (1995). It is hard to imagine a harder or more

important question. And Lasch's tough mindedness will help those who are willing to engage it. Yes, the book is laced with polemical excess (and some very good lines), but the nub of his argument cannot be ignored, even if few would nod an easy assent. Both as historians and as citizens we will miss Christopher Lasch.

THOMAS BENDER
New York University

DAVID E. NYE. *American Technological Sublime*. Cambridge, Mass. MIT Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 362. \$35.00.

In his award-winning book, *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology* (1991), David E. Nye identified what he called the "electrical sublime." His latest book develops a related central idea—and experience—of Americans over the past two centuries: the "technological sublime," a religious feeling generated by confronting "impressive [technological] objects" (p. xiii). If electricity is crucial to Nye's account, the occasional overlaps between the two books are rewarding, not distracting.

Nye does not claim to be the first analyst of the American technological sublime. He credits Perry Miller with coining the term in *The Life of the Mind in America* (1965) and credits Leo Marx (Nye's former teacher and the person to whom Nye's book is dedicated) with first expounding on it in *The Machine in the Garden* (1964). Because Miller's book appeared after Marx's, Nye probably means such earlier writings of Miller's as "The Responsibility of Mind in a Civilization of Machines" (1961), an essay that Marx (but not Nye) cites. Although Nye concedes that several younger scholars have also written about this phenomenon, he provides the fullest account to date.

Through detailed studies of carefully selected canals, railroads, dams, bridges, skyscrapers, factories, and monuments, as well as landscapes and cityscapes, parades and pageants, expositions and world's fairs, atomic bomb tests and spacecraft launchings, and national parks and theme parks, Nye offers convincing evidence that generations of ordinary Americans recognized, sought, and pondered the technological sublime as it was made available to them in changing forms. In each case their collective experience at least temporarily united an increasingly heterogeneous population and made participants and spectators alike proud of the nation's technological achievements. Nye fails to address the fact that some of the most "impressive objects" he investigates—Virginia's Natural Bridge, Niagara Falls, the Grand Canyon, and the eruption of Mount St. Helens—are natural rather than technological. A related dilemma he does treat insightfully is the growing desire of many contemporary visitors to such natural wonders not simply to experience "raw" wilderness with as many comforts as possible—a traditional American penchant—but to "improve" the natural settings to make them even more sublime; or, worse yet, to experience them only sec-

ond-hand, by watching movies or other re-creations of the very phenomenon available first-hand nearby.

Nye contends that the technological sublime was unique to the United States. Notwithstanding Americans' overall greater technological enthusiasm than their European counterparts, this proposition is questionable. Even if Denmark, where Nye teaches, apparently has nothing equivalent, other nations have bridges, railroads, world's fairs, and additional widely celebrated structures, machines, and events that periodically unified diverse populations.

Nye is attentive to differences in class and religion and, to an admittedly lesser extent, race and ethnicity in Americans' response to the technological sublime. He hardly ignores gender differences, but his analysis proves problematic for his overall argument. If, as he acknowledges, men created the American technological sublime and restricted its innate appreciation to themselves, what becomes of the sharing of that appreciation among all citizens? And what becomes of the American "national character" traits Nye boldly wishes to revive amid the antithetical present-day predisposition toward multiculturalism?

Like his previous books, this one is quite readable; Nye, however, quotes others excessively. In addition, the number of illustrations for a book on the visualization of technology is remarkably few and the quality of those disappointing; for this the publisher is presumably responsible. Still, this is a first-rate exploration of American technology and culture that deserves a wide readership.

HOWARD P. SEGAL
University of Maine

KENNETH W. GOINGS. *Mammy and Uncle Mose: Black Collectibles and American Stereotyping*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. xxiv, 123. Cloth \$35.00, paper \$22.50.

Kenneth W. Goings has refined our understanding of the historical stages and complexities of stereotypes and their connection to material culture in this perceptive analysis of African-American collectibles. Like other scholars who have become intrigued with the vast extension of such memorabilia—most recently, for example, Patricia A. Turner's *Ceramic Uncles and Celluloid Mammies: Black Images and Their Influence on Culture* (1994)—Goings has amassed a personal collection and his work is informed by a special perspective: "I have personified these collectibles, and in doing so I earnestly tried to listen to the stories that Aunt Jemima and Uncle Mose and their kin told me" (p. xi). He is also prodded by the recent interest in memorabilia, their emergence as art objects and reproductions against the backdrop that blacks have never been in command of their public image.

Goings's work deftly extrapolates historical reference and ephemera. Collectibles, he notes, had their origins from the post-Reconstruction years to the end of World War I. Then their character reflected the

particular racism of that period—exaggerated physical features and rigidly enforced menial status—which was intended to keep blacks "frozen in time." In short, the memorabilia were designed to reinforce the Old South/New South myth "by portraying African-Americans as servants who were still happy to be serving the master" (p. 48). Concomitantly, the stereotypes had the effect of portraying African-Americans in a state of otherness, thereby rationalizing policies of segregation in employment and neighborhoods.

Changes in racial attitudes from the 1930s to the late 1950s produced a different stereotypical emphasis. "If the period from 1880 to the 1930s kept African-Americans symbolically on the plantation, then the period from the late 1930s to the late 1950s put them to work" (p. 63). Although unmistakably racist, the material forms were less harshly derogatory and offered representations of black men and women at work, albeit exclusively in servile positions.

A more complicated situation, however, has emerged in the latter decades of the century. Goings argues that the scenario is largely positive, yet it contains adverse implications. What has occurred is that the traditional buffoon and the loveable darky were replaced by the perceived menacing figures of activists such as Angela Davis, Eldridge Cleaver, and others. At the same time blacks were being fingered as the culprits for a myriad of urban ills, thus continuing the sense of otherness.

The recent reemergence of black collectibles, in Goings's view, especially their reproductions of earlier periods, has undercut black activism "by making it a subject of laughter. And in the case of the black collectible reproductions, they now represent the codification and concretizing of the losses in the economic, political, and social arenas" (p. 106).

While Goings's fears are justifiable, a certain caveat is in order. Backlash nostalgia no doubt partly explains the upsurge in sambo and mammy reproductions, but they are nowhere close to the millions of items that once inundated homes, stores, and businesses. Rather, this latest version of tenacious stereotyping of African Americans appears to communicate a message of avoidance and denial.

JOSEPH BOSKIN
Boston University

ROBERT P. SWIERENGA. *The Forerunners: Dutch Jewry in the North American Diaspora*. (American Jewish Civilization Series.) Detroit, Mich.: Wayne State University Press. 1994. Pp. 465. \$37.95.

Robert P. Swierenga's book will be of great interest to serious students of American immigration and American Jewish history. It is the first comprehensive narrative of the fewer than 20,000 Dutch Jews who emigrated to this country from the colonial era through the 1880s. As is well known, Dutch Jews first went from Brazil to New Amsterdam in 1654, but little has been written about them, or their coreligionists

from Holland, since their initial experiences in what has become the largest city in the United States. Swierenga has now filled that gap. Reminding us of how the thousand or so Jews in the American colonies at the time of the revolution comprised perhaps .5 percent of the two million Americans in the colonies, he notes that Dutch Jews totalled only about 15 to 20 percent of that .5 percent.

Why then, given these small numbers, is a book on the topic valuable? It is so because Swierenga, a skilled quantifier, is able to show in great detail who came, why they came (for economic reasons like most other immigrants), where they settled, how they worshiped, how they earned their living, who emerged as community and American leaders, and how they fit in with other Jews and gentiles in the various communities where they settled. This remarkable accomplishment shows how the able quantifier can find and present valuable materials that more traditional practitioners of the craft have difficulty pinpointing. Numerous tables list Dutch-Jewish households, the number of people in those households, and the occupation of the breadwinners. Most of the Dutch Jewish men, like other immigrant Jews and their children who arrived before the end of the nineteenth century, earned their living as tradesmen and merchants. Similarly, like other Jewish immigrants, Dutch Jews at first settled along the East Coast in cities like New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston, and later ventured inland to places like Buffalo, Cincinnati, Cleveland, New Orleans, and Chicago.

Swierenga not only charts the names and economic details of the household heads but also provides brief, but lively, vignettes of some of the more prominent Dutch Jews or their children, merchants such as Jacob Lopez (Charleston), Uriah Hendricks (New York City), and Isaac Monsanto (New Orleans), and rabbis such as Jacob Voorsanger (San Francisco), Edward N. Calisch (Richmond, who preferred being addressed as "Reverend"), and Edgar Magnin (Los Angeles). Samuel Gompers, born in England of Dutch-Jewish parents, is also discussed. Valuable appendixes provide additional informative data on individual Dutch Jews.

This book is a model of what an immigrant-group study can produce when a premier historian applies quantification to the task. Swierenga's monograph shows clearly that, although Dutch Jews comprised only a small element of American Jewry, they were significant before the 1830s in New York City and other cities, and they contributed to the growth of American Jewry in several parts of the nation. Scholars concerned about Dutch Jewry will find this volume rewarding.

LEONARD DINNERSTEIN
University of Arizona

JOSEPH F. KETT. *The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties: From Self-Improvement to Adult Education in America, 1750-1990*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 581. \$55.00.

Perhaps the least satisfactory feature of this admirable study is its title, for the notions of difficulties, self-improvement, and adult education do not convey the entire subject. Joseph F. Kett has in fact undertaken a history of the myriad paths by which Americans sought on their own to enhance their learning, as well as the many schemes of educators to provide for such real or imagined aspirations. This history of nonformal education, however, intersects at virtually every turn with regular educational institutions, particularly in higher education. Thus, a consideration of the "uses of knowledge" in the antebellum period leads to questions of what was learned in the colleges and how they compared with other kinds of schooling. Later, the author addresses the equivocal role of junior and community colleges. In this way, Kett's study portrays the notoriously internalist history of higher education from a fresh, external perspective.

Much the same might be said about its relation to the history of popular culture. The educational activities Kett describes are inherently voluntary, and they therefore reveal a reservoir of educational aspiration among broad strata of the populace. Kett's central subject, then, is *sui generis*, but it cuts in an oblique and illuminating manner through educational, social, and intellectual history.

By its nature, the subject falls into two distinct halves, divided by the ascendancy of continuous postprimary schooling at the close of the nineteenth century. In this respect, the study parallels the author's earlier work, *The Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (1977). Before the twentieth century, self-education, intermittent education, and formal education all occurred across a broad age spectrum. Once adolescents were safely consigned to high schools, however, adult education became defined as a distinctly different phase, of life and of learning.

The central theme of Kett's study derives from another dichotomy, that between learners who avail themselves of nonformal education and educators who have presumed to know what was best for them. From eighteenth-century theorizing about workers' needs for "useful knowledge" to modern assumptions about adult education, Kett has found that educational theorists have consistently underestimated the aspirations of the population they ostensibly sought to serve. Educators continually offered or advocated practical subjects that were deemed appropriate to the lives and livelihoods of their more common students. Those students, however, have just as consistently voted with their matriculations for cultural or economic advancement. In this vein, Kett concludes with a fundamental critique of the institutionalized adult education movement for its failure to grasp the desire for upward social mobility that has motivated mature learners.

Kett's study breaks new ground in illuminating the educational ferment that surrounded and often impinged on the evolution of formal schools and colleges. It should become an indispensable companion to the

history of American education, and shed light as well on aspects of social and intellectual history.

ROGER L. GEIGER
Pennsylvania State University

BARBARA RASMUSSEN. *Absentee Landowning and Exploitation in West Virginia, 1760–1920*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. 222. \$29.95.

The issues of economic dependency, colonialism, and impoverishment have always been central to Appalachian scholarship. Yet only in recent years have historians pushed back into the antebellum period in search of the roots of the socioeconomic degeneration that distinguished Appalachians from other Americans in the twentieth century. Two of the boldest and most innovative of such efforts were published last year; both, interestingly enough, began as dissertations at West Virginia University. In *Appalachia's Path to Dependency: Rethinking a Region's Economic History, 1730–1940* (1994), Paul Salstrom analyzed a variety of factors, largely internally generated, that moved the region from one of antebellum America's most self-sufficient regions to one of the nation's least self-sufficient. Barbara Rasmussen here lays out a far different path to dependency.

Focusing on five counties in the Monongehela region of what is now West Virginia, Rasmussen traces landholding patterns and the political and legal structures that supported them from the mid-eighteenth century until the early twentieth century. She argues that absentee owners and speculators laid claim to this transmontane frontier simultaneously with settlers, and that from the beginning they shaped land and tax policies to their own advantage. George Washington, Lord Fairfax, and Thomas Jefferson were only the first in a long line of non-resident beneficiaries who, throughout the nineteenth century, practiced detached exploitation of mountain lands in a variety of forms. The efforts of resident farmers to stabilize their holdings and engage in even a limited market economy were undermined by these elusive but vastly more powerful outside forces. They so destabilized this already tenuous agrarian society, Rasmussen argues, that it was unable to resist the even greater encroachments of railroad, timber, and mining interests late in the century. In reclaiming what was left of the Monongahela's rich forest lands in the 1910s, the U.S. Forest Service stifled whatever potential there was for future economic diversification, with policies more conducive to the natural resources than to the human resources in their midst.

A topical, and often imaginative, chapter arrangement creates some chronological murkiness at times, and, in her determination to establish so vast an economic continuum, Rasmussen minimizes the role of the Civil War or West Virginia statehood even though state and federal politics are often central to her analysis elsewhere. The sectional crisis, she contends, was significant primarily as a diversion for

Virginia highlanders, serving as "the cloak that profiteers and entrepreneurs needed to engineer profound change within the mountains" (pp. 72–73).

That conspiratorial tone, and the scenario on which it is based, veer perilously close to the all-too-familiar morality play that casts Appalachian residents as hapless and helpless victims of corporate villainy. Yet Rasmussen manages for the most part to avoid these pitfalls. Much of the freshness of her account lies in the telling detail and intricate analysis of the political, economic, and environmental interplay throughout this ongoing power struggle.

The past year has seen an outpouring of significant work on the economics of preindustrial Appalachia. Rasmussen's book joins not only that of Salstrom but also books by Kenneth Noe, Charles Dew, John Stealey, and Robert Tracy McKenzie to form an innovative and remarkably varied body of work. Together they are forcing us to rethink in sophisticated new terms many of our long held and often simplistic assumptions about this most enigmatic of American regions.

JOHN C. INSCOE
University of Georgia

GEORGE E. WEBB. *The Evolution Controversy in America*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xii, 297. \$34.95.

Apparently there are certain questions from the life sciences that have shown a stubborn propensity to reappear again and again in modern times, despite the best efforts of those determined to vanquish them. One example is the question of innate racial and/or ethnic differences; another is the creationist challenge to the theory of evolution. To assert that a majority of Americans have at any time embraced evolution as true would be a risky proposition indeed. Evolutionism has been a lightning rod for cultural modernity in various eras in modern American history. In the last thirty years, there has been such an outpouring of scholarly work on the life sciences in Europe and America that we can now ask questions as to the larger significance and meaning of the role of these sciences and their ideas in modern cultures and societies.

From that perspective, George E. Webb's book is a useful contribution from which nonspecialists may learn much. It is a general account about the continuing controversies in America over evolution, from Charles Darwin's day to our own. In four early chapters, Webb retraces largely familiar territory in discussing the original reception of Darwinian evolutionism in America by scientists and nonscientists, the neo-Lamarckian revisions of Darwin's natural selectionist arguments to perspectives aligned with traditional Protestant theism, the dismissal of such professors as Alexander Winchell and James Woodrow for trifling with religious orthodoxy, the incorporation of evolutionary ideas into the social philosophies of such Gilded Age characters as Lester Frank Ward, the crystallization of the fundamentalist movement after

1900, the extensive modifications of evolutionary science in the new century, and the Scopes trial. Here Webb has synthesized a lot of familiar material scattered in different accounts concisely and (for the most part) accurately.

In six more chapters Webb chronicles the up-and-down battles of evolutionists and creationists from the end of the Scopes trial to the early 1990s; he synthesizes a smaller and less well-known body of secondary literature, buttressed here and there with printed sources. Webb's main concern in writing the book is to expose the damage creationism has done to the nation's scientific literacy. Yet his account is no mere complaint. It is an intelligent, helpful general account in which he traces the rise of the scientific creationists, points out the cultural and social sources of creationism, shows how the creationists in recent decades have switched tactics to demanding "equal time" with evolutionism, discusses the modern synthesis of evolution, and discusses the legal and political history of the creation-versus-evolution struggle. His treatments of statutes and court cases are excellent. For me, Webb's account underlines the decline of expertise, especially scientific expertise, in post-World War II American culture. The end of expertise, or, more precisely, the cultural war against it, has been as much a goal of the New Right as of the New Left, a moral that Webb might or might not draw. Doubtless other reviewers will have different reactions.

Webb has given us a well-written, concise overview, intelligent and sensible. The book will be useful for students and teachers for some time to come. And for those interested in the kinds of larger questions alluded to above, it will be a useful point of departure on its topic.

HAMILTON CRAVENS
Iowa State University

PAUL GROTH. *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xxii, 401. \$35.00.

This book could have been a simple account of the rise and demise of the residential hotel. Instead, Paul Groth chooses to read the buildings—their location and arrangement of interior space—as documents in the cultural history of urban America. This approach raises questions about the definition of home, the relationship of individuals to their material environment, and the nature and consequences of urban reform. It also gives Groth the opportunity to present an explanation for what has gone wrong with the American city.

Groth challenges the reader to reconsider home as a defined architectural space, to look beyond preconceived notions of single-family units, preferably in suburban locations. For over 200 years palace hotels provided fashionable addresses for the elite, while middle-class professionals emulated their style in less

lavish but prestigious mid-priced hotels. More modest rooming houses offered independence and mobility at an affordable price to young singles. Flophouses, often providing nothing more than spaces on a floor, were nonetheless home to casual laborers. Such homes have kept a mix of people centrally located and accessible to their respective job markets.

Within these unconventional homes domestic space was redefined. Privacy was maintained in commodious hotel suites, but traditional family functions such as dining and entertaining were performed in public restaurants, ballrooms, and lobbies. The limited facilities of rooming houses forced residents there to "scatter" their homes along the streets, dining, laundering, and socializing in commercial establishments. Skid Row residents, who vacated their space daily, were even more dependent on the streets. Where the street and the home merged, subcultures evolved. Rooming-house singles found a gender-mixed, autonomous culture far removed from parental authority, while hobos enjoyed a sustaining, predominately male, society.

Progressive reformers and their urban planning successors lacked the imagination to see the hotel as a legitimate home and to appreciate the evolving urban landscape. Where Groth sees a diverse and exciting city well served by hotels, reformers saw only chaos and confusion. Economically and ethnically mixed neighborhoods and emerging subcultures undermined middle-class cultural hegemony. Reconfigured living space that freed people, women especially, from domestic responsibilities threatened the nuclear family. Families unencumbered by mortgages and material possessions, seemingly unrestrained by thrift or denial, lacked a requisite sense of civic responsibility. With civilization seemingly in the balance, progressive reformers began to impose their own design on the city. Through the active enforcement of public health codes, vice laws, and zoning ordinances, hotel expansion was curtailed, residential and commercial space was separated, and new construction was confined to single-family units. The job was resumed in the 1960s with the wholesale destruction of residence hotels under the guise of urban renewal. The success of these combined efforts is apparent in the current SRO crisis.

This book is already a prize winner, and deservedly so. Not only does Groth present a compelling case for the residential hotel, and almost convince the reader that properly managed hotels could help revitalize today's city, but he also contributes much to other areas of study. Women's historians will appreciate a new space to explore within the separate sphere. Cultural historians can contemplate the use of buildings as active characters in human development. Political historians are given another example of the Progressive "search for stability." And welfare historians will find the book useful as they continue to explore the manipulation of the social environment by well-meaning but ideologically driven reformers. Finally, we can all benefit from Groth's timely reminder

of the consequences of "narrow thinking" and "active ignorance."

JOAN M. CROUSE
Hilbert College

JOSEPH M. BESSETTE. *The Mild Voice of Reason: Deliberative Democracy and American National Government*. (American Politics and Political Economy Series.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 289.

Many average Americans and a number of political scientists believe that democratic deliberation in Congress, whereby judgments are made on the merits of policies and reflect the interests and desires of American citizens, is more myth than reality. Rather, it is widely believed that legislative politics is all pressure groups and special interests, legislative bargaining and the desire of incumbents to be reelected. Joseph M. Besette, although agreeing that these things occur, argues that the institutional framework created by the founders continues to foster a government that is both energetically democratic and deliberative. The premise of his study of congressional policy making and his portraits of lawmakers shows that the vitality of genuine reasoning on the merits of public policy still exists.

Besette speaks from nine years of "real world" experience in city and federal government. Indeed, that experience induced him to articulate a set of standards by which to assess the working of our governmental institutions and clarify the forces that promote or inhibit collective reasoning about common goals so necessary to the success of American democracy. Although he acknowledges that some of his critics refer to his thesis as the "Boy Scout Theory of American Government," drawn to some degree from Woodrow Wilson's concept of "common counsel," his best rejoinder is to point out that his local public service was in the Cook County, Illinois, State's Attorneys' office, and nationally in the Bureau of Justice Statistics of the Federal Bureau of Justice. These experiences persuaded him that disinterested analysis of the public interest is the decisive and controlling force in public affairs, since it constitutes a mixture of reasoned persuasion and hard political bargaining. He then sets out to determine if this has been the case from the beginning of the republic and looks at the American political experience through lenses ground by these observations. His positive results, if predictable, are still useful.

Of his eight chapters, six are devoted to Congress. There he finds that despite venality, representatives more often followed what Publius called the "cool and deliberate sense of the community." One chapter considers contributions of the executive branch through policy deliberations, and one deals with the relationship of public opinion to public policy, an underlying theme throughout the book.

Historically, Besette moves systematically from

Federalist/ Anti-Federalist spats to the Ronald Reagan "revolution" of the 1980s. On the contemporary scene, he specifically focuses on domestic legislation from 1946 to 1970, exploring twenty-nine different congressional deliberations, starting with the Employment Act of 1946 and ending with the Public Broadcast Act of 1970. His other choices run through civil rights issues, water pollution control, space issues, public housing, public assistance, clean air, food stamps, and family assistance. The selection criteria involves formation and passage process where, he argues, bargaining is more prevalent than in the national security and foreign policy fields. In all areas he looks for and finds a desirable quotient of deliberation occurring. This is no surprise, but in the process he presents much insightful information vital to recent American political history.

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WILLIAM R. NEWMAN. *Gehennical Fire: The Lives of George Starkey, an American Alchemist in the Scientific Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 348. \$49.95.

"Gehennical Fire," the Old Testament name for Hell and its attendant torment, is an apt metaphor indeed for the life of George Starkey, colonial America's preeminent seeker of the now mythical philosopher's stone. Those familiar with this age-old quest for the secrets of metallic transmutation and human immortality will already know Starkey's name, as well as the various pseudonyms under which the New England adept made his considerable mark, the most well known being Eirenaeus Philalethes: literally "A Peaceful Lover of Truth."

According to William R. Newman, Starkey's quest began peacefully enough. The son of the Scottish divine George Stirk, who immigrated to Bermuda in 1622, George the younger was born and grew up in a largely pristine world where nature burgeoned and blossomed, entralling the eager adolescent who spent long hours alone in rapt contemplation of its infinite wonders.

Following the death of his father, George matriculated at Harvard in 1643 and graduated A.B. in 1646, one of a class of only four. It was during his Harvard years that the youth mastered classical languages and was seduced by the charms of "chymistry," whose practice, recent scholarship has shown, was considerably more advanced in the northern colonies than previously believed. The author is excellent in tracing the various strands of Starkey's intellectual initiation into what would soon become his lifework, richly detailing those influences and their various permutations from the ancients to Starkey's true heroes: Paracelsus, Michael Sendivogius, Alexander von Suchten and, most important of all, J. B. Van Hel-

mont, the master and grand synthesizer on whom an ever watchful God had smiled.

Lured by the hope of cultivating a deeper knowledge of the microcosm, not to mention the prospect of wealth and lasting fame, Starkey left America for good in 1650 and settled in England. Surprisingly, his reputation as a chemist and maker of wondrous medicines preceded him, and he was welcomed into the company of the most exalted practitioners of the chemical arts, including the great Robert Boyle, who entrusted his health and that of relatives to Starkey's curative powers.

Starkey entered into contracts and drew close to the alchemical circle fostered by the intellectual entrepreneur Samuel Hartlib, and for a time everything a man might desire seemed to be within arm's reach, not least the manufacture of the elusive philosophical mercury with which lead would become gold, the ultimate gift of a beneficent Deity. Soon, however, Starkey's life began to unravel for reasons not wholly known. His diary suggests that he was plagued by too great a fondness for drink, and he apparently made promises that could not be kept, perhaps even swindling some of his investors in the process. Eventually Starkey was abandoned by most of his early admirers, hounded from lodging to lodging by irate creditors, and sentenced to ten months in prison (more likely house arrest) for an unspecified transgression. In sum, a living hell.

Yet George Starkey was no charlatan. Even as the adept's material fortunes waned he was penetrating nature's secrets as few before him had done, and at the same time keeping faith with the alchemical fathers by secretly composing some of the most intriguing and erudite treatises in existence. Isaac Newton, arguably the most accomplished alchemist of the next generation, prized the writings of Philalethes above all others, and incorporated certain of their contents into his hypotheses on the nature of light and the principle of force.

Although the reader little familiar with alchemy will find Newman's study difficult going in places, there is no second guessing its value to historians of varied intellectual interests. The author has composed a unique and probing study in the history of ideas, a work of definitive merit that will likely remain the standard for decades to come.

GALE E. CHRISTIANSON
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ADAM B. SELIGMAN. *Innerworldly Individualism: Charismatic Community and Its Institutionalization*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction. 1994. Pp. xii, 254. \$34.95.

Adam B. Seligman is a daring sociologist, to be commended for his dangerous voyage into tricky historical waters, the problematic relationship of religion, nationalism, and modernity in the Western experience, as manifested in seventeenth-century New England. Seligman comes armed with weighty theoretical agen-

das: the Weberian models of ascetic Protestantism and charismatic community. But Seligman's ship, and his deployment of these models, founders on treacherous shores, most importantly his misreading of the role of the seventeenth-century Puritanism in framing an American national civil religion.

Seligman is interested in "the charismatic roots of nation formation" and modernity (p. 1), and he sees the evolution of New England Puritanism from the Great Migration to the Great Awakening as paradigmatic of a process by which modern nations emerged from charismatic beginnings. He opens his analysis with an overview of Western Christianity from its origins as an "axial" religion separating the secular from the sacred in charismatic antistructural communities and in millenarian expectations, the blunting of these sharp edges in the routinization of medieval Christianity, and their reappearance in the Reformation, especially as manifested in Puritanism. Here many will object that Seligman places far too much weight on the very slim evidence that millennial belief was deeply rooted among early New England Puritans. The bulk of his book (chaps. 2-5) is devoted to a familiar story: the initial formation of communities of Puritan saints, the sectarian challenges to their authority, and the institutionalization that led to the Half-Way Covenant and the jeremiad sermon. Here the contradiction of charismatic challenges to charismatic Puritan communities is not really confronted, and the political challenges of imperial authorities is ignored, puzzling in a study that aspires to explain the emergence of nationalism.

The real problems come in Seligman's final two chapters, in which he attempts to derive the American nation from New England Puritanism. Seligman's central thesis is that "the interweaving of religious and civil traditions that came to characterize the civil society tradition of the United States" (p. 186) was grounded in a successful institutionalization of Puritanism in organizational and psychological terms, most obviously in the Great Awakening, but also in Solomon Stoddard's inclusive communion and Cotton Mather's formation of a few reform societies. There is simply an utter mismatch between operator and outcome: historians have long since abandoned any interpretation grounding the American nation in Puritanism, and even if we confine ourselves to the New England national identity, Stoddard's and Mather's innovations pale before, for example, the broader implications of George Whitefield's oration to the troops sailing to reduce the fortress at Louisburg. Similarly, Seligman is way off the mark in seeing Cotton Mather's participation in a Baptist ordination in 1718 as sufficient evidence for a widespread religious toleration in early eighteenth-century Massachusetts Bay. Most fundamentally, the modernity that Seligman posits for this world most historians have trouble locating even a century later.

These errors in judgment and interpretation are as unfortunate as they are obvious, for Seligman is work-

ing on an important problem. The relationship of civil and religious categories in both early New England and broader American national culture is of great consequence. But for at least two decades the consensus has been that one cannot leap from one to the other without carefully examining the American Revolution, the Second Great Awakening, and the many countervailing regional constructions of American nationalism.

JOHN L. BROOKE
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ANNE ELIZABETH YENTSCH. *A Chesapeake Family and Their Slaves: A Study in Historical Archaeology*. Assisted by JULIE HUNTER. (New Studies in Archaeology.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xxxiii, 433. \$24.95.

Anne Elizabeth Yentsch is a woman on a mission. She is a historical archaeologist bent on converting us all to the true faith. Historians, archaeologists, and ethnographers must listen and learn from each other, and she promises to show us how. She combines the methods and sources of all three disciplines to "understand" the dynamic interactions of an elite family and its African-American servants within a specific community at a point in time, Annapolis, Maryland, from 1727 to 1734.

Yentsch begins with an archaeological site: the residence of Captain Charles Calvert, governor of Lord Baltimore's Proprietary Colony of Maryland. To place that site in its physical and historical context, she provides a geographical overview of the Chesapeake tidewater and of Annapolis, and she then supplies a brief narrative account of the colony to orient the reader. She limns short biographies of pertinent Calvert males who came to the colony, then turns to a closer examination of the Calverts occupying the premises in question, located near the statehouse on the hill overlooking Annapolis harbor. She moves backward and forward in time and across the Atlantic to situate them in their political, social, and familial roles, and by imaginative means to immerse the reader in the Calverts' own sense of who they were. This is all the elite "British" side of Maryland's developing society, and it gets to be a bit much with its emphases on "social space" and "discourses," but it is useful for understanding the significance of the layout and artifacts of the site.

After dealing with the Calvert side, Yentsch turns to the African members of the household, again going back and forth across the Atlantic to build conjectural portraits of the slaves and their daily comings and goings. This is a far more difficult task, requiring some grasp of early eighteenth-century West Africa and of the communities and lives created in the New World by its enslaved emigrants. Yentsch applies insights derived from disparate times and places to interpret the lives and behavior of the blacks in the Calvert household, and, on the whole, she uses this indirect material sensitively and appropriately. There are mo-

ments when she stretches a possibility into a probability and a probability into something more.

Having introduced both groups of players to the stage, Yentsch then places the artifacts from the site into their hands, the one side serving and shaping the other, while retaining and reshaping African ways of doing things. Perhaps because she can portray them through their workaday tasks, she succeeds in rendering them more clearly than the Calverts, whose women and children remain shrouded from sight.

Rather than wrapping up the book at this point, Yentsch moves on to consider the contrasts provided by a later Calvert couple living in revolutionary Maryland. This is a splendid chapter that imparts a dynamic dimension to the story by laying out the trends and shifts in Chesapeake society between 1730 and 1775. The language here is freer of jargon and much more highly focused than elsewhere and might usefully have served as a conclusion, but two more chapters follow, directed principally at archaeologists and ethnographers.

Yentsch has clear biases: the Calverts not only embody political power circa 1730 but she believes they also wielded an irresistible influence over the tastes and opinions of a passive, mutable white Maryland society who seem unattached to any economic system. This follows from a focus on an elite urban site, as Yentsch acknowledges, but also contradicts the dynamism evidenced by later events.

The work contains many good illustrations, provocative quotations, and some excellent passages, but these are diminished by excessive theorizing and unclear organization. Historical archaeology and material culture are promising new modes of looking at the past, however, and traditional historians will benefit from giving them, and Yentsch, serious attention.

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M. N. S. SELLERS. *American Republicanism: Roman Ideology in the United States Constitution*. New York: New York University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 349. \$45.00.

If the formal education of eighteenth-century Americans was largely devoted to the languages and history of ancient Rome and Greece, then no one should be surprised that political essayists often adopted pseudonyms such as "Brutus" or even that a master might name a slave "Cicero." The basic premise of M. N. S. Sellers's book, however, is that today's scholars do not understand the nation's early development because they "do not share the founding generation's classical training or interests" (p. x). Sellers contends that historians have overlooked the "extent to which Americans' republican sensibilities derived from Roman models" (p. 20).

Sellers does not and cannot show that scholarship is actually so remiss, but he does provide an impressive

account of what he calls "the pervasive Latinity of the age" (p. 18). He reviews the iconography of currency and government seals, discusses the frequent use of Roman pen names, and notes the classical allusions of journalists ranging from Cato to Publius. The ultimate goal is to understand "the mythology and narratives" (p. 5) behind the word "republic" when the Constitution was ratified.

The book labors to resurrect the reputation of John Adams and to emphasize his Roman ideal of a mixed and balanced government consisting of the one, the few, and the many. Adams's *Defenses of the Constitutions of the United States of America* is regarded as the most important sourcebook on republicanism during the writing and ratification of the Constitution. Most of his views prevailed at the federal convention of 1787, Sellers believes, and were endorsed again by the voters who made him vice president and president. Adams can be belittled "only if one takes the destruction of oligarchy and growth of democracy as the intended or natural consequence of the United States Constitution" (p. 35), a position the author flatly rejects.

Sellers contends that Americans differed less about the nature of republicanism in 1787 than about the means of preserving it. Federalists feared the passions of the people and Antifederalists were suspicious of strong, centralized government, but "all shared a basic conception of the republic, which they inherited from Rome" (p. 6). The Roman conception included the pursuit of the common good through liberty, justice, the rule of law, and public virtue. According to Sellers, the central innovations of American republicanism were large election districts and the vetoes the executive and Senate could use against the representatives of the people.

This study has a number of blind spots. It ignores the momentous efforts of the Federalists to achieve a limited government and of Antifederalists to obtain a bill of rights. The views of the more visionary and democratically minded Americans, such as Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, are barely mentioned. The author evidently has little use for social or economic history and the recent scholarship on republicanism is cited, but hardly engaged at all.

Yet the book can serve an important pedagogical purpose for readers who want a brief introduction to the pantheon of contributors to republican thought from Polybius, Livy, Plutarch, Tacitus, Sallust, and Cicero through Sidney, Locke, and Montesquieu to James Wilson and James Madison. They are arrayed in thirty-one chapters that are often as few as three or four pages in length. The writing can be sketchy and repetitious, but the broad coverage and possibilities for comparison make this work a useful reference for anyone attempting to trace the elusive concept of republicanism.

JEFFERY A. SMITH
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MICHAEL P. ZUCKERT. *Natural Rights and the New Republicanism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1994. Pp. xx, 397. \$39.50.

This is an ambitious book with worthy aims. Michael P. Zuckert seeks to chronicle the development of Anglo-American political thought from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the eighteenth century and, importantly, wishes to draw attention to its Protestant origins. In so doing, he argues that John Locke should be viewed as a thinker who shared little in common with other seventeenth-century Whig theorists (who instead were principally influenced by Hugo Grotius). Furthermore, Zuckert holds that Lockean liberal individualism should be recognized for having revolutionized Anglo-American political thought, but beginning only in the early to middle years of the eighteenth century. Additionally, he contends that it would be most powerfully expressed in the aspirations of the American Revolution. The revolution for Zuckert, however, is not simply Lockean in the sense that it was majoritarian, but in its distinctly individualistic intentions and logic.

The book is organized into a prologue and three sections. In the prologue, Zuckert introduces his views regarding the preamble of the Declaration of Independence and its wholly Lockean origins. The first section then is given over to a lightly researched discussion of the political thought dominant in England before their Civil War. Zuckert also takes this opportunity to argue that the English political thought of this period appears dissimilar to that contained in key phrases of the Declaration of Independence. In the second section Zuckert wishes to explain the character of the political thought embraced by the Whigs at the end of the seventeenth century, and he finishes with an oddly placed and weakly argued attack on prominent American colonial historians Bernard Bailyn and Gordon Wood.

The book's third section is an insightful and absorbing exegesis of Locke's views on natural law and will be of interest to many students of Locke. Yet in this closing section of the book (there is no conclusion) Zuckert devotes only about three pages to an exploration of the "new republicanism" featured so prominently in the book's title. His remarks here on Locke, therefore, might have been integrated better with this putatively central theme. And in another surprising oversight, this section that focuses on Locke fails to advance Zuckert's claim, reiterated so frequently earlier in the book, that Locke's views on individual rights were the same as those held by revolutionary-era Americans. Indeed, one of the few mentions here of American thought is where the Declaration's language of inalienable rights is read by Zuckert through twentieth-century interpretive filters and then used to amplify and clarify Locke's seventeenth-century views on such matters (p. 245). Zuckert's lack of precision in regard to historical context, as exemplified here and throughout the book, results in authors from different

epochs being frustratingly moved freely around the historical universe.

What is not readily captured in the above description of this book's organization is its intent, for in truth it is a book committed to exploring a topic different than its early seventeenth to early eighteenth-century English subject matter. As Zuckert explains, this book is a "prequel" to the book he really intended to write (but did not) on the American founding (p. xi). So what was to be the first chapter of the original book project has become this book; yet the earlier intention of explaining America was not likewise transformed with the delimiting of the subject matter. Thus, this book is left with a divided character in which the author's seventeenth-century English evidence fits awkwardly with his desire to explain late eighteenth-century American political thought. Ironically, then, Zuckert's criticisms of J. G. A. Pocock could be just as well applied to Zuckert, for both authors attempt to explain revolutionary-era American concerns without documentation from eighteenth-century American sources. Thus, in each instance, "the textual evidence . . . is remarkably thin, and . . . [the author] processes what evidence there is through a screen so beset with a priori judgments as to amount to question-begging" (p. 171).

In sum, for Zuckert to have argued most persuasively his provocative thesis regarding the limited influence of Locke on early Whig political thought and the importance of Grotius to it, he should have focused solely on seventeenth-century English political theorists and have left for another book his thoughts on the American founding.

BARRY ALAN SHAIN
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ALAN TULLY, *Forming American Politics: Ideals, Interests, and Institutions in Colonial New York and Pennsylvania*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 566. \$45.00.

Alan Tully has written a study of early American politics that deserves to stand next to, although it does not agree with, Bernard Bailyn's *Origins of American Politics* (1968). Specialists familiar with Tully's earlier work on Pennsylvania politics have doubtless read this thoroughly researched and judicious study; it would be unfortunate, however, if others interested in the broad contours of American political history fail to take note of his provocative analysis. Whereas Tully and Bailyn may look to the colonial era for an understanding of the origins of American politics, Tully paints a picture emphasizing stability and modern liberalism in contrast to Bailyn's instability and traditional country beliefs. His conclusions derive from a middle-ground perspective between Bailyn's panoramic approach and the single case study. Tully believes that by writing a "comparative" history of New York and Pennsylvania, he can attend to the individual and at the same time move toward the general.

Part 1 is a superb example of political narrative guided by a keen analytical eye. Tully tells the separate stories of these two colonies from their turbulent early years to an era of stability and popular government. In each of five chapters he constructs parallel narratives that turn on important themes, specifically the maturation of popular government in the legislature, the formation of political organizations and the emergence of popular politics, and the development of "rights consciousness" (p. 164) in the electorate. Although distinct constitutional frameworks and social organization caused these two political systems to evolve in their own ways, both colonies were moving in the same direction toward stable and oligarchic government based on the confidence of the electorate.

Tully's comparative focus allows him to attend to both similarities and the unique. He observes that English ideas could not be successfully transplanted to America and moves on to analyze each colony's distinct development. Two forms of popular government emerged. New York's factiousness and its legislature's predisposition to regulate by law stood in contrast to Pennsylvania's outward calm and its assembly's reluctance to legislate regulation. The colonies were not like England, but they were also different in "social values" (p. 340) and "sociopolitical temperaments" (p. 352). In what may be one of the most important sections of the book, Tully concludes that J. G. A. Pocock's language of country/court division is "oversimplified and distorted" (p. 224) and he instead describes two different political languages: New York's popular and provincial Whiggery and Pennsylvania's "civic Quakerism."

Tully has much to say about current historiographical issues, especially in the text and notes of part 2. Although he distances himself from both the republican argument and what he labels the "apologists" for mobs (pp. 359–60), he contends that the colonies were moving in their own ways toward a modern liberal politics marked by a "voluntaristic" consciousness (p. 380) and "the legitimation of partisan politics" (p. 425). The last, and too brief, chapter discusses the difference between public and private languages and concludes that the "components of a liberal worldview" were, although "inchoate," emerging before the revolution crisis (p. 390).

Like any good history this book will raise questions. Some will wonder whether Tully fully appreciates the stakes of political conflict; others may wish that he had used the legislative rollcalls as Benjamin Newcomb did in his *Political Partisanship in the American Middle Colonies* (1995), and some may wonder whether Tully's argument requires a time frame extending into the national period (see John Brooke, *The Heart of the Commonwealth* [1989]). No matter. This book stands as an excellent example of the current status of political history, its achievements, and its agenda for the future.

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MARK VALERI. *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England: The Origins of the New Divinity in Revolutionary America*. (Religion in America Series.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 205.

Since 1932, Joseph Haroutunian's *Piety versus Moralism: The Passing of the New England Theology* has been the bugbear of scholars investigating American theology between the Great Awakenings. "Piety" and "moralism" set the terms of the discussion, and Jonathan Edwards became the standard of measurement for those succeeding him. In Haroutunian's polemical, impassioned book, none of Edwards's successors measures up, and his disciples, chiefly Joseph Bellamy, Samuel Hopkins, and John Barnard, fail dismally: pretending to perpetuate Edwardsean doctrines, they actually surrender the great man's demanding, Calvinist piety to Enlightenment moralism, yielding at crucial points to Arminian insistence on efficacious human effort. The resulting "New Divinity," which Bellamy and Hopkins taught to scores of ministers during the latter half of the eighteenth century, ultimately dominated American (especially New England) Protestantism. (In 1869 Harriet Beecher Stowe recalled in *Old-town Folks* her grandmother's statement that Bellamy's *True Religion Delineated* [1750] "was heedfully and earnestly read in every good family of New England; and its propositions were discussed everywhere and by everybody.") For Haroutunian, however, this triumph represented self-delusion at best, betrayal at worst.

For Mark Valeri, *True Religion Delineated* emerged from a genuine crisis of conscience Bellamy faced during the Great Awakening. Deeply distressed by his New Light party's enthusiasm and separatism, he grudgingly granted Charles Chauncy his point—the Awakening was not advancing moral virtue—but he could hardly join Chauncy's opposition to evangelical Calvinism and the Awakening itself. Instead, Bellamy determined henceforward "to seek a connection between regeneration and moral virtue, the doctrines of Calvinism and duties to social order" (p. 48). Studying the books of foes as well as friends, he finally "found a grammar with which to unite doctrinal fidelity and ethical responsibility—without concession to Arminian notions of the covenant. The rhetoric of law could be made to chasten radicals, disprove liberalism, and vindicate Calvinism" (pp. 49–50). It defined "a Calvinist God who was neither mysterious, capricious, nor tyrannical but intelligible in common moral discourse" (p. 50). Bellamy and his disciples concluded, therefore, that he had located the key allowing Calvinism both piety and moralism without contradiction. The record shows that his scheme comforted multitudes and gained uncommon popularity.

Naturally, the shadow of Haroutunian's formula falls over Valeri's doctrinal chapters and lurks in the footnotes. Valeri deftly navigates these doctrinal matters, making the case for Bellamy (sympathetically but not uncritically; he gives Haroutunian his due) in clear, taut prose. Yet Valeri takes his analysis beyond the

piety-moralism formula into economics and revolutionary politics, thereby challenging recent scholarship finding Bellamy and Hopkins atemporal and politically indifferent. Circumstances, Valeri argues, made Bellamy face the ramifications of his rhetoric of law, and Bellamy's ability to adapt to circumstances accounts for his great success. Economic change made him ask whether moral virtue can survive while an emerging market economy rewards the unregenerate's pursuit of selfish interests. Natural disasters, military catastrophes, and social calamity during the French and Indian Wars challenged Bellamy's claim that "God's moral perfections may be known by his moral government of the world" (p. 112). In a particularly intriguing chapter, Valeri connects New Divinity with revolution: Bellamy, he argues, "gradually concluded that God willed to enforce the moral law with American independence." His theology "in fact culminated in a validation of worldly activism and armed rebellion" (p. 141), a position linking Valeri with Alan Heimert's thesis connecting evangelism and revolution but not exactly explaining how Bellamy's Old Light antagonist Charles Chauncy also became a leader of the revolutionary "Black Regiment" of ministers.

How did this Connecticut man, considered personally difficult and irascible by his contemporaries, sustain such intellectual prominence for a half-century? Valeri locates the New Divinity's genius not only in its apparent balance between piety and moralism but also in Bellamy's capacity to display Calvinism's pertinence, at nearly every point, to the local issues and concerns of common folk. This intriguing study gives us a genuinely complex Bellamy and provides his movement with new significance for intellectual history.

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PETER J. WOSH. *Spreading the Word: The Bible Business in Nineteenth-Century America*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 271. \$35.00.

Voluntary associations have long dotted the landscape of antebellum American historiography, but rarely have historians peered inside the business offices of these organizations to discover how they worked and how they changed over time. Peter J. Wosh's book on the American Bible Society (ABS) is a splendid exception to this rule. On its face, it appears to be an "in-house history," written by the organization's own archivist/librarian. But in fact it is much more. Wosh describes how the American Bible Society was transformed in the mid-nineteenth century "from a missionary moral reform organization to something very new and very different: a national nonprofit corporate bureaucracy" (p. 10). In other words, the story of the ABS becomes the story of the birth of the modern not-for-profit sector in American business.

The American Bible Society, which still operates from offices in New York City, was founded in 1816,

one of the first of many national organizations that sprang up after the War of 1812. Like other organizations in the "benevolent empire," the ABS in its early years had a grand and universal ambition: to save the country and the world by supplying everyone with scripture. To this end, the ABS set up an enormous printing plant in New York and a far-flung organizational apparatus of auxiliaries and agencies, first in the United States and then abroad. Gradually, however, in the face of religious, ethnic, and sectional pluralism, the dream of universal Christian consensus faded, and the ABS narrowed its mission and systematized its business operations. By the late nineteenth century, the society was no longer run by millennialist reformers but by sharp-penciled businessmen, cost accountants, and career-oriented professional bureaucrats. Even in the growing field of Bible work abroad, ABS agents metamorphosed from missionaries into businessmen. "Religion had become a problem of effective marketing," Wosh concludes (p. 250).

Wosh does a marvelous job of describing this great transformation. He explores changes in business structure and method as well as changes in personnel. The latter may be the book's most original feature. Wosh painstakingly reconstructs the careers of scores of people associated with the ABS, including top-level managers, regional agents, and agents overseas. These collective biographies (and illustrative individual lives drawn from them) clearly support Wosh's thesis: the American Bible Society—in goal, in business structure, and in personnel—changed dramatically from 1830 to 1880. Curiously, however, despite his valiant effort to write a story of people as well as business structure, a vital human dimension is largely missing: religious belief. Wosh clearly demonstrates the differences in business style between the ABS men of the 1820s and those of the 1880s. But how did they differ in their understanding of Christianity, of grace and atonement, of conversion and evangelism, of the nature of the Bible itself? Did the business of the ABS change because American business changed? Or did the Bible men's core religious beliefs change as well? Was American religious philanthropy transformed by the external business culture? Or did change grow from within? Although Wosh circles around these questions, he never fully engages them, because he never quite penetrates the heads and hearts of the men who wrought the changes he so skillfully describes.

This book, then, like R. Laurence Moore's *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture* (1994), is in the vanguard of an important new historiography: the study of the business of religion and philanthropy in nineteenth-century America. But as we come to understand that in America religion is business, we should not forget that religion is religion as well.

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RANDY J. SPARKS. *On Jordan's Stormy Banks: Evangelicalism in Mississippi, 1773–1876*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 1994. Pp. viii, 281. \$45.00.

"In the Old South," Randy J. Sparks writes, "a religion based on love, egalitarianism, and selflessness confronted a socioeconomic system grounded in violence, inequality, and materialism" (p. 201). That pithy statement nicely summarizes the enigma of evangelicalism in the antebellum South, and the author's narrative outlines the unfolding of that enigma in Mississippi from the revolutionary era through Reconstruction.

Mendicant preachers brought evangelicalism to Mississippi. It appealed first to the "plain folk," who consciously set themselves apart from those Sparks refers to as the "pillared folk," because of the grandeur of their domiciles. As Nathan O. Hatch and G. A. Rawlyk have demonstrated in other contexts, the radical egalitarianism of evangelicalism challenged the stratified, hierarchical structure of Mississippi society. The camp meetings of the Great Revival, with their gospel music and their chanted, ungrammatical sermons, popularized these themes, and so pervasive was this assault on the culture of manners and deference that evangelicals even "welcomed slaves into their churches on terms approaching equality" (p. 2).

Sparks maintains that biracial congregations were more common than previously supposed. Although never fully integrated into white churches, African Americans early in the antebellum period enjoyed good relationships with their fellow congregants. About the time of Nat Turner's rebellion, however, proslavery ideology cascaded from Mississippi pulpits, and slaves were more rigorously segregated into balconies or separate enclosures. The defenses of slavery, the author contends, coincided with the movement from sectarianism to denominations and from a congregational to a clerical ministry. An increasing number of clergy "abandoned the traditional evangelical emphasis on the equality of believers for a more hierarchical, corporate view of the religious community, a change with tremendous implications for blacks and women" (p. 116).

The reassertion of the patriarchal household imposed limitations on women in the home, in their associational life, and in the churches. Despite their numerical dominance in the churches, women were barred from the pulpit, testified occasionally, and played only a minor role in the administration of ecclesiastical discipline. "With an impressive display of exegesis," Sparks writes "proslavery clergymen forged links between religion, family, slavery, and society in a way that maximized their influence" (p. 123). The onset of the Civil War, however, undermined that influence, as the orderly, patriarchal society began to unravel. As Confederate fortunes suffered, Mississippi clergy resorted to jeremiads that "castigated southerners for their transgressions and blamed Confederate defeats on a sinful people" (p. 180). The Reconstruction era, which was punctuated with religious revivals

among both the black and the white communities, brought an end to biracial worship, led to the segregation of religious life between black and white, and solidified the church as the center of the black community. In the throes of military defeat, moreover, the white clergy issued a clarion call for renewal of the covenant and, in so doing, articulated the religion of the Lost Cause.

Sparks provides not so much a revision of previous scholarship as much as a careful, meticulous corroboration of earlier studies by Hatch, Rawlyk, Donald G. Mathews, Albert J. Raboteau, Jean E. Friedman, John B. Boles, and Charles Reagan Wilson. That in no way diminishes the importance of this book. The author has immersed himself in the sources, but he emerges not with a narrow, tightly focused monograph, but rather with an astute, nuanced, and highly readable book.

RANDALL BALMER
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CHARLES C. COLE, JR., *Lion of the Forest: James B. Finley, Frontier Reformer*. (The Ohio River Valley Series.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xv, 271. \$32.95.

Charles C. Cole, Jr.'s book is the first published biography of James B. Finley (1781–1857), Methodist minister. Cole, who is also the author of *The Social Ideas of Northern Evangelists, 1826–1860* (1954), discusses Finley's role as circuit rider in the opening of the Ohio Territory, as missionary to the Wyandot Indians, and as proponent of temperance, prison, and antislavery reform.

Between 1790 and 1850, the population of the Ohio Territory grew from 3,000 to 1.9 million, the proportion of Methodists in that population reached 10 percent, and the number of Methodist ministers climbed from eight to over 500. Finley was among the earliest of those Methodist ministers, whose remarkable effectiveness, Cole argues, can be attributed to their success in creating an organization well suited to evangelizing an expanding frontier area; to their providing a doctrinal message that frontier settlers welcomed; and to their remarkable perseverance and inspired activity. Cole emphasizes Finley's commitment to the frontier camp meeting, which, although controversial, he defended in typically utilitarian terms. "For practical exhibition of religion, for unbounded hospitality to strangers, for unfeigned and fervent spirituality," he wrote, nothing else worked quite so well (p. 31).

Cole is expansive on Finley's work among the Wyandot Indians of northern Ohio. He was remarkably successful, converting some 250 Wyandots to Methodism by 1826. Just as important, however, Finley established a school among the Wyandots and, although insisting that they abandon their traditional culture for that of the whites, he became their protector and

defender against unscrupulous white agents, traders, and speculators. Finley was particularly outspoken in his opposition to the federal government's Indian removal policy, but he lost that battle and the Wyandots were forced to relocate west of the Mississippi.

Finley was destined to achieve significant, albeit fleeting, national notice only once, and that was unintended. At the Methodist General Conference of 1844, radical antislavery delegates moved to expel Bishop James Andrew of South Carolina for owning slaves. Finley, a moderate opponent of slavery, substituted a motion wherein Andrew would step down only until the "impediment" of his owning slaves was removed. Finley made it clear, Cole shows, that he hoped Andrew would be encouraged by his resolution to "free himself from the incubus of slavery" and return to office (p. 142). But clearly there was more at stake than the specific case of Bishop Andrew. Finley's motion carried, yet Andrew and all of his southern brethren, save one, stood opposed, and before adjourning the conference was forced to vote a Plan of Separation.

Appropriate to its subject, Cole's book is "a solid little book," well researched and written from the rather extensive Finley papers on file at the United Methodist Archives at Ohio Wesleyan University. It is worthy to be the first book in the University Press of Kentucky's Ohio River Valley series. Despite Cole's efforts, however, Finley is likely to be of interest only to those with an already well-developed taste for the history, especially religious, of the Ohio region.

BRYAN LE BEAU
Creighton University

ANDIE TUCHER, *Froth and Scum: Truth, Beauty, Goodness, and the Ax Murder in America's First Mass Medium*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 257. Cloth \$34.95, paper \$13.95.

This is a deceptively complex book. In what initially resembles a routine "true crime" account of a pair of sensationally sleazy murders, Andie Tucher presents a solid social history of the early years of the American "penny press" in the 1830s and 1840s: what she describes as "America's first mass medium." She then proceeds to evaluate the changing concepts of truthfulness and objectivity in the emerging genre of popular journalism and easily discredits claims that the penny papers truly aspired to objectivity, still less achieved it. Editors and journalists often did seek a form of truthfulness or "facticity" by means of the ultimate five questions of what, who, where, why, and when; but not even a mountain of the "plain facts" obtained by such means could ensure that the ensuing coverage approached real objectivity, much less truth.

The two cases Tucher employs to illustrate this argument are both loosely "ax murders." The first, in 1836, involved the murder of New York prostitute Helen Jewett by a young drygoods clerk, while the victim of the second attack was a respectable printer killed in 1841 by John Colt, a teacher of bookkeeping

who also happened to be the brother of Samuel Colt. Both cases well demonstrate the rapidly developing role of the popular journalist as people's tribune and searcher for truth, a concept exemplified in so many later films and novels; and in both instances, press coverage played a critical role in ensuring that guilty individuals escaped justice. In the Jewett case, *New York Herald* editor James Gordon Bennett staged a flamboyant and ultimately successful crusade in defense of the obviously guilty suspect. In 1841, the massed forces of the press apparently reported every aspect of the savage murder but conspicuously failed to explore vital information about the relationships of the protagonists, apparently for fear of ruining a good morality play.

In both instances, the press thus contributed to the triumph of humbug and mendacity. Crucially, Tucher blames this not on the moral failings of individual editors but on structural factors inherent in news and newsmaking, especially the tendency to see the participants in "true crimes" less as real individuals than as moral or political symbols of contemporary social conflicts and concerns, often involving issues of class, gender, and race. For both her advocates and detractors, Jewett ceased to exist as a real murdered woman and was transformed into a symbol, variously perceived as representing wounded innocence, the seducer of innocent young men, or the whore of New Babylon. John Colt became an archetypal loose-living philanderer, striking at the heart of bourgeois rectitude.

There are some areas in this book that deserve better discussion, and it is disappointing that Tucher makes no attempt to place the situation of the American press against the European and especially British background. Bennett himself was a recent immigrant from Scotland, and it would be interesting to know whether he or his contemporaries were influenced by the lively traditions of the British radical press. Yet Tucher offers much that is valuable and thought-provoking. Her background as a practicing journalist and former campaign speechwriter contributes to making this book a readable, racy, and often funny study of an important aspect of antebellum social history. Among the book's many virtues is the author's repeated concern to stress the relevance of these ancient scandals for contemporary debate about the nature of journalism and, indirectly, for the relationship between fact and truth in modern historical debate.

PHILIP JENKINS
Pennsylvania State University

ERIC HOMBERGER. *Scenes from the Life of a City: Corruption and Conscience in Old New York*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 358. \$30.00.

Nineteenth-century New York City is a hot topic. From Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar's comprehensive history of Central Park (*The Park and the People* [1992]) to Paul Johnson and Sean Wilentz's

evocative chronicle of the self-proclaimed prophet Matthias (*The Kingdom of Matthias* [1994]) to Caleb Carr's best-selling fiction of the Victorian underworld (*The Alienist* [1994]), Gotham has generated a lively and expanding literature on itself. Eric Homberger's book is the newest entry. The author examines "the problems posed by an alien threatening underclass" and the fears by native-born New Yorkers that the mid-nineteenth-century community was in a process of evaporation.

This is a highly readable, fast-paced narrative. Organized in four lengthy chapters, the book focuses on the same number of paradigmatic individuals. Dr. Stephen Smith, a Bellevue Hospital surgeon, hygienic reformer, and editor of the *New York Journal of Medicine* embodies sanitary reform. The life and career of Ann Lohman, better remembered as "Madam Restelle," represents the changing attitudes regarding abortion and professional medicine. The rise of machine politics and defeat of the first corrupt urban "ring" are captured in the public ascendance of Richard "Slippery Dick" Connolly, comptroller of New York during the reign of William M. Tweed. Elite, middle-class, and Protestant reform efforts are personified by Frederick Law Olmsted, a designer of Central Park. Homberger employs these biographical vignettes as windows from which to view larger social issues. The author's command of particular details, especially his extensive quoting of sources, is one of the book's strengths. The final result is a complex panorama of nineteenth-century reformers, their self-characterization, rhetoric, tactics, and finally the objects of their reform.

But this narrative method undermines itself. In each case, Homberger falters in linking these emblematic figures to the larger social movements that they represent. Why, for example, does Dr. Stephen Smith replace Dr. John Griscom as the embodiment of sanitary reform? Students of the subject will still rely on the work of Gert Brieger, John Duffy, and Charles Rosenberg for answers. Similarly, the richly delineated accounts of Madame Restelle and Richard Connolly fail to situate these subjects in the larger histories of abortion and machine politics, respectively. Interested readers will continue turning to James Mohr, Alexander Callow, Leo Hershkowitz, and Amy Bridges for the broader, contextual implications of these individuals. And after David Schuyler, Albert Fein, Melvin Kalfus, Elizabeth Stevenson, Laura Wood Roper, and Blackmar and Rosenzweig, can anything new be said about Frederick Law Olmsted? Homberger occasionally incorporates these and other important pieces of scholarship, but much of his book nonetheless remains derivative.

More importantly, readers will search in vain for a discussion of gender, the changing meaning of class, or even conflict among Gotham's many and varied immigrant groups (which by this time represented approximately three-fourths of the populace). Too often, Homberger assumes the accuracy of binary views of

nineteenth-century reformers. New York is depicted as a metropolis divided into rich and poor, affluence and misery, daylight and darkness. Such dichotomies fail to engage the complex ways gender, ethnicity, and religion affected the social fabric of New York. Indeed, Homberger ignores many of his fellow historians of Gotham who have tackled these issues. The rich and penetrating analyses found in the work of Steven Eric, Lori Ginzberg, Elliott Gorn, Edward Pessen, David Reynolds, Kenneth Scherzer, Christine Stansell, Richard Stott, and Wilentz appear nowhere in the endnotes, much less the text. Ultimately, this book reflects the virtues and vices of narrative history: an engaging, exciting tale marred by the repetition of familiar and sometimes overworked themes.

TIMOTHY J. GILFOYLE
Loyola University of Chicago

GARLAND A. HAAS. *The Politics of Disintegration: Political Party Decay in the United States, 1840 to 1900*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland. 1994. Pp. viii, 287. \$35.00.

Garland A. Haas's purpose is to present a brief account of the history of American political parties from their settling in by 1840 to the end of the century when party history entered a new era. He notes that his work is the fruit of many years of teaching a survey course in American political history and that he wishes to emphasize the personalities, groups, and events that dotted the political landscape in this era. The story presented is fairly standard and does not delve much below the surface of what went on. The bulk of the book is a review of each presidential election in turn, descriptions of each political party that appeared on the scene, and reviews of some issues and legislation. The presentation is very brief on any individual matter and much of it reads like a simple listing of people, parties, and so on. Haas does present an argument, that, in these sixty years, American political parties declined, although the argument is neither clear as to meaning nor textured or sustained, nor does his presentation add anything new to scholarly discourse on these matters.

In fact, it is not clear to whom the book is addressed. There are several general histories of American political parties around, both old and new, that are more than adequate for student use. Haas's argument, such as it is, will not detain scholars long since there is an enormous monographic literature about political parties in this era to which this book adds little. Perusing his footnotes and bibliography raises additional questions, given the absence of many of the best of this recent work. Most of the listings go back before 1970 and some key items that one would expect would be valuable and necessary, for example, by William Gienapp, Richard Sewell, and Margaret S. Thompson, among others, are not included. There are errors as well. Haas seems to think that Justus Doenecke, not David Donald, wrote *The Politics of Reconstruction* (1965). Most important, there is an old-fashioned air

to the whole (were the Radical Republicans really the "despoilers of American politics" as is suggested in the third chapter?) that detracts from whatever value this book may have.

JOEL H. SILBEY
Cornell University

JOAN BURBICK. *Healing the Republic: The Language of Health and the Culture of Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Cambridge Studies in American Literature and Culture, number 82.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 355. \$59.95.

Joan Burbick assesses nineteenth-century medical and literary texts to demonstrate that middle-class Americans created a "national culture" at the "same moment that many citizens believed the emergent nation was diseased and in need of healing" (p. 301). In the first half of the century, Americans had "two competing discourses of health" (p. 6). One discourse was a "language of common sense" that empowered ordinary Americans to practice domestic medicine in defiance of the claims of "manipulative elites." The alternative discourse was a "language of physiological law," drawn from French and German sources. Physiology created a product for elite physicians to market because it was a source of "universal dictates about the body that the educated citizen could understand and must obey" (p. 7).

After mid-century, the "body of the American citizen . . . stripped of common sense" became "overstimulated by material desires" (p. 301). This overstimulation created health problems and metaphors for Americans in areas of the body that Burbick labels the "brain," the "heart," the "nerves," and the "eye."

Burbick elaborates this argument by analyzing in each of fourteen chapters several primary sources against a lightly sketched context attributed to a modest number of secondary works. Burbick's contribution is to combine sources that are well known to historians of medicine (such as those by Samuel Thomson, Benjamin Waterhouse, Jacob Bigelow, and Oliver Wendell Holmes) with those regularly assessed by scholars of literature (for example, Herman Melville, Henry David Thoreau, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Walt Whitman). Her chapters on the eye assess visual sources, especially photographs, although she is unaware of recent secondary works.

Burbick intends her book to contribute to neo-Gramscian discourse about hegemony and hence to the reform of contemporary America. Participants in this discourse can assess the significance of her claim that "counter-hegemony . . . occurs by . . . knowing where the fissures are within the structures of domination in order to refigure the world we have inherited" (p. 9). Such experts can then judge whether it is appropriate for Burbick to conclude that the "twenty-first century must . . . invent a form of reflexive nationalism that fosters dynamic political and economic

discussions of our needs as people within a global context" (p. 306).

Whatever the judgment of dialecticians, it is worth noting that Burbick conducts no analysis outside of her chosen primary sources. She accepts without critical analysis such concepts as "hegemony," "bourgeois," and "market capitalism." Neither does she assess competing interpretations of political, economic, and social history. Perhaps as a result, Burbick does not describe the alternatives from which she chose the thesis of the book or alert readers to variant readings of her sources.

During the last third of the twentieth century, health care became the largest industry in the United States. If Burbick's thesis is correct, nineteenth-century discourse about healthy bodies and how to achieve them helped to prepare Americans in the next century to assume that medical science is benign and progressive and that increasing the supply of knowledge and people who applied it would improve the length and quality of their lives.

DANIEL M. FOX
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PATRICIA SPAIN WARD. *Simon Baruch: Rebel in the Ranks of Medicine, 1840-1921*. (History of American Science and Technology Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 399. \$49.95.

Patricia Spain Ward has given us an engaging and well-written biography of Simon Baruch, a physician and public-health advocate whose sojourn through a rapidly changing world provides an intriguing window into American medicine and society. At the age of fifteen, Simon Baruch moved from a small Prussian village to join a friend in Camden, South Carolina. When a few years later he decided to become a physician, Baruch took the usual approach of the day and apprenticed himself to a local practitioner. Baruch then enrolled in the medical school at the University of South Carolina, served in the Confederate medical service, and was twice taken prisoner. After the war Baruch became a leading practitioner in South Carolina. Dissatisfied with the opportunities there, however, he moved to New York City in 1880, where he spent the rest of his life. Baruch's rise to prominence in the New York medical community was aided by his association with two widely publicized cases, one involving an early example of the surgical treatment of appendicitis, another the exhaustion of a child-prodigy pianist.

Baruch became an ardent advocate of water: water in the form of public "baths" (actually, what we would now call showers) for the city's poor, and water in the form of "hydrotherapy," tub baths of controlled temperature used to treat a wide range of medical ailments. In advocating such therapy Baruch turned away from the newly created microbiological revolution, which had thus far offered more in the way of inter-

esting theories than it had in improvements in clinical practice, and moved from the "ingenuity of man" to the "voice of nature" (p. 218). Baruch taught at the Columbia Medical School from 1907 to 1913, resigning his position when his course on hydrotherapy was downgraded from a requirement to an elective. From 1912 to 1918 he wrote on a variety of topics as medical editor for the *New York Sun*.

Ward uses a rich trove of manuscript sources, and her book will interest a broad range of historians. Those interested in medical practice will find much here about the day-to-day life of a practitioner. Those interested in the structure of medical care will learn about early disputes over contract practice. Social historians will find valuable insights in the debates over public baths, which were said to be a useful means of keeping the poor not only cleaner and healthier but also happier. Baruch's efforts to influence New York City politicians were met with considerable resistance, not least because of Baruch's lack of understanding of urban politics. Indeed, New York City did not open its first municipal bathhouse until 1901, long after many other U.S. cities. Ward is sensitive throughout to the importance of race, religion, and class both for the social structure of Baruch's practice and politics and for the medical ideas and theories he used and occasionally created.

JOEL D. HOWELL
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JAMES LIVINGSTON. *Pragmatism and the Political Economy of Cultural Revolution, 1850-1940*. (Cultural Studies of the United States.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 392. \$39.95.

The paradoxical notion of a postmodernist metanarrative might best describe this densely written, intricately argued, and ultimately bravura performance. The overall theoretical schema for this work by James Livingston is to be found in the unlikely, and at times rocky, marriage of G. W. F. Hegel and William James, with Karl Marx serving as best man. Livingston ambitiously attempts to "revision" (more than to revise) accounts of American intellectual, economic, and cultural history by drawing on Marxian notions of capitalist accumulation, American marginalist economic theory, Hegelian dialectics, and Jamesian radical empiricism. Livingston weaves these traditionally disparate strands into an engaging and challenging metanarrative of the shift from proprietary to consumer capitalism.

Livingston's metanarrative accepts aspects of what many historians, such as T. J. Jackson Lears and Warren Susman, have described as the birth of consumer society. But Livingston rejects the unrelenting emphasis on the numbing negatives generally associated with this transformation. His is not a simple fable of declension. To be sure, reification, through the

commodification of objects, did occur. Yet such models are weakened by romantic nostalgia for a pre-capitalistic Eden and by an inability to recognize that consumer capitalism ushered in "new models of subjectivity" (p. 75) that, according to Livingston, are rife with possibility for the self. Critique is not replaced by celebration. Livingston posits that only by a major redescription of the age of surplus, which he finds exemplified in the thought of James and John Dewey, can we hope to make the transition to a more equitable economic and cultural configuration. This is an immanent rather than an external examination of capitalism.

This book almost cries out for a negative review, given its often ponderously prolix prose and argumentation (the author employs the phrase "in other words" nearly eighty times in the text). And how can the Darwinian revolution, the very language if not the substance, of the intellectual transition that Livingston describes, be mentioned but one time? Moreover, an interpretation that employs James and Dewey without noting the deep philosophical distinctions between them is open to question. Neither is it clear that James's radical empiricist view of consciousness and his doctrine of pragmatism can bear the weight of representing what Livingston calls new post-republican notions of the self.

But weaknesses, in good dialectical fashion, are transmogrified into strengths. The circularity of the prose reveals nuances of argument and depths of understanding. The Hegelian methodology allows Livingston to dispute other historians' interpretations of the rise of consumerism, the nature of capitalist accumulation, or the politics of populist movements, while subsuming them into a larger, more inclusive, historical narrative. The discussions, often lengthy and learned, of marginalist economic theory, James's use of the term "cash-value," Lewis Mumford's misguided romanticism, Theodore Dreiser's *Sister Carrie*, and the New Woman are, quite simply, brilliant.

This book invites struggle. It is predicated, as is much of postmodern literature, on the presumption that out of wrestling with the intricacies of the text, new possibilities of narrating the past will be engaged. In this sense, the intent and implications of the volume mimic those of capitalist accumulation and surplus. Because of its immense scope and philosophical methodology, this work jauntily defies traditional historical genres. A self-conscious postmodernist marginality, when combined with Livingston's irony and insight, make this difficult book too rewarding and important to be pushed aside. All students of modern American history will profit from the currency of this volume.

GEORGE COTKIN

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DAVID E. SHI. *Facing Facts: Realism in American Thought and Culture, 1850-1920*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 394. \$35.00.

For all the writing on realism in the last fifty years, there has not been a synthesis of the cultural current that dominated American life from the mid-nineteenth century to World War I since Henry Steele Commager's *American Mind* (1950). The proliferation of new studies pointing out that practitioners and theorists within specific fields, much less across them, did not agree on what constituted the "real" or how best to represent it has undermined the coherence of realism as a cultural category. In this book, David E. Shi attempts to find unity in diversity by framing his account around the problems of realizing the shared impulse to discard distorting and artificial abstractions and confront the material world of objects, appearances, and natural forces. Torn between a "common-sense" view of truth unproblematically perceived in the tangible world and one that held with the pragmatists that the active mind made truth, realist writers, painters, and architects, Shi maintains, set out to replicate life but ended by rendering an impression of it when they encountered the problems history presented.

Identifying the first stirrings of the impulse in the 1850s, Shi traces the ways in which the Civil War, the growing cachet of science, and industrialization all undercut the viability of antebellum idealism, put new emphasis on natural explanations, and created an environment in which things dominated. Realism maintained its prominence, Shi contends, because it afforded readers and viewers the pleasure of recognition and because its championing of hard, "masculine" factuality dampened fears of the growing effeminacy of American life. At its best, in the work of William Dean Howells, Henry James, Thomas Eakins, Winslow Homer, and Louis Sullivan, realism created new insight about American life and, by extending representation and therefore importance to those previously excluded as ugly, advanced cultural democracy.

This initial burst of realism, Shi argues, had its limitations. Most notable was its retention of the genteel distaste for the working class and the rawer aspects of life, a shortcoming that the escalation of social conflict in the 1880s and 1890s highlighted. Shi praises the naturalism of Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, and the Ash Can School for closing the gap between artistic representation and social reality. In further expanding the subject matter of art, accepting the indifference of the world to human aspiration, and judging reality to be as much subjective as objective, naturalists hewed to realism more consistently and productively than had the first generation. Naturalism reinvigorated the realist impulse but it could not withstand the shocks to the view of reality as stable and solid delivered by relativist physics, Freudian psychology, and world war.

Shi's book undoubtedly will become the standard survey for students and general readers. In accessible prose, it provides a wealth of information, especially about the visual arts, jettisons the old progressive interpretation of unambivalent realist achievement, and dissects the gender politics involved. It does a true

service in resurrecting the novelist Rose Terry Cooke, the architect John Wellborn Root, and the painter Childe Hassom. No single volume can touch on every realist, but the absences of the African-American novelist Charles Chesnutt and Harold Frederic must be judged crucial omissions that detract from his demonstration of the ubiquity and force of realism. Had Shi discussed Howells's *Quality of Mercy* (1892) and *Landlord of Lion's Inn* (1897) and explored James's *Portrait of a Lady* with as much detail as he devoted to Haymarket, he might have altered his judgment that Howells had a "sunny faith in free will" (p. 229) and James practiced a "detached aestheticism" (p. 123).

These are minor blemishes, the type bound to arise in any effort this ambitious. More critical are the flaws of this work as a synthesis. Shi's admirable effort to square older and newer interpretations occasionally results, as in his discussion of the determinist strain in naturalism, in the assertion of two opposed positions or in arguments so cautiously qualified as to become trivial. Ultimately, this book is confusing on its object of study. Categorizing Edward Bellamy, who insisted he wrote romances, as a realist because *Looking Backward: 2000-1887* (1888) depends on meticulous detail conflates realism with verisimilitude and casts doubt on the utility of the category that Shi hopes to rehabilitate.

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JEAN FAGAN YELLIN and JOHN C. VAN HORNE, editors.
The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, in cooperation with the Library Company of Philadelphia. 1994. Pp. xviii, 363. Cloth \$41.50, paper \$16.95.

The interlocking fate of antislavery and the early women's rights movements in America has garnered close scrutiny ever since the publication of Aileen Kraditor's *Means and Ends in American Abolitionism* (1967). Kraditor's pioneering treatment of the woman question rates hardly more than a single historiographical mention in this collection edited by Jean Fagan Yellin and John C. Van Horne, a fact that marks the distance traveled in the past twenty-five years. Kraditor discussed the woman question as an issue within the broader history of the antislavery movement. The new scholarship has made antislavery women themselves the central focus: their class and racial identities, ideology, organizations, and varying approaches both to abolitionism and women's rights.

In a set of fifteen essays by as many historians, this volume surveys women's antislavery organizations, black antislavery women activists, and tactics of agitation. Amy Swerdlow, Nancy Hewitt, Debra Gold Hansen, and Jean R. Soderlund illustrate but do not newly interpret the tensions between women who split over

the question of women's equality. These pieces, however, do enlarge our frame of reference and add detail to a still murky history.

Other essays, like those in the section of the book titled "Black Women in the Political Culture of Reform," expand our knowledge of black activist women without necessarily saying anything strikingly new or unexpected about their activities. Emma Jones Lapsansky's essay, "The World the Agitators Made: The Counterculture of Agitation in Urban Philadelphia," invokes various popular social history themes without really providing a coherent picture of the reform community. Julie Winch's treatment of "Philadelphia's Black Female Literary Societies" brings less-familiar organizations and individuals to the fore but finds little surprising to say about them. Likewise, Anne Boylan's piece on the work of black women as benevolence and antislavery activists in New York and Boston recovers the work of an interesting set of individuals and societies who fit patterns already well known. Nell Painter's meditation on Sojourner Truth highlights some important intersections between variants of Millerism and Truth's appeal and suggests, almost as an aside, the intrinsic attraction of such a rough-hewn figure to middle-class audiences.

The final section of the book, "Strategies and Tactics," has little cohesion but makes some important points along the way. Most interesting are Deborah Bingham Van Broekhoven's essay "Method and Ideology in Women's Antislavery Petitioning" and Lee Chambers-Schiller's study of the Boston Antislavery Fair. More predictable but useful are Carolyn Williams's historical overview of female antislavery societies and Phillip Lapsansky's illustrated journey through the graphic images used by antislavery advocates and their enemies (although the direct relevance of this essay to a collection so focused on women is not clear).

Kathryn Kish Sklar's notable concluding essay, "'Women Who Speak for an Entire Nation': American and British Women at the World Anti-Slavery Convention," compares and contrasts these two groups of activists within their broader cultures and achieves what the collection as a whole does not. Sklar asks bigger questions, as big as Kraditor's but within the new realms of detailed research on women's own activities. She comes to some interesting conclusions about the broad influence of national character on even sectarian movements. "A full appreciation of antislavery women requires us to take a complex view of women's political cultures," she notes, "and locate women within the society and polity of which they were a part" (p. 332). Had the other contributors and editors taken such a statement seriously, this useful collection would have made a much more coherent statement.

ROBERT H. ABZUG
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Austin

BERNARD E. POWERS, JR., *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 377. \$36.00.

This book examines the rich and variegated story of Charleston's African Americans from the antebellum period through the mid-1880s, with a special emphasis on the shifting contours of social and economic life in the Reconstruction era. Acknowledging his debt to John Blassingame's *Black New Orleans: 1860-1880* (1973), the model for this study, Bernard E. Powers, Jr., attempts to provide "another perspective on the process of Reconstruction in South Carolina" (p. 4). Arguing that historians, especially those who have focused on Reconstruction politics, have too often portrayed blacks "merely as victims" (p. 5) and most aspects of Reconstruction "at best qualified or glorious failures" (p. 4), Powers places black Charlestonians at the center of the Reconstruction story and shows how they shaped their post-emancipation world.

Powers is correct in portraying black Charlestonians as active participants in Reconstruction and carefully traces their political activism, institution building, and their often assertive stances on race relations. Yet the author's depiction of Reconstruction historiography points to the main shortcoming of this book: its general failure to take into account recent Reconstruction scholarship, the renaissance in emancipation and Reconstruction studies in the last fifteen years. Landmark works such as Ira Berlin, *et al.*'s multivolume *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867* (1982-) and Eric Foner's *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution* (1988), along with many other studies, have focused on African Americans and the pivotal role they played in defining freedom and shaping Reconstruction. Recasting our understanding of this era, these studies provided national and regional context for intensive local studies, while at the same time raising a new set of questions for subsequent inquiries. Unfortunately, these works tend not to inform Powers's analysis. Instead, earlier studies from the late 1960s and 1970s serve as the starting point for this book. Similarly, the author fails to draw sufficiently on other recent scholarship, such as Willard Gatewood's *Aristocrats of Color* (1990), that would help place black Charleston within a broader context of southern black urban life before and after the Civil War. The fact that, as the author points out, "no other region of the South contained such a large and densely concentrated population of blacks" (p. 3)—as well as a significant free black population before the war—certainly shaped patterns of community life as well as relations between blacks and whites. We need to know how black Charleston compared with other old southern communities such as New Orleans and Savannah.

Although lacking adequate historiographical and regional context, this study nonetheless makes some important contributions. Powers shows, in a variety of ways, the continuity of class relations over the great

divide of the Civil War. Antebellum free people of color and their descendants dominated political leadership positions after the war. Moreover, many secured economic stability in the postwar era of stagnation and decline through antebellum connections with prominent whites. Members of the old black elite also found themselves in a better position than freedpeople to take advantage of educational opportunities during Reconstruction. At the same time, the Civil War and Reconstruction transformed the social structure of black Charleston, exaggerating some social divisions while diminishing others, resulting in "the emergence of new groups and a greatly accelerated process of social differentiation among black Charlestonians" (p. 161). Whereas the antebellum elite maintained its place at the top of the social pyramid, the upper class appears to have broadened its membership, admitting a "new, rising generation of Charlestonians" (p. 167).

Powers has a compelling and important story to tell that could have been broadened and deepened had he connected his account to current Reconstruction scholarship.

JANETTE THOMAS GREENWOOD
Clark University

WILLIAM GILLETTE, *Jersey Blue: Civil War Politics in New Jersey, 1854-1865*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 389. \$48.00.

Residents of New Jersey have long suffered outsiders' taunts about everything from their turnpike to their lack of distinctiveness, their odoriferous marshes, and their deteriorating cities. The lowly reputation of their state extends beyond bad jokes into historical matters of some import. For many Americans, New Jersey has achieved an unsavory, unexamined reputation as a Civil War community of traitors, a "doughface" state controlled by disloyal copperheads during the Civil War.

In his thorough investigation of New Jersey politics from the period of party realignment in the 1850s through the state's gubernatorial election in 1865, William Gillette convincingly argues that New Jersey was a loyal Union state. In the first comprehensive monograph on New Jersey during the Civil War since Charles Knapp's *New Jersey Politics during the Period of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (1924), Gillette finds the sources of the myth in confusion over the label "border," an assignation that led New Jersey to be included with slave border states. Moreover, New Jersey's position as the last northern state to abolish slavery and its attachment, along with the Confederacy, to states' rights along with its trade with the South were used as circumstantial evidence of New Jersey's wartime allegiance. So too was the state's vote in the presidential elections of 1860 and 1864, when it became, in the latter instance, the only free state to vote for the Democratic nominee George McClellan, and in 1860 the only free state not to give Abraham Lincoln its entire electoral vote.

In fact, New Jersey left an outstanding record of loyalty and was, as Gillette's title indicates, "true blue, Jersey blue." Of course, Jersey blue is not exactly New England blue, and during the war New Jersey troops suffered the stigma of disapproval. Still, as Gillette concludes, "the depiction of New Jersey as a copperhead state misrepresents the political position of most New Jerseyans and the public actions of its governors and most legislatures during the war" (p. 329).

Gillette redeems the state by a careful dissection of the positions of state leaders, party platforms, electoral behavior, legislative behavior both at the state and congressional level, and public opinion as measured by the newspapers that serve as the spine of his primary evidence. Indeed, this is traditional from-the-top-down political history that only off-handedly considers politics as social or cultural history. Neither is this a study of the state during the Civil War, although Gillette does use New Jersey's support of the war through volunteering as evidence of loyalty. Gillette also employs, happily consigned to an appendix, ecological regression estimates that allow him to reach conclusions about the voting behavior of cells of voters in successive elections.

No serious historian will hereafter consign New Jersey to either copperhead status or include it with the slave border states. No serious historian will hereafter use the state's exceptional copperheads such as U.S. Senator James Wall and Thomas Dunn English, who opposed the war, to position New Jersey on the margins of wartime Unionism. Gillette has accomplished his intention, and it is quibbling to suggest that this is a monograph that needs both a map and an ending point in Reconstruction.

JEAN H. BAKER
Goucher College

WILLIAM C. DAVIS. *"A Government of Our Own": The Making of the Confederacy*. New York: Free Press of Macmillan. 1994. Pp. x, 550. \$27.95.

They were a distinguished group drawn to an improbable place. They invoked the revolutionary spirit of 1776, although they embodied the more conservative spirit of 1787. Their charge was to frame a government and, in reflecting the diversity of their membership, to prepare a nation that called itself a Confederacy for a war some thought inevitable and others hoped would never come.

"Never in its history," writes William C. Davis in this marvelous account of the making of the Confederacy in Montgomery, Alabama, in the spring of 1861, "had the South seen such an assembly of brains, accomplishment, statesmanship and property" (p. 75). Robert Barnwell, James Chesnut, Christopher G. Memminger, and Robert B. Rhett from South Carolina; Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens, Howell Cobb, and Thomas Cobb from Georgia; William Lowndes Yancey from Alabama; and Wiley P. Harris

from Mississippi descended on the "nice, tidy Southern town" (p. 34) known as Yankee Town until its incorporation as Montgomery in 1837. They and their fellow delegates, forty-three in all, representing the six states of the lower South, gathered in early February 1861 to create a more perfect union.

There was little doubt from the beginning that the majority of delegates believed their charge to be one of restoration. "They were withdrawing from the influence of the corrupt priests of the North," the author writes, "who had perverted the existing temple, and they hoped to re-erect it here" (p. 63). Thus, they drafted a provisional constitution that closely resembled the Constitution of the United States. They approved a resolution declaring all the statutes of the United States to be in effect in the Confederacy. They chose as President Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, who had openly wept over the destruction of the Union. Davis, in turn, selected a cabinet that had as its principal criterion representation of all the states in the new Confederacy.

There is little that is new in this account. What gives it life and makes it worth reading is the sparkling prose, which readers of the prolific Davis's earlier works have come to appreciate as exemplary. Deft character sketches bring the morose "Little Aleck" Stephens, the fiery and gluttonous Robert Barnwell Rhett, the self-important Tom Cobb, and the flawed Jefferson Davis ("a wonderfully open intellect, driven by very closed mind") to life (p. 155). Equally colorful descriptions of Montgomery make puzzling the decision to convene there and saddening, yet obvious, the reasons for removing the capital to Richmond, Virginia, within three months.

With an eye for the telling anecdote and the insightful quotation, Davis makes the reader want to turn the page. Much of what would prove the Confederacy's undoing can be gleaned from following Jefferson Davis's roundabout journey through Tennessee, northern Alabama, and Georgia, en route to his inauguration. Much of the rest is discerned by the self-interested, masquerading as principled, behavior of those to whom the actual running of a government could never reasonably have been entrusted. "The most dangerous potential enemies of the new order," writes Davis, "are the disappointed ambitions of its early ideologues" (p. 143). Or, as a friend of another South Carolina delegate put it, Rhett "is so damned impractical that I am afraid he will kick up hell" (p. 11).

By summer, Montgomery, its moment of fleeting fame having passed, returned to its "provincial obscurity" (p. 399). But a Montgomery editor offered a prescient observation. "With the two opposing capitals now to be a mere hundred miles apart, they would be like two antagonists locked in the same room, too close to fight to the knife, and the knife to the hilt" (p. 398).

There is no better, fuller, or more readable account of the shaping of the Confederacy than this volume.

Both the general reader and the specialist will peruse it with profit and delight.

JOHN MCCARDELL
Middlebury College

KENNETH W. NOE. *Southwest Virginia's Railroad: Modernization and the Sectional Crisis*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 221. \$27.95.

Modern business history has grown most sophisticated, and a mark of that sophistication is the depth of understanding exhibited by studies such as this one of the multifarious sources and results feeding into and out of even such a tiny enterprise as a railroad serving a substate region. "Railroads and guano," Frederick Olmstead wrote in 1866, "seem, just now to give life and improvement to Virginia" (p. 12). He thought punctuality and intelligence would follow.

Kenneth W. Noe's book is at the same time narrow in its focus and broad in its implications. By concentrating on a small region, a short chronological scope, and a certain form of industrialization, namely the earliest railroads of southwest Virginia, he is able to illustrate the slice such an innovation makes in the total cross-section of a society: its politics and culture as well as its economic outlook and achievement. Accounts such as this also make one chary of sweeping generalization and respectful of the complexity of things. In southwest Virginia alone in the immediate pre-Civil War years, Noe identifies three distinct subregions, which not only differ in geography but also are at odds with one another over politics, class, and religion. To speak blithely of the impact of the railroad on the nation, or of the social effects of modernization worldwide, requires, as Stephen Thernstrom has argued about urban history and as Noe demonstrates for railroad history, a great number of these deep looks at complex individual cases.

Certainly Noe's book documents that many of the previous ideas among scholars, not to mention the general public, about the traditional and "premodern," "preindustrial" culture of Appalachia before the Civil War are distortions. Part of it was hindsight: hindsight to justify the creation of West Virginia and hindsight then and since to buttress the argument that slavery and industrialization were incompatible. This book shows that there was great "modernization" in the region before the Civil War, which revealed itself not only in railroad building but also in urban development, serious commercial agriculture, and even tourism, economic elements that have been previously understood to have emerged only after 1880. The railroad served to integrate the region with larger markets and to intensify these trends. There were alternative scenarios for the future that would have involved slavery operating "successfully" from an economic standpoint in an industrial economy. Here Noe's book illustrates the peculiar institution in transition much as does earlier work on urban slavery.

This is hardly traditional railroad history: the tech-

nical and business aspects of railroad-building play a subordinate role. It is rather a study of the impact of a business type on the fate of a region already in both transition and crisis. This book, although well written, is not light reading; serious techniques such as heavy quantitative analysis are well tied to the thesis. Its core is not much more than ten years of the history of a small region, but it resonates with ideas about the stakes of change everywhere.

CRAIG MINER
Wichita State University

ROBERT TRACY MCKENZIE. *One South or Many? Plantation Belt and Upcountry in Civil War-Era Tennessee*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 213. \$39.95.

Using eight Tennessee counties as a basis for investigation, Robert Tracy McKenzie examines two issues of major interest to nineteenth-century southern historians: the nature and degree of interregional diversity and the degree of continuity/discontinuity from the antebellum to the postbellum years. Three of the counties are in the state's mountainous eastern region; three in Middle Tennessee, where farmers used slaves to produce foodstuffs rather than cotton; and two in the western area, which was dominated by slaveholding cotton planters. Most of the evidence is quantitative data on the farm populations of these counties drawn from the United States censuses of 1850-80. Thus, the study "pays closer attention to structure and behavior than to consciousness or *mentalité*" (p. 9). McKenzie is also admirably forthright in stating that his work is a case study that cannot be presented as "typical" of Tennessee, let alone the entire South.

McKenzie first examines the size of farm operations, degree of self-sufficiency, pattern of wealth distributions, and extent of economic mobility during the late antebellum years in the eight sample counties. Then he studies change in those characteristics of the white farm population from 1860 to 1880 and includes a chapter on the impact of adding thousands of Freedmen to the state's farmers. His overall conclusion, which is stated with a good deal more care than is possible in this brief summary, is that the farm population of all three regions showed much less diversity than has been assumed by most historians and that throughout Tennessee continuity far outweighed discontinuity from 1860 to 1880. McKenzie thus raises "the possibility that recent scholarship both oversimplifies distinctions between plantation and nonplantation regions and exaggerates the socioeconomic heterogeneity of the Old South" (p. 193).

McKenzie's study challenges historians to stop repeating the tired dictum that most important questions are those not subject to quantification and to make the effort necessary to test their assumptions about the economic and social structure of the nineteenth-century South. Moreover, his call for precise replication in studying different states and regions, an essential step

if valid comparisons are to be made, should be heeded. The author raises enough interpretive questions and offers enough suggestions concerning ways of answering them to occupy generations of historians.

This study, like all that emphasize unity and continuity in nineteenth-century southern history, will be criticized by those who point to the obvious regional differences in slaveholding and cotton production and to the dramatic discontinuities brought by the Civil War. Such critics tend to argue that similarities in wealth distributions, high rates of persistence for individuals in the economic elite, and so on, have only minor historical significance when compared to regional disagreements over secession or to the impact of destroying slavery. McKenzie does not deny the importance of heterogeneity and discontinuity, but he urges a balanced view that considers the implications of the other side of the coin. The ultimate objective is a better understanding of the complex interplay of socioeconomic reality and popular perception of that reality in the nineteenth-century South, and this book marks an important step in the right direction.

RANDOLPH B. CAMPBELL
University of North Texas

STEPHEN R. WISE. *Gate of Hell: Campaign for Charleston Harbor, 1863*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 312. \$27.95.

Although the efforts near Charleston are less remembered than the concurrent campaigns that culminated in George Pickett's charge at Gettysburg and the Union's opening of the Mississippi River, the struggle for control of Charleston harbor provided greater insight into future warfare. During the remainder of the Civil War and beyond, fortifications and artillery steadily became more important than bayonets and rifled-muskets, and the North expanded the number and role of African Americans on the battlefield.

Confederate General Pierre Gustave Toutant Beauregard found his defenses inadequate and undermanned when Union forces under Brigadier General Quincy Adams Gillmore began landing on the islands southeast of Charleston. After his men failed to capture Battery Wagner on Morris Island by assault on July 11 and 18, Gillmore commenced siege operations to reduce the earthen fortification. For nearly two months the Union soldiers struggled in the sand, inching ever closer to Wagner. Having cracked the Union code, the Confederates kept abreast of Federal plans by deciphering the signals relayed between Gillmore and Rear Admiral John A. Dahlgren. Knowing that Wagner's garrison could not repulse another assault, Beauregard evacuated his men from Morris Island during the night of September 6 after learning of Gillmore's intentions to make a third attack the following morning.

With Wagner secure, Gillmore and Dahlgren immediately focused their attention on seizing Fort Sumter. Both men believed that it was essential to occupy what

was now only a pile of rubble before they could clear the channel of obstructions, the prerequisite for Union vessels entering Charleston harbor. No longer willing to cooperate but aware of the other's intentions, Gillmore and Dahlgren each ordered an independent assault against Fort Sumter that very night. These failed efforts ended the campaign because Dahlgren adamantly refused to lead his fleet into the harbor until the mines had been removed, a task that could only be accomplished with a Union garrison in Fort Sumter. Had he been willing to "damn the torpedoes," Dahlgren might have become the first full admiral. Instead, the North could claim only a limited tactical victory for having closed Charleston to blockade runners. Conversely, by retaining control of the city the South gained a strategic victory by boosting its sagging morale following its recent defeats at Gettysburg and Vicksburg.

Despite the day-by-day narrative and the numerous literary transitions between opponents, Stephen R. Wise presents an entertaining narrative. Interwoven with the monotonous suffering of the enlisted men ashore and afloat are the antics of drunken Union officers, the uplifting services rendered by Clara Barton and other members of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, and dramatic anecdotes. Among such anecdotes is the story of Confederate Captain J. Morris Wampler, who was killed by an artillery shell as he commenced a letter, "My dear wife and child" (p. 166). Personal characteristics of the principal figures, especially of Dahlgren, are insightful, as is Wise's discussion of the Confederates' handling of African-American prisoners of war. Twenty-seven maps and an appendix containing thirty-one organizational tables enhance the reader's ability to follow events without becoming overwhelmed by individual unit references. Both author and publisher are to be commended for providing these items, but it is unfortunate that the cost in this case appears to have been insufficient proofing and sparse notes that fail to reflect the author's unquestionably thorough research. Nonetheless, Wise has made a valuable contribution to Civil War historiography.

LAWRENCE LEE HEWITT
Southeastern Louisiana University

EDWARD A. MILLER, JR.. *Gullah Statesman: Robert Smalls from Slavery to Congress, 1839-1915*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 1995. Pp. xi, 285. \$29.95.

Of the many tales of Civil War heroics, that of Robert Smalls, pilot of the Confederate steamer *Planter* and chief architect of its abduction to the Union fleet, continues to fascinate. Having gained the public eye as a slave who outsmarted the rebels, Smalls achieved even greater notoriety after the war. By virtue of the public offices he held at both the state and the national levels, Smalls ranks as one of the most significant figures in South Carolina's history during the half-

century following secession. There is little wonder, then, that writers have repeatedly turned to Smalls in search of raw material for their craft.

In this book Edward A. Miller, Jr., aims to put Smalls "in the context of his times and in the political life of South Carolina while going beyond the details about Smalls provided by earlier works" (p. ix), the two most significant of which are Dorothy Sterling's biography for young readers, *Captain of the Planter: The Story of Robert Smalls* (1958), and Okon Edet Uya's more scholarly *From Slavery to Public Service: Robert Smalls, 1839-1915* (1971). Miller's book only partially achieves these objectives.

The four chapters of the study successively treat the major phases of Smalls's public career: naval hero; state representative and senator; U.S. congressman; customs collector. Each proceeds in largely chronological fashion with the notable events in Smalls's life driving the narrative. Given that the richest documentation survives for the latter two phases, Miller explores them in comparatively greatest detail. But this embarrassment of riches tends to burden as well as bless the narrative, the momentum of which also slows dramatically in the foreshadow of Smalls's death. Although Miller offers a brief assessment of Smalls's life and career, there are no conclusions per se.

In truth, Miller has marshaled an impressive array of primary sources, especially those at the National Archives and at various state-level repositories. It is unlikely that anyone will soon surpass this level of comprehensiveness. But in the end, Miller largely squanders this treasure by the extent of his reliance on the narrative structures of persons who have written about Smalls's life or times.

One example must suffice. In referring to Smalls's role in the well-known South Carolina Land Commission, Miller paraphrases Eric Foner's *Reconstruction* (1988) to the effect that the agency settled 7 percent of the state's black population on homesteads (pp. 48-49). Foner's estimate—derived from Carol K. R. Bleser's *The Promised Land* (1969)—is in fact one-seventh of the black population, that is, 14 percent. Although this point may be incidental to understanding Smalls, it nonetheless illustrates the confusion produced by paraphrasing secondary works, a distractingly large component of Miller's narrative strategy.

In short, scholars of the African-American experience, of the Civil War era, and of the nineteenth-century South will want to examine the book for its anecdotes and its sources. But hefting it in hopes of a new perspective on Smalls and his times may prove disappointing.

JOSEPH P. REIDY
Howard University

JULIE SAVILLE. *The World of Reconstruction: From Slave to Wage Laborer in South Carolina, 1860-1870*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 221. \$49.95.

Few periods of African-American history have been more closely scrutinized than the immediate aftermath of slavery. Fascinated by the transformation from bondage to freedom and encouraged by the existence of a wealth of documentary evidence, scholars have produced a small library of monographs and articles exploring the social, economic, and political implications of emancipation. Julie Saville's book is a valuable addition to this already considerable literature. Although many of its conclusions are not original, it is nonetheless an exquisitely detailed study with a rare sensitivity to nuance and an admirable determination to view emancipation through the eyes of the freedpeople themselves.

Saville has exhaustively explored a variety of federal records, plantation accounts, and other private papers in order to trace the evolution of wage relations among freedpeople in rural South Carolina between the arrival of Union troops during the Civil War and the end of the 1860s. Her thesis is straightforward: freedpeople in South Carolina were engaged in a "dual struggle" for personal sovereignty against both their former masters and the "discipline of an abstract market" (p. 2). The former slaves, in other words, were no more enamored of northern "freedom" than of southern slavery.

Freedpeople resisted the northern free-market vision in countless ways, as Saville demonstrates. First and foremost, they sought to own their land, although as the author is quick to argue, they intended to work their farms "in extended family networks where private and community property overlapped" (p. 43). As the dream of immediate ownership faded, the former slaves struggled to control the daily routine of labor and the disposal of the harvest. To advance their cause they also mobilized politically, both through their support of the Republican Party and by forming their own military "clubs." Through such measures, the author contends, South Carolina freedpeople "were fashioning a corporate identity advanced in comparison with other American agricultural workers of the time" (p. 150).

The argument that the ex-slaves desired to own land and to control their daily lives is far from new, of course, but Saville is to be commended for the sophistication with which she documents their struggle. She is also particularly successful at demonstrating the political manifestations of the freedpeople's efforts to control wage relations, the study's most original contribution, in my opinion. Her assessment of the Union League is especially insightful and compelling.

For all its merits, this study is unnecessarily restricted in scope and, at crucial points, unconvincing. The study ends abruptly at 1870, long before the political and economic struggle in the South Carolina countryside had been effectively resolved. Although she does not state so explicitly, I suspect that Saville is far more interested in establishing the *mentalité* of the freedpeople—that is, their resistance to the domination of an abstract market—than in pursuing the

reorganization of the South Carolina labor system to its conclusion. *Mentalité*, however, is notoriously difficult to prove, especially when it must be inferred from the behavior of a largely illiterate people. Given the severely flawed implementation of a free labor system during the late 1860s, as well as the complex array of individual, familial, and communal motives that underlay black behavior after emancipation, it is questionable whether the former slaves' *mentalité* can ever be identified with any confidence. Nevertheless, skeptical readers may suspect that Saville has gone beyond the evidence in portraying the South Carolina freedpeople as the vanguard of late-nineteenth-century agrarian radicalism.

ROBERT TRACY MCKENZIE
University of Washington

MARK V. WETHERINGTON. *The New South Comes to Wiregrass Georgia: 1860–1910*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 392. \$39.95.

Recent scholarship on the urbanization of the post-Civil War South has focused on established cities and rarely, as in this work, on the transformation of a subregion and its emerging hamlets and towns. Mark V. Wetherington thus has written a pioneering study. The book traces the evolution of an isolated area of the South from self-sufficient piney woods to market-dependent cotton fields. The subregion—about the size of Delaware—is contained within “the Forks” or the courses of Georgia’s Ocmulgee and Oconee rivers. In 1860 this Wiregrass Country was covered by a nearly unbroken, pine-forest canopy and populated largely by self-sufficient yeoman farmers, livestock herders, and timber cutters.

The industrial and economic revolution in the region began with the railroads, which by the 1890s criss-crossed the Wiregrass Country. New towns sprang up and drained away the population and political and economic power from the older riverbank settlements. Railroad men and other boosters promoted in-migration and the population of “the Forks” quadrupled by 1910.

The region became first a timber colony exploited by northern capitalists and southern industrialists. Market-oriented ventures—noisy steam-powered sawmills and turpentine stills worked by a regional labor force of African Americans and whites—undermined the historic independence of the pinelanders.

The economic transformation was led by a town-based business elite who espoused the New South ideology. They created a colonial economy and seized political control of the region by violence, vote buying, and ballot box stuffing. Blacks had been deprived of the franchise by 1900 and political life in “the Forks” became dominated by the county executive committees of the Democratic Party, which resembled a “court-house gang” (p. 212). At the same time the yeoman farmers of the Wiregrass Country—experiencing status anxiety and fearing racial turmoil—turned to vigi-

lantism to preserve the social order. The Wiregrass Country became the New South’s frontier, more unstable and violent than it ever had been before.

The deforestation of the region by the 1890s reduced grazing lands, which led to drastic declines in livestock herding. Promoters now called for new migrants to the overcut Wiregrass Country. Ironically, hundreds of Upcountry Georgia farm families poured in from areas depressed by the cotton monoculture; they planted cotton and witnessed the rise of what they had left behind—cotton plantations, tenant farms, and dusty gin and warehouse towns dependent on outside markets and money. The Wiregrass Country came to resemble the landscape of the antebellum South. It was the final event in the eventual destruction of the pinelander’s culture and self-sufficient world.

Wetherington demonstrates that the economic, social, and political forces that transformed the remote southern countryside resembled forces at work in the rest of the nation after the Civil War. As Wetherington points out, the “new men”—the town elite—who reshaped the Wiregrass region appeared remarkably similar in style and values to the leaders in cities both within and without the South.

There is too much reiteration and repetition in the book that could have been eliminated by more careful editing. But this caveat aside, Wetherington, a native pinelander himself, has produced a unique work based on a solid foundation of primary sources. It is an important addition to the literature on the evolution of subregions in the post-Civil War South and is recommended reading for students of southern industrialization and urbanization.

WALTER J. FRASER, JR.
Georgia Southern University

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM. *The South in Modern America: A Region at Odds*. (The New American Nation Series.) New York: HarperCollins. 1994. Pp. xx, 359. \$30.00.

Dewey W. Grantham has been a notable figure in the writing of southern history since the publication of *Hoke Smith and the Politics of the New South* in 1958. In this new book, a broad synthesis of southern history from 1877 to the present, he sums up the knowledge of a lifetime of scholarship, grounded in a perspective that, if no longer fashionable, is rigorous, lucid, honest, and optimistic.

The backbone of the narrative is political history. Grantham habitually centers his writing on parties and politicians, on Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Roosevelt, and Lyndon Johnson, on how the almost-Solid South of the Democrats was created in the late nineteenth century, mutated during Progressivism and the New Deal, cracked in the 1940s, and disintegrated in recent years; he remains impressed by the explanatory power of political reform movements that occasion social change. Interwoven is the story of the inception, administration, and denouement of segregation. He pays much attention to economics, and the book is

usefully studded with graphs and statistics about per capita income, school expenditures, cotton consumption, and wage differentials. Grantham does his duty by cultural history, but his touch is less sure, more derivative; the "new" social history is almost absent. There are, for example, sixty-six illustrations in the book: forty-three of them concern politics, politicians, or their journalist critics; eight portray musicians; seven are of economic or social life; five show writers; two are of evangelists; and one is of Ted Turner (who is hard to classify).

Chapel Hill, where Grantham was trained in the late 1940s, was much troubled by conflicting desires, an urge to belong to the American mainstream and an impulse to preserve a sense of difference that might derive from something other than poverty, white supremacy, and cultural disadvantage. Indeed, Grantham contributed to a symposium in 1960, called *The Southerner as American*, which attempted to reason this conundrum out. This book remains faithful to that vision, expressed in its subtitle, "A Region at Odds." Grantham returns insistently to those moments where the tension between particularism and nationality was redefined. He approves when the region moved closer to an "American" norm, when it became more prosperous or developed a two-party system, or national practices imitated southern, when country music was sung in Milwaukee. Yet Grantham does not want the South to disappear, so he likes evidence of the persistence of southern identity, even if it rests only on a willingness of the heart.

For many, the subject matter of modern southern history has occasioned anger, irony, or exuberance, sometimes all three at once. By contrast, this is a narrative of gentle sadness and hope, which delineates the closing of gaps and the dissipation of bitterness; it is impelled by a powerful sense that, despite vicissitudes, matters will improve, that being at odds is creative. It is a vision hard to agree with, impossible not to respect.

MICHAEL O'BRIEN
Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

PHILIP J. ETHINGTON. *The Public City: The Political Construction of Urban Life in San Francisco, 1850–1900*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 464. \$54.95.

In this book, Philip J. Ethington uses San Francisco as a case study to present an original and compelling reinterpretation of American politics from 1850 to 1900. Arguing that it is "impossible to reduce political history to social history" (p. 85), Ethington instead draws on analysis of discourse and on the "new institutionalism" in political history to present a narrative centered on what he terms the "public sphere": the intersection between political and social life, the locus of political discourse. His central theme is the transition from a political culture he terms "republican-

liberal" (emphasizing the virtue of leaders and the common good) to one he calls "pluralist-liberal" (emphasizing leaders' administrative proficiency in meeting demands by organized interest groups).

Ethington challenges nearly every current interpretation of the city's politics as well as many prevalent views on American politics more generally. Where recent historians have explained the vigilantes of the 1850s through ethnic and economic motivations, Ethington places them into a frequently violent "Romantic republican" discourse focused on virtue and honor and including dueling and vigilantism. During the Civil War, he maintains, major party leaders delineated new approaches to partisan differences, emphasizing "social identities," especially class and race, rather than "character, virtue, and honor" (p. 170). He points to leading Republicans and Democrats as fostering—even creating—class identities during the 1860s and 1870s. In Ethington's analysis, therefore, Denis Kearney and the Workingmen's Party of California did not polarize the city's politics along the axes of race and class; instead Kearney merely grabbed for leadership within a political culture already divided along those lines. Ethington thereby disputes the conclusions of recent historians who have found in the 1870s and 1880s class-based insurgencies against major parties that suppressed class issues.

Ethington is most convincing in explaining the transition from the zenith of party organization in the 1880s to the emergence of Progressivism in the 1890s. This shift, he emphasizes, resulted not from the pressures of social change or from aroused public opinion; Progressivism came, instead, from "political innovation at the top of the political structures" (p. 344). He presents Progressivism as a new political culture having to do primarily with new ways that people became mobilized (through interest groups) and integrated into relations with the state (through new policies, especially regulation). He does not ignore gender but finds little involvement by women in the creation of Progressivism; in San Francisco, he concludes, Progressivism and the women's movement were "in collusion not collusion" (p. 406).

This brief summary cannot do justice to the thoughtfulness and complexity of Ethington's book. Practically every page presents some new insight or challenges some accepted interpretation. Some will dispute his assumptions, question particular conclusions, or challenge some of his statistical methods. Nonetheless, this is required reading for everyone interested in American politics in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, the publisher seems to have done little copy-editing or proofreading, and should be particularly embarrassed by the many typographical errors.

ROBERT W. CHERNY
San Francisco State University

BENSON TONG. *Unsubmissive Women: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century San Francisco*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994. Pp. xix, 300. \$24.95.

Benson Tong's study of prostitution in nineteenth-century San Francisco exceeds his stated limits. He traces the voyage of these "wives to a hundred men" from the poverty-stricken Chinese provinces; exposes the corrupted American consular employees who permitted the traffic in women; uncovers the deceptions that ensnared these young women; follows their movement to demand centers in the American West; and describes the culture, economic circumstances, and caste status in which these women lived.

Tong celebrates the prostitutes' capacity for resistance and their courage in the face of cultural obstacles. He works with two interpretive frameworks to accomplish this: the prevailing feminist notion that prostitutes are "working women" and the new Western history.

Relying on anecdotes and statistical inferences, Tong provides a more thorough social portrait of Chinese prostitution than previously known. His statistical inferences, however, are troubling. Estimating Chinese deaths from syphilis from 1866 to 1876 as ranging from 1 percent to 11 percent, Tong presents the statistics uncritically. He shows the acute restrictions on medical care for prostitutes with no estimate of venereal disease rates among them. Others claim that venereal diseases afflicted more than 80 percent of prostitutes. Tong frequently presents statistical conclusions as "many" or "some," lacking the better-crafted statistics in the works of Timothy Gilfoyle and Ruth Rosen on prostitution in the eastern United States.

Tong, occasionally cites Rosen but could have made better use of her study for comparative purposes. Rosen suggested that women chose between work in factories, with its drudgery, and prostitution, with its promise of a more opulent life. As Tong shows, Chinese women did not "voluntarily" choose prostitution. He reports that many entrapped women chose suicide as they crossed the Pacific and underscores the point that deception and fraud were used to gain Chinese women's entry into the United States. Wage-earning, including factory work, was a path out of prostitution, despite the harshness of working conditions.

Tong interprets concubinage as an escape from prostitution, whereas Lucie Cheng Hirata argued that concubines were the upper strata of a pariah class, living in polyandry, and reserved for Chinese men. Furthermore, California reformers commented that Chinese prostitutes charged rates so low (twenty-five cents) that adolescents could afford them, risking contracting sexually transmitted diseases. Had Tong addressed such charges, real or imagined, explored the attitudes of Chinese toward Japanese prostitutes, noted the campaign waged by David Starr Jordan against the "red plague," and explored the attitudes of the California Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Moral Education Society of San Francisco toward Chinese prostitution, his study would have been more thorough.

The author warns his readers that he is studying Chinese prostitution before the Tong family played a significant role in controlling it. In the long term, he suggests that social and economic opportunities in the United States provided an opportunity for prostitutes to move gradually into the mainstream of American life. Hirata periodized and interpreted the trade differently. For her, the period 1854–1925 was one of organized traffic. For Hirata, Chinese prostitutes were free, indentured, and semi-slaves.

DAVID J. PIVAR
California State University,
Fullerton

GLENDIA RILEY. *The Life and Legacy of Annie Oakley*. (The Oklahoma Western Biographies, number 7.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 252. \$24.95.

Biographies, fictionalized accounts of her life, and numerous articles in the popular press have attempted to sort out the elusive personality of Annie Oakley. Stage plays, movies, and television productions have further explored and expanded on her character. Yet today the "real Annie Oakley" continues to be an enigma to most Americans. Glenda Riley's book attempts to draw aside the cloak of mystery that has shrouded this unusual woman.

The approach Riley uses in developing the Oakley persona makes for interesting reading. Rather than a chronological account of her life, birth to death, the book is organized in sections portraying the various roles of her life and career. Riley documents her childhood and young adulthood, including her marriage to Frank Butler and her developing interest in the use of guns. Chapters that follow focus on her experiences as an entertainer and as a competitive sharpshooter; her continued efforts to maintain the lady-like demeanor expected of women at the turn of the century; the growth of her charisma as a woman of the West; and retirement from her professional life. The chapters overlap chronologically, but each depicts an aspect of Oakley's life that collectively illuminate the many facets of a woman so long surrounded by myth. The book is filled with interpretive analysis, a task Riley does well, although often in spite of a lack of authentic documentation. The conclusions she draws, however, are both feasible and plausible and are often clarified by examples that serve to support them.

One may question Riley's interpretation of Oakley's demeanor as a contribution to changing societal views about turn-of-the-century women. Did Oakley widen society's images and expectations of women by being both athletic and behaving like a lady? Or was she a reminder that, even though a woman could be a successful athlete, her real place was the demure "lady," properly attired, whose chief role was homemaker and helpmate to a husband? Perhaps a more basic question is whether any individual, singlehandedly, can alter societal views to any great extent.

Nonetheless, Riley makes a strong case for Oakley in that role.

A major criticism of the book is the lack of notes documenting the sources of information, although Riley cannot be faulted for this omission. The book is one of a series published in the Oklahoma Western Biographies that uses as its format a section called "Notes on Sources" rather than endnotes. As a result, there is no specific documentation of sources, which left me often yearning for "just where did the author find this information?" And for readers who often use notes as a springboard for further research, the omission is a serious deficit.

A reader's assessment of Annie Oakley and the legacy she has left us will surely be mixed after reading this book. Was she a money-monger or a philanthropist? Was she a righteous, upright, moral feminist who happened to be successful in a masculine endeavor? Or was she a brassy, cunning ingenue who cleverly played to the crowd for her own interests? However one may view her, "Oakley was [most assuredly] a study in contrasts" (p. 204). Nonetheless, she is a character, brought to life by Riley, who provides provocative reading material.

MARY L. REMLEY
Indiana University,
Bloomington

JOHN C. HUDSON. *Making the Corn Belt: A Geographical History of Middle-Western Agriculture*. (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1994. Pp. ix, 254. \$35.00.

Geographer John C. Hudson describes himself as a purposeful positivist: "a man of pigs and railroads." This does not make him a simplifier or his book less than an important contribution to our understanding of the corn belt, the world's largest agricultural region.

In this book (whose aesthetics, graphs, and maps are disappointing), Hudson does not concern himself with ethnic, urban, or cultural matters; nor does he pay much attention to international markets, events, national politics, or farmers' organizations and their causes. Positivist that he is, Hudson has no place for fighters, losers, politicians, boosters, or buffoons. Hudson eschews high narrative. He has no truck with the proposition that capitalist agriculture succeeded on the prairie at the expense of other communities of plants, animals, and humans. Instead, Hudson sticks to his purpose: explaining the rich mix of factors that accounted for the formation, evolution, migration, and triumphant of the corn belt, which, from its beginning to the present, is predicated on the profitable raising of corn and feeding it to livestock.

With what may be the main contribution of this book, Hudson identifies the origin of the corn belt in "five islands of plenty good agriculture" (p. 3). In these open and fertile lands west of the Appalachians (the Nashville Basin, Pennyroyal Plateau, Bluegrass, Miami Valley, and Virginia Military District), dreams of

farming on a grand scale were conceived. Migrants from these islands developed plants (mixing flint corn from the North with dent corn from the South and West), their animals (improved cattle and swine, especially the Poland China), and ways and ideas of economic farming and brought them west to the Mississippi and the nation's richest lands.

Hudson joins a handful of anthropologists and young historians in arguing that prairies were far from pristine when the new island migrants arrived. The prairies were shaped by roaming herds of buffalo ("great agents of biological change") and by Indians who shaped their landscapes with fires. On that landscape, this new economic region sprang up quickly. The 150-county corn belt recognizable in 1850 became, Hudson demonstrates, a 500-county corn belt by 1880.

The corn belt, which began along river routes, was redefined by railroad lines as it shifted gradually northward and dramatically westward. It came to depend on more and more capital. With more cash, farming spawned ever greater and most costly drainage projects. It increasingly integrated itself into the new commodity markets of Chicago. In his concluding chapters, Hudson subtly examines the combination of factors of rich lands, increasing markets, tenancy, agronomic practices, the development of hybrid corn in the 1930s, the adaptation of the soybean as an oil crop in the 1940s and 1950s, fertilizers, center-pivot irrigation, and other matters that accounted for the expansion, and adaptation of the corn belt to varied terrains and different markets.

In his conclusion, Hudson details the forces transforming the contemporary corn belt: there are larger farms and fewer farmers; the raising of corn is increasingly separated from the feeding of livestock; meat processing is decentralized. Neither these changes nor other dramatic factors that indicate the ends of the traditional farm and the agricultural town, however, move Hudson to speculate on the 150-year experiment in world-market farming. Hudson does not consider in his calculations the alternative forms of human, animal, and plant life that could have lived on the prairie if the corn belt had not won out. Disciplining himself to explain what is, and what likely will be, Hudson unfashionably concludes: "Even though we do not talk this way anymore, the Corn Belt is still the 'feedbag of democracy.' For the near future, at least, it seems destined to remain that way" (p. 209).

Hudson's important work complements and supplements William Cronon's *Nature's Metropolis* (1992). With acuteness of analysis and thoroughness of approach, it shows us the heartland as an economic region. Yet the failure to deliberate more amply on the price of this creation for biological and human communities.

JOE AMATO
South West State University

DAVID RICH LEWIS. *Neither Wolf nor Dog: American Indians, Environment, and Agrarian Change*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 240. \$29.95.

This book's title comes from Sitting Bull's contemptuous characterization of "reservation Indians" in 1881. David Rich Lewis traces the impact of nineteenth and twentieth-century federal reservation policy single-mindedly bent on converting Native Americans into yeoman farmers. In explaining the ultimate failure of the policy, he invokes not only persistent bureaucratic ethnocentrism but ecological and native cultural variables as well. He then offers a systematic comparison of three cultures: the Northern Utes, the Hupas, and the Tohono O'odhams. The groups are well chosen in that they demonstrate a range of environments, economic production patterns, and collectivist/individualist world views. Despite the historical diversity of the dismal farming scenarios, there was a general sameness to what Lewis terms a continuum of Native American strategies: initial resistance; then adapting to new agrarian techniques while replicating elements of the traditional sociocultural system; then finally embracing new agricultural techniques as a strategy to "retain group identity, political and economic control through conscious social transformation" (p. 175). Meanwhile, the environmental diversity of the three areas, described in detail, has the shared quality of incompatibility with the imposed technology. Everywhere there was too much or too little water, thanks mostly to Euroamericans' efforts to control it. Geographical remoteness from markets discouraged Indian farmers even when things were (fleeting) going right.

Lewis portrays the agrarian policy as a blend of the quasi-sacred Euroamerican ideal of the yeoman farmer and savagery-to-civilization theories of social evolution. Next he presents each of his case studies in two parts: an initial chapter outlining the prereservation sociocultural system, then a second chapter analyzing the effects of the imposed agrarian technology. His major contribution lies in the latter and in a brief but succinct conclusion that traces the common processes of change. Each of the three prereservation chapters is adequate but could be more sharply focused on factors that are invoked in the second chapter's discussion, such as, for example, core systems of values. The analytical chapters are well-argued and richly documented, mixing archival sources with interviews. The bureaucracy gets bashed, but not gratuitously. The basic theme comes from anthropologist Marshall Sahlins, among others: a culture changes to remain the same, or at least coherent to its bearers. This idea is not new, but it is extremely well developed in Lewis's study. The Indians were active agents in the change processes. Although they were not often the masters of their own fate, they steadfastly selected strategic alternatives aimed at maintaining coherence. Some of these confounded whites: the continuing

Indian preoccupation with keeping horses in the worst of times, for example; or arson as a strategy for economic production. As for farming itself, Lewis declares that the Bureau of Indian Affairs gave up on it during the 1960s. By his account the Indians had largely—and more rationally—given up on it well before that.

The book would be useful in college courses on Native American issues or sociocultural change, as well as for scholars interested in tracing the contradictions between the declared intent of federal policy and its grass-roots impact.

ROBERT L. BEE
University of Connecticut,
Storrs

WILLIAM G. ROBBINS. *Colony and Empire: The Capitalist Transformation of the American West*. (Development of Western Resources.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1994. Pp. xvi, 255. \$29.95.

During the last two decades there has been an explosion of scholarship on the American West. In this book, William G. Robbins draws from this rich literature and provides a framework for understanding the region's economic development during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Robbins emphasizes two closely related themes. First, he argues that the history of the West should be examined as a part of the world-wide expansion of corporate capitalism. Second, Robbins maintains that outside managers, financiers, and capitalists often dictated the fates of western communities and determined the fortunes of western residents. New York and London bankers, not local farmers or other indigenous peoples, controlled the region; according to Robbins, the development of the West is the story of the region's integration into a global economic system.

Relying primarily on material culled from secondary works, Robbins challenges the "old" western history, with its celebratory, nationalistic overtones, and presents a series of vignettes analyzing the relationship between eastern or European capitalists and the growth of the West. Again and again, according to Robbins, externally financed economic changes, undertaken in response to distant market forces, triggered structural transformations that concentrated wealth and power, impoverished small landowners and workers, and damaged the environment of the West. Typically, railroads, which were built to serve the financial interests of New York and London capitalists, initiated this process by linking isolated areas, such as Sonora, Arizona, and Montana, to national and international markets. Such integration into the global economy, however, made westerners dependent on outsiders and rendered once-quiet corners of the region vulnerable to fluctuations in commodity and capital markets. "Events in the West today," Robbins concludes, "differ only in scope and magnitude from the events of 1893, when decisions made in distant

transatlantic boardrooms brought immediate chaos and suffering to the tiniest of industrial communities in the western outback" (p. 194).

Robbins's narrative is forceful but at times lacks nuance. Although his emphasis on the influence of corporate capitalism in the West is welcome, many of his central assumptions—such as his assertion that "historians generally have been reluctant to pursue lines of inquiry focusing on the broader influence of capitalism on the country's historical development" (p. 8)—are puzzling. Nor do many scholars need to be reminded that the history of the West should not be viewed as the triumph of civilization over savagery. Perhaps most important, in his effort to organize western history around a single theme, Robbins minimizes the crucial roles played by cultural, ethnic, racial, and political conflict on the region's development. Instead, united, purposeful, and single-minded "capitalists" act against passive, defenseless natives. Thus, Robbins's argument seems to deny agency to indigenous populations: westerners become victims; the periphery has little impact on the core; the hinterland fails to affect the metropolis; and minority peoples and cultures exert scant influence on the dominant society. In short, Robbins's argument is provocative and interesting, although his analysis is sometimes heavy-handed.

JEFFREY S. ADLER
University of Florida

RICHARD W. SADLER and RICHARD C. ROBERTS. *The Weber River Basin: Grass Roots Democracy and Water Development*. Logan: Utah State University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 283. \$26.95.

Richard W. Sadler and Richard C. Roberts have contributed a case study to a growing body of scholarship on regional water resource development projects. Their study of the Weber River Basin contrasts with other projects where litigation and conflict have been part of the struggle to master the environment, particularly in semiarid areas. The first efforts to irrigate potential farmland and to control the Weber River through dams and flood control projects came from the Mormon church, which stressed cooperation among water users, adapting the doctrine of prior appropriation to meet the particular needs of Mormon settlers. As the territory developed, so did the technology required to modernize water projects. The authors argue persuasively that Utah's success in developing the Weber River Basin came from the willingness of its people to work for goals that would generally benefit everyone.

The authors present their history in a chronological narrative that strives to include every ditch, dam, canal, channel, agricultural community, and water agency that ever played a role, no matter how minor, in the development of the Weber River Basin. This makes for a definitive but at times exhausting study. They claim, "It is . . . the people and events of this

history that this book endeavors to present" (p. 12), but little effort is made to do more than merely name names. Two cases in point are DeLore Nichols, identified only as a "county agricultural agent," and Joseph Johnson, both deeply involved in intense lobbying efforts in the 1940s and 1950s to win federal funding for the Weber River Basin Project. Nichols and Johnson clearly merit biographical profiles, but neither they nor other dedicated project supporters are treated as other than almost faceless bureaucrats (the photographs in the book are of indifferent quality). The only portrait photograph in the book is that of the current general manager of the Weber Basin Water Conservancy District, apparently included because he is the current general manager. Readers unfamiliar with Utah geography will find the book's maps difficult to use since they divide the Weber River Basin by county; the end paper maps are a little better but omit the county boundaries.

Meanwhile, the authors delve into such trivial details as noting that barbecue beef and potato salad were served at the dedication of Wanship Dam. They also note, with unintentional irony, that a free lunch followed the "last payment" ceremony for the Echo Reservoir and Dam in 1966, after pegging the cost at \$2,875,871.83. The efforts of supporters of water resource development in the Weber River Basin surely prove their awareness that there's no such thing as a free lunch.

ABRAHAM HOFFMAN
Los Angeles Valley College

JAMES THORPE. *Henry Edwards Huntington: A Biography*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 623. \$35.00.

A highly successful manager, businessman, developer, financier, collector, and philanthropist, Henry Edwards Huntington has not received the attention by historians comparable to Andrew Carnegie, Thomas Edison, J. P. Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, or Henry Ford. This biography, written by James Thorpe, former director of the Huntington Library in California and former literary scholar from Princeton, is the first one of substance. The literature is spare beyond William Friedrichs's examination of Huntington's business interests in Southern California (*Henry E. Huntington and the Creation of Southern California* [1992]). In part, the reason for the neglect may be that Huntington's reputation was regional and not national, and his great wealth was accumulated through urban development, especially land speculation, not heavy industry. In part it may be because Huntington had little flair for public self-promotion. Thorpe's Huntington is tirelessly conventional and persistently unreflective, a virtuous capitalist whose conduct was benevolent, sincere, genial, fun loving, and without guile (even when hints suggest otherwise). An exemplar of character, Thorpe's Huntington reads like a passage from the McGuffey reader, a role model in personal

generosity, appropriate sentiments, and antispeculation frugality for Victorian businessmen.

In the genre of a nineteenth-century life, the biography develops chronologically. The story begins with a brief sketch of growing up in a respectable family in Oneonta, New York, between 1860 and 1870 (the Civil War is not mentioned). With a limited formal education and few intellectual interests, young Edwards pursued his business "prospects" with the guidance and support of his entrepreneurial, dominating, and colorful uncle, Collis. From an entry-level clerk he rose through managerial positions, primarily on railroads, as the local representative of his uncle's financial interests. Through trial and error and Collis's instruction, he mastered the working principles of money: financial analysis, investment and return, accumulation of capital. In 1892, "Collis's nephew" became assistant to the president of the Southern Pacific, a California holding company for steam railroads entrenched in state politics. In 1900, when Collis died suddenly with an estate of \$50 million, Edwards inherited \$15 million. Spurned by opposing interests to his succeeding his uncle as director of the Southern Pacific, he moved south and turned to transit development and suburban property investment in Southern California. A decade later his fortune had swelled to \$70 million. He built his "ranch" outside Pasadena, cultivated exquisite gardens, collected books and art on a grand scale, established a library, and eventually bequeathed the institution to the state. The second half of this large book tells the story in detail of Huntington's devoted attention during his lifetime to his home and the beginnings of the library.

Throughout the biography Thorpe arranges Huntington family affairs, and descriptions of the sumptuous Gilded Age life styles, alongside the rise in business. A problem is that Thorpe limited his sources to the cache of Huntington correspondence supplemented by contemporary newspaper clippings. The fluid narrative seldom penetrates the surface of events, minimizing rough and difficult-to-explain behavior, simplifying social conflict and the harsh contrasts in the period. A reader is left with the sense that this entire project is a window on the gentility and clutter of a nineteenth-century parlor. Even the intimate side of biography comes across as a formal public presentation. Many examples of Huntington pleasantly joking with the workmen in his employ serve to glide over the depth of the labor strife in Huntington's own anti-union enterprises. The text turns abrupt without sufficient explanation when, for instance, Huntington divorced his first wife of many years and married his aunt, Collis's now wealthy widow. The politics of business in the period almost never make an appearance. Homilies abound, smoothing over the virtuous capitalist like a veneer when, for instance, Huntington says after speculating profitably in the property boom in Redondo "one of my fixed principles is not to try to make all the money" (p. 208).

Thorpe has laid out facts, anecdotes, and trivia of an

individual's life and recorded the family correspondence. A worthy subject of biography, Huntington is more familiar and accessible from his own point of view than previously. Now the historian's perspective is required.

BURTON J. BLEDSTEIN
University of Illinois,
Chicago

FELICE A. BONADIO. *A. P. Giannini: Banker of America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xxiii, 429. \$30.00.

Clearly, Felice A. Bonadio is an admirer of A. P. Giannini, founder of Bank of America. Yet if Bonadio's book seems hagiographic it is because his primary sources are Giannini's own words. These are, unsurprisingly, highly complimentary. Using business correspondence from bank archives, Bonadio provides an annotated but otherwise largely unfiltered conduit for the San Franciscan's thoughts on branch banking, finance, and politics of the West Coast in the first half of the twentieth century.

Seen through critical eyes, however, the words paint the portrait of a man of contradictions. Giannini was both a visionary and a paranoid. He headed one of the world's financial superpowers yet frequently ridiculed the millionaire class of the United States. He castigated the powerful for secretly conspiring against him yet directed his own "[m]issionaries . . . to track down local Italians and to collect confidential information concerning their 'moral and financial standing in the community'" (p. 77). He had the foresight to employ Jean Monnet (future architect of the European Community) in the fledgling Transamerica Corporation yet was blind to the chaos caused when he later accused Monnet of weakness, fraud, and misconduct. He founded his first bank to serve the slighted Italian immigrants of San Francisco yet was enough of a bigot to call Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau a "Jew son of-a-bitch" (p. 262) and Federal Reserve Board Chairman Marriner Eccles a "two-face [*sic*] Mormon" (p. 289).

Bonadio's book is best read alongside *Biography of a Bank* by Marquis James and Bessie James (1954). Although their book was sponsored by Bank of America, it provided a more balanced view of the bank's history than we see in Bonadio's volume. Bessie James also organized the bank's archives and alerted scholars (including Bonadio) to the existence of Giannini correspondence that had yet to be explored. Interestingly, she and Marquis James predicted Bonadio's difficulties when they commented that the adversaries of Giannini were hard-pressed to anticipate his moves and that "a chronicler who would set down an account of these maneuvers is in pretty much the same fix" (*Biography of a Bank*, 172).

Bonadio has done substantial primary research, as evidenced by an extensive bibliography and more than 100 pages of endnotes. There are, however, occasional

factual lapses in the text: some dates are incorrect, and I was distressed to find Berkeley's student newspaper referred to by the title of the tabloid at rival UCLA. And, although the book is a treasure trove of tidbits about business practice, readers not schooled in mergers and acquisitions or the terminology of the corporate world might wish for a glossary and a scorecard to keep track of the action.

Those who are looking for a quantitative economic history of the West Coast or a counterfactual business history will be disappointed. But those interested in the reconstruction of one financier's view of his world will find in Bonadio's book much to think about.

KERRY ODELL
Scripps College,
Claremont

BRADFORD LUCKINGHAM. *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860–1992*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 258. \$35.00.

Bradford Luckingham, who previously authored two books and several essays on the urban history of the American Southwest, now describes the history of the Mexican-American, Chinese-American, and African-American minorities in Phoenix. This book will be essential reading for historians and students of these groups, of the Southwest, and of American cities.

The structure of the book is very regular. Parts 1, 2, and 3 deal respectively with the Mexican Americans, Chinese Americans, and African Americans. Each "part" contains three chapters: "Community Development to 1930," "Depression, War, and Peace, 1930–1960," and "Progress and Problems, 1960–1992." These parallel histories make comparisons of the three groups' experiences implicit rather than explicit, and the focus is on each group's internal development and its interaction with the Anglo majority. The eighteen-page conclusion recounts the main points of each history in turn, rather than blending them into one story. Luckingham is aware of "the failure of minority groups to unite in the struggle to conquer common problems, and their traditional tendency to dislike each other and see each other as rivals" (p. 206); hence there may have been three stories rather than one.

The footnotes reveal a thorough reading of Phoenix's principal newspapers, as well as an intelligent employment of oral interviews and public documents. Coverage of secondary works, including theses and dissertations, not only on Phoenix but on the minorities' histories elsewhere, is impressive. Citations include, unfortunately, only one Spanish-language source and none in Chinese. The book provides eight tables on population, occupational structure, and other social and demographic data, along with several maps of minority neighborhoods (three of which appear twice for some reason).

Phoenix, unlike most places from San Antonio to San Francisco, had no Spanish past but began just

before 1870 as an Anglo-American mining outpost. Mexicans came early, but experienced a thoroughly Anglocentric press, politics, culture, and even Catholic church (Anglos in the nave, Mexicans in the basement). World War II and the G.I. Bill marginally improved their income and mobility, but de facto segregation in schools and housing "clearly remained" (p. 58) in 1980. The Chinese community was never large, and Luckingham finds that after 1945 it "decentralized and Chinatown disintegrated" (p. 117). African Americans first came to Phoenix as miners, cowboys, and soldiers, and gradually increased in number. But Phoenix, where "conditions for blacks . . . were generally deplorable" in the 1940s (p. 158), never attracted a large wartime or postwar migration as did Los Angeles. The struggle to create a Martin Luther King holiday in Arizona ended favorably only in 1992. The Japanese-American experience in Phoenix, especially of the World War II internment, receives a few pages amid the discussion of the Chinese.

Minorities in Phoenix, as described here, have not had enviable histories. Most Mexicans and African Americans still live south of Van Buren. Luckingham concludes that "considering the gains made in the past, the future holds hope for even more progress" (p. 208). His detailed account of the past suggests it will not be frictionless.

WALTER NUGENT
University of Notre Dame

QUINTARD TAYLOR. *The Forging of a Black Community: Seattle's Central District from 1870 through the Civil Rights Era*. Foreword by NORM RICE. (The Emil and Kathleen Sick Lecture-Book Series in Western History and Biography.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 330.

Unlike the majority of studies on urban black communities, this work by Quintard Taylor surveys 100 years of a black urban community. Its major contribution is its focus on black Seattle's variations from key northern patterns of African-American urban history. According to Taylor, whereas blacks in the Central District made up an identifiable residential community from 1910 to 1980 as a result of the same forces of racial discrimination and community-building that shaped other urban black communities, the pre-World War II urban black experience in Seattle departed from the national historical pattern of black urbanization. During the interwar period most of these communities experienced tremendous growth, widespread racial discrimination, and varying degrees of social pathology. In contrast, Seattle's small black community did not face such conditions until the period during and after World War II.

The variation of Seattle's black community from the national pattern of black urbanization during the interwar years will, Taylor correctly points out, "prompt a rethinking of generalizations concerning the rise of the pre-World War II African-American ghet-

to" (p. 7). Taylor argues that "Many of the problems considered endemic in northern black communities during this era, while intermittently present, certainly did not dominate the Seattle scene as in other major cities. Much of what occurred—or did not occur—can be attributed to the small size of Seattle's African-American population, which prior to World War II never exceeded 4,000 people or constituted more than one percent of the city's population" (p. 235).

Unlike most other urban communities where blacks formed the largest nonwhite minority, blacks in Seattle found themselves one of the smallest of the minority groups. Asians, particularly Chinese and Japanese, occupied positions of minority dominance in this multiracial city. As the "third group" in this urban setting, blacks in Seattle were forced to operate in a multiracial setting, in contrast to the typical white-black biracial pattern found in most northern urban communities.

Black Seattle's patterns of community formation did not differ much from the national pattern. Institutional and organizational development such as black churches and the NAACP, Urban League, and various other local branches of national black organizations mirrored the national pattern. Even "The Forging of a Black Community Ethos," which Taylor considers to be a significant contribution of the book to black urban studies, can be found in slightly different forms in other studies. What stands out is the forging of the black community within a multiracial setting where blacks were not the dominant racial group.

This study's implications go far beyond Seattle and other western urban communities. Recent immigration of Asians, Middle Easterners, and Latin Americans have already changed the racial landscape of some cities. Many cities are already changing from being biracial to becoming multiracial. The time might not be far off when blacks in other cities will become the "third group." This study could become the model for understanding the changing minority role of blacks in emerging multiracial cities.

RICHARD W. THOMAS
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SCOTT M. CUTLIP. *The Unseen Power: Public Relations; A History*. (LEA's Communication Series.) Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum. 1994. Pp. xxi, 807. Cloth \$125.00, paper \$39.95.

Scott M. Cutlip's massive history of the public relations industry begins with the founding of the first public relations agency in the early 1900s and concludes with chapters on corporate public relations in the 1950s and 1960s. The book's title reflects Cutlip's thesis: that public relations practitioners have played "a far more important opinion-making role than the public perceives" (p. xi). This Cutlip demonstrates throughout the volume, showing how public relations campaigns have influenced not just politics and busi-

ness but virtually all aspects of America's social and cultural life.

Cutlip has taught and written about public relations for nearly fifty years, and he presents this book as the culmination of more than forty years of research. He began the project in the late 1950s, in conjunction with efforts to create the first public relations archive: the Mass Communications History Center at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Diverted into administration, he returned to the project in 1990 and, at that point, decided to structure the book as a series of profiles of pioneering public relations agencies and their founders. Cutlip's long association with the industry, including personal friendships with many of the practitioners he profiles, is both a strength and a weakness of the book. Through correspondence and conversations with many of the principals, Cutlip takes us behind the scenes, illuminates the motives and strategic thinking behind particular campaigns, and creates detailed personality profiles of the practitioners. Yet those personal associations also may account for Cutlip's rather defensive portrait of the industry and for the sometimes tedious detail of his biographical portraits.

There is, of course, a dark side to public relations history. Primarily in the service of big business, public relations campaigns historically have been employed to break strikes, fight government regulations, and stonewall complaints about unsafe products. Public relations also built the Ku Klux Klan in the early 1920s and encouraged sympathy for Adolf Hitler's Germany. Cutlip does not ignore these less-admirable achievements. He condemns a number of public relations campaigns as unethical, and he presents unsympathetic portraits of several practitioners.

Overall, however, this book is public relations for public relations. Often debating the industry's critics, Cutlip emphasizes "the good for society that can be accomplished through ethical, effective public relations" (p. ix). In addition, Cutlip tries to establish public relations as a bona fide and socially useful "profession" by distinguishing it from "publicity," "advertising," and "propaganda." Public relations, Cutlip argues, is more than simply "planting" newspaper stories or hawking a product, and good public relations does not manipulate or deceive.

Unfortunately, Cutlip's own accounts reveal that the reality of public relations often falls short of the ideal. Many practitioners come across as little more than news manipulators and hucksters, and the public relations "boom" of the 1920s resulted directly from the spectacular success of George Creel and his Committee on Public Information. Not only did business, industry, philanthropy, and government all learn "lessons" from the Creel Committee but also many of Creel's operatives turned their "propaganda" expertise into careers in public relations.

Cutlip does fulfill his promise to show the "unseen" yet "profound" impact of public relations "counselors" on our business life, our political life, and our social

and cultural life as a nation. Throughout the book, he reveals how public relations helped buffer various industries from their more visible and vocal critics. In addition, Cutlip shows how we were persuaded to become a philanthropic nation, detailing the role of public relations in fund-raising for higher education, in building the Red Cross into the world's premier relief agency, and in the successful crusade against polio. Most interestingly, Cutlip shows how a variety of fads, fashions, tastes, and trends did not just "happen" but were created by public relations campaigns. Public relations made motor boating, contract bridge, and skiing popular pastimes, transformed an obscure auto race in Indiana into "the greatest spectacle in racing," and convinced a skeptical, even fearful public to embrace commercial aviation.

This study has much to offer historians of business, social reform, philanthropy, and culture. It also profiles an interesting cast of characters, including Edward Bernays, the self-proclaimed "father" of public relations, and Clem Whitaker and Leone Baxter, the architects of modern political consulting. Cutlip succeeds in demonstrating that "public relations practitioners wield major influence in the public opinion game," but he is less successful in showing how public relations protects the "basic democratic right" of individuals and institutions to a "full and fair hearing in the public forum" (pp. xi–xii). "The social justification for public relations in a free society," Cutlip writes, "is to ethically and effectively plead the cause of a client or organization in the free-wheeling forum of public debate" (p. xii). That "social justification" is complicated, of course, by the fact that few can match the public relations budget of a General Motors or the tobacco industry, as well as by the industry's own failure—a failure Cutlip laments—to define and enforce ethical standards.

J. MICHAEL HOGAN
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Bloomington

SUMIKO HIGASHI. *Cecil B. DeMille and American Culture: The Silent Era*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 264. Cloth \$40.00, paper \$18.00.

Cecil B. DeMille is synonymous with huge, often tasteless, Hollywood biblical spectacles such as *The Ten Commandments* (1923, 1956), *The King of Kings* (1927), and *Samson and Delilah* (1949). These movies lured countless fans to theaters by offering a pat formula of lustful pagan sex conquered by pious Christian piety. DeMille once quipped that his motto was "Dividends first and art second." Few disputed him.

Forgotten is DeMille's pioneering role as a film director that began in 1914 with *The Squaw Man* and led many critics of early film history to classify the director as one of the most important forces in the development of the Hollywood film (p. 103).

Sumiko Higashi's book examines the silent film work of DeMille and concludes that he was an important and influential *auteur* whose feature films used spectacle to articulate middle-class ideology. Films such as *Carmen* (1915), starring Geraldine Farrar, appealed to a highbrow affluent audience, not the immigrant working class that is so often associated with the early cinema.

After World War I, DeMille's style changed. He moved from spectacle to modern bedroom dramas such as *Why Change Your Wife* (1920) and *The Affairs of Anatol* (1921), which Higashi credits with influencing the rush to mass consumption that afflicted the middle class and the well-to-do during the decade.

In my view, the book, while offering some provocative and interesting readings of DeMille films, suffers from a number of flaws. One is Higashi's decision to analyze DeMille and his films in isolation from the rest of the industry by using a methodology of "intra-textuality," which ignores references to other films and directors. For example, although Higashi sees DeMille as "the architect of modern consumption," the entire film industry symbolized consumption. The palatial homes, the elaborate life styles of the stars, the swimming pools, the money lavished on fashion, the fan magazines, and the films all worked together to promote modernism and consumption.

Not only is the industry absent from the book but so is DeMille. The *auteur* is a ghost figure. Although Higashi informs the reader that there is a large collection of archival material available on DeMille at Brigham Young University, little of DeMille's character, motivation, role in planning or writing his films, or his views of American culture emerge from the text.

Admittedly, that is not her purpose. But what is lost is the fact that DeMille worked as one part of a larger organization that produced films. It was Jess Lasky, for example, who pushed DeMille away from spectacle and toward modern themes after the war. Screenwriter Jeanie Macpherson played a major role writing original stories and adapting plays, novels, and short stories for DeMille for years. The director also depended on Wilfred Buckland for much of the creative lighting in his films. Film is, and was, a collaborative art form designed to make money (p. 489).

Finally, Higashi notes in her introduction that the historical profession has not developed a vocabulary to analyze visual media. Although it is true that historians have not developed a specialized code of language to describe what appears on the screen, good, simple, direct English in the hands of a skilled writer is rich enough to describe, analyze, and interpret film without resorting to a special language. Higashi's book, which relies heavily on theoretical constructs to deconstruct meaning, will be unintelligible to anyone who does not know the language of postmodern analysis.

GREGORY D. BLACK
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WILLIAM G. ROSS. *Forging New Freedoms: Nativism, Education, and the Constitution, 1917-1927*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1994. Pp. x, 277. \$40.00.

William G. Ross's book is a powerful reminder that the sort of hostility toward immigrants that inspired Californians to adopt Proposition 187 is not a new phenomenon. Neither is the enactment of statutes designed to protect native-born Americans from what they perceive as threats posed by recent arrivals from abroad. Ross establishes, however, that resistance to such legislation can achieve results. Particularly notable is what he demonstrates about the potential benefits of litigation attacking the constitutionality of laws aimed at immigrants.

Ross focuses on two types of legislation adopted during and after World War I at the initiative of those worried about the large number of Germans living in the United States and concerned about what might be going on in the Lutheran and Catholic parochial schools to which many of those Germans sent their children. Well over half of the states enacted laws that restricted the teaching of foreign languages, most often by requiring that most instruction in the elementary grades be done only in English. In 1922 Oregon voters went further, approving an initiative that required almost all children to attend public schools.

The Supreme Court declared this law unconstitutional in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (1925) and invalidated laws restricting instruction in languages other than English in *Meyer v. Nebraska* (1923) and *Farrington v. Tokushige* (1927). In doing so the Court found a libertarian use for substantive due process, employing a legal doctrine previously used to strike down economic regulatory legislation to protect the freedom of parents to educate their children as they chose. Indeed, Ross argues, it was in *Pierce* and *Meyer* that the Supreme Court began to make the protection of individual liberty an important part of its agenda. His book also explains the enactment of the statutes invalidated in those cases and in *Farrington*, illuminating the forces and concerns that inspired adoption of this legislation. In addition, Ross "studies the legal arguments that were presented by proponents and opponents of the statutes and analyzes the reasoning and enduring significance of the decisions in which the Supreme Court struck down those laws" (p. 6).

For the most part, he does these things quite well. Particularly impressive is Ross's discussion of *Farrington*, a Hawaiian case that is far less familiar to lawyers and historians than are *Meyer* and *Pierce*. He also provides valuable context by discussing the efforts, both successful and unsuccessful, to enact in other states laws similar to those at issue in the Supreme Court cases on which he focuses.

Ross bases his account on impressive research. His legal sources include briefs and court transcripts as well as published judicial opinions. He has mined a wide range of manuscript collections and also unearthed some quite obscure master's theses. This

volume is not only well researched but also quite readable. Ross's digresses a bit too much, and his descriptions of legal arguments are occasionally plodding, but otherwise his prose is lively and entertaining.

Although his "Note on Sources" is extremely informative, it would be more valuable if it did not omit many of the manuscript collections and secondary works cited in the endnotes. In addition, Ross underestimates the current legal significance of the libertarian substantive due process developed in *Meyer* and *Pierce*, which has become the doctrinal basis of the Supreme Court's abortion jurisprudence. These are, however, small quibbles with an otherwise excellent historical monograph, which deserves the serious attention of all students of twentieth-century American history.

MICHAEL R. BELKNAP

California Western School of Law

OSCAR HANDLIN and LILIAN HANDLIN. *Liberty in America, 1600 to the Present*. Volume 4, *Liberty and Equality, 1920-1994*. New York: HarperCollins. 1994. Pp. xviii, 363. \$30.00.

Although Oscar Handlin and Lilian Handlin's diagnosis of recent ills in American political culture is not original, analysis of those ailments has not previously been so well supported by intensely described social history. The Handlins believe that the twentieth century has seen a profound shift in liberals' conception of equality, a shift from equality of opportunity to equality of results. Not content to start everyone off on an even footing, liberals have defined equality as equal distribution of money, jobs, and other social goods across racial, ethnic, and gender groups. Successful integration has been self-contradictorily defined so as to require, if not segregation, at least segmentation of rewards among groups. This in turn has required increasing governmental control, thus pitting equality against its erstwhile ally, liberty.

This argument raises at least as many questions as it answers. Assessing the impact on liberty of changing conceptions of equality requires a finer calculus than the Handlins employ. If there is as deep a self-contradiction within the liberal social program of the last half century, as the Handlins suggest, then the end of that program seems to be justified and required by the ideal of a society blind to race, ethnicity, and gender. But granting that this program should sooner or later end does not establish that there was any other way to expand equality than to emphasize results, not opportunity, in a society of not only legal but also de facto social injustice. Granted that fatuous social engineers have caused deplorable injustice, the Handlins have nevertheless not considered the possibility that in the long term these excesses may appear to have been part of a useful lurch toward some yet better society. More acceptance of historical irony would have helped this book, although of course such perspective is difficult when dealing with recent and contemporary events.

The authors claim to avoid abstract theories of "liberty" in favor of a concrete measure—"people's ability to act"—that is, their freedom in their private and public lives" (p. ix). Yet the Handlins often step outside this measure, as for instance when they sympathize with parents attempting to teach family values in a society that sanctions homosexuality, cross-dressing, and other alternative life styles. Practitioners of these life styles, by the Handlins' own definition, enjoy greater liberty—"ability to act"—as a result of the recent government protection that some, perhaps many, traditional families resent. It is hard to see how open practice of these life styles impedes families' "ability to act" other than to make it more difficult to teach and practice intolerance of others' "ability to act." One lesson of this book is that any seemingly neutral definition of liberty such as "ability to act" is not feasible. The content of action is inseparable from ability to act in defining liberty.

Nevertheless, the Handlins have admirably provided useful historical background for understanding the heat and resentment with which many Americans view the ironic difficulties of recent attempts to balance freedom and fairness.

JAMES HOOPES
Babson College

COLIN GORDON. *New Deals: Business, Labor, and Politics in America, 1920–1935*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 329. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$17.95.

Material circumstances, not cultural traits or "national character," shape the political economy. The U.S. business system has historically been distinctively competitive and crisis-prone. At the same time, business has been by far the most powerful voice in public policy debate and promulgation. The combination of business power and governmental decentralization has produced contradictory, self-defeating, and incoherent public policies.

Colin Gordon seeks to demonstrate the truth of these propositions through an analysis of three key New Deal measures, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), the National Labor Relations Act, and the Social Security Act. Business used the National Recovery Administration (NRA), created after the NIRA went into effect, to enforce the failed associational initiatives that had peaked in the 1920s. Social Security was an effort to equalize the costs of welfare provision and thus eliminate them from the competitive calculus. The Wagner Act, by encouraging what Gordon calls "conservative industrial unionism," would similarly universalize labor costs through collective bargaining, thus, again, eliminating a key factor in regional and inter-industry competition.

These "new deals" proved at best temporary answers. Contradictory and competing business goals quickly wrecked the NRA. The Wagner Act proved too empowering to workers and had to be rolled back after

World War II. Social Security proved too limited and riddled with exemptions to play a significant role in reducing regional competition. Each of these initiatives, Gordon passingly suggests, did have a genuinely progressive component, but all were at root business-generated and business-controlled.

This study is well grounded in relevant published sources and reflects considerable archival research. The writing is clear and engaging. The book, however, is conceptually schematic and rhetorically evasive. Gordon's failures of language and analysis are most clearly revealed in his chapter on the Wagner Act. His argument depends on being able to show that business embraced the Wagner Act as a means of equalizing labor costs. Since he cannot do this, he is reduced to confusing business's eventual adaptation to the Wagner Act with an imaginary role in promulgating legislation that in reality corporate America fought bitterly, sometimes lethally.

Other problems include a skewed account of the U.S. economy in the 1920s, a failure to contextualize business's concerns over destructive competition, and a last chapter that consists largely of a series of *ex cathedra* judgments about the moral and programmatic failures of the U.S. political economy since World War II. Gordon's volume is at its best a useful reminder of the potency of corporate interests in debates over public policy in the twentieth century. It joins works by Thomas Ferguson, Christopher Tomlins, and Joel Rogers that see New Deal liberalism as a kind of trick played on a hopeful, but finally gullible, public. It has the effect of mystifying business power while discounting the achievements of laborites and liberals. Its subtext is that efforts to change from within the system are delusional, so powerful and pervasive are the forces of business dominance.

ROBERT H. ZIEGER
University of Florida

STEPHEN AMBERG. *The Union Inspiration in American Politics: The Autoworkers and the Making of a Liberal Industrial Order*. (Labor and Social Change.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1994. Pp. xiii, 354. \$44.95.

Previous studies of the breakdown of the "New Deal order" in labor relations and politics have focused on such issues as internal division within the New Deal coalition, a negative legal environment, heightened corporate anti-union efforts, and international competition. Although Stephen Amberg discusses these factors, his purpose is to argue that the New Deal order broke down because of its internal limitations, namely the failure to include workers as equal partners in production.

A key player in the New Deal order was the United Auto Workers (UAW), whose strategic vision, Amberg argues, was a "social democratic producerism" (p. 98) characterized by a high level of labor participation in workplace decision making. Amberg shares the view of

previous scholars that the UAW retreated from this vision in the postwar period and settled for an industrial pluralism where unions gained organizational security, a formal grievance procedure for handling worker complaints, and wage increases and fringe benefits for their members but conceded management authority in the workplace. Amberg's innovation is his assertion that the latter concession contributed to a fatal weakness of the New Deal system: the failure to cooperatively include workers in workplace decision making.

Interestingly, two of Amberg's case studies undermine the conventional view, which he shares, that the union conceded control of the workplace to management. A grass-roots movement arose among skilled auto workers in the 1950s, Amberg recounts, because their workplace needs were not addressed adequately. Union leaders vacillated over whether to support or suppress the movement, but workplace control remained contested terrain. At the Studebaker Corporation, Amberg shows, workers exercised considerable control over workplace decision making. The company started the slide that ended with a shutdown of its auto operations when a new management team attempted to emulate General Motors managerialism and faced intense worker resistance.

Although Amberg overstates union concessions to management control, he is correct in depicting union-management relations as far different from a producerist vision of joint cooperation. Amberg assumes rather than demonstrates that the well-known management failure to include workers in production planning was central to the decline in U.S. competitiveness. He chronicles the collapse of the New Deal order but fails to show that managerialism is the core explanation for this complicated story.

In recent years, U.S. auto companies have attempted to regain competitiveness by increasing employee involvement in achieving the firm's goals while maintaining "highly unequal powers between employees and managers" (p. 280). This managerialist style of reform does not produce true participation or worker satisfaction, Amberg argues, and is unlikely to solve the country's economic problems. He proposes a producerist reform project characterized by worker autonomy, union inclusion, power sharing, and a new politics that leads to more equitable investment for society as a whole. Given the context of a highly competitive global economy, Amberg's emphasis on industrial democracy would be strengthened by a discussion of international labor solidarity and of the need for a just world order.

The work is marred by numerous inaccuracies. For example, Harry Truman did not reject his fact-finding board's recommendation in the General Motors strike of 1945-46. Labor officials' discussion of a no-strike pledge with Chester Bowles occurred in 1945, not after the 1946 strike wave. The book is well researched, but

citations are often to a box in a manuscript collection rather than to a specific document.

MARTIN HALPERN

Henderson State University

RAYMOND B. VICKERS. *Panic in Paradise: Florida's Banking Crash of 1926*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 312. \$34.95.

This book is a story of mismanagement, fraud, government corruption, and cover-up in the banks of Florida and Georgia from 1926 to 1929. Raymond B. Vickers tells a classic tale of evil bankers deliberately channeling depositors' funds into their own development projects while bribing government officials to help hide their crimes. Vickers's message, however, is that the real criminal in this story is neither the bankers nor the officials. The real criminal is the secrecy laws that allowed these activities to remain hidden for more than sixty years.

One of the most interesting aspects of the book is the author's own role in "putting the criminal away." An attorney, economic historian and past assistant comptroller of the state of Florida, Vickers had to use all of the skills of these jobs to develop his book. In addition to the usual problems of archival work, the author faced the state controller's opinion that the release of the records "was a crime." Vicker's legal efforts and skillful use of publicity caused the reversal of that decision.

The basic story is that Florida's land boom of 1925 attracted a group of dubious visionaries who resorted to sleight of hand to anticipate the good things that were surely coming. Among them were Addison Mizner, as well as two bankers who provided financing for Mizner, W. D. Manley and J. R. Antony. The actions of these characters, which were sanctioned and concealed by Florida's state banking commissioner, Ernest Amos, are blamed for the widespread bank failures that plagued Florida and Georgia in 1926.

When a lawsuit was filed accusing Mizner of fraud, the action precipitated a run on the bank controlled by Manley and Antony. A run began on affiliated banks when that bank closed. Within two weeks, the run spread into Georgia. Failures there caused another wave of failures in Florida. While Amos tried to reassure the depositors by concealing problems, 150 banks closed. Amos, apparently motivated by more than public interest, had received numerous bank loans. The sealing of liquidated banks records was a final attempt to cover up the illegal activities and relationships that existed.

The main story is supplemented by information about other bribed government officials and detail about legal proceedings. It lacks, however, any coverage of the resulting economic effects or even real proof that the events described actually were the cause of the failure of the banks. As in more recent situations, much of what went on would not have been noticed if

growth in the economy had continued instead of slowing.

This book details an essential element of the history of Florida's land boom. It is a useful building block in constructing the history of the Great Depression and reveals the rather typical complexity of bank failures. It presents a case for sunshine laws and for appointed, rather than elected, bank supervisors. Anyone interested in any of these areas will want to add this book to their collection.

LYNNE PIERSON DOTI
Chapman University

ROBERT H. FERRELL. *Harry S. Truman: A Life*. (Missouri Biography Series.) Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 501. \$29.95.

Harry S. Truman has been among the most controversial of our recent presidents. Widely disparaged in popular opinion while in office, he has lately enjoyed a surge of regard, symbolized by the commercial success of David McCulloch's recent admiring biography (*Truman* [1992]). Some scholars have praised Truman as an appropriately decisive leader during the early years of the Cold War, whereas others have criticized his confrontational stance toward the Soviets for unduly heightening international tensions. Interesting questions about the presidency flow from these contrasting assessments: did Truman exemplify the man of limited experience transformed to greatness by large responsibilities; or did he illustrate how the parochialisms of American politics can cause trouble when projected onto the world stage?

Robert H. Ferrell's biography will be helpful to any reader wishing to come to terms with either the policies or the character of the thirty-third president. Informed by years of engagement with the subject, an impressive bibliography of secondary works, extensive archival research, and personal interviews with Truman associates, it is the most thorough scholarly work on Truman currently available.

Ferrell's first eight chapters provide a detailed account of Truman's pre-presidential years, as he rose from modest beginnings on a Missouri farm to become county judge, U.S. senator and, eventually, vice president. The next nine chapters cover the seven years of Truman's presidency, with alternate chapters devoted to foreign affairs, domestic policy, and electoral politics. A final chapter records his twenty years of retirement. Throughout the book Ferrell's writing is straightforward and professional, the assessments judicious. The extensive endnotes frequently supplement the text with additional discussion.

Despite its substantial strengths, Ferrell's book offers few new insights into either Truman or the policies of his administration. His emphasis is on broad coverage rather than analytic depth or provocative judgment. One example from each of the major segments of the book will illustrate both the strengths and limitations of Ferrell's volume.

In his account of the years before Truman became president, Ferrell provides a wealth of contextual material to help the reader understand the later president, including, interestingly, the influences of freemasonry and the Baptist church and, of course, the nature of Missouri politics between the two world wars. He also stresses the undistinguished character of his subject, pointing out that Truman read few serious books as a young man or later, had minimal understanding of history or politics, and had accomplished little of note in any of his adult ventures prior to his elevation to the presidency. Yet Ferrell offers no serious analysis of how the unexceptional man he has described could have evolved so quickly into the great world leader he clearly believes Truman became. This most obvious of questions about the man he is at pains to help us appreciate is simply ignored.

Ferrell clearly regards Truman's accomplishments in foreign policy as the chief legacy of his presidency, and he devotes an entire chapter to the critical initiatives of the early postwar years—the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, and NATO—that provided the basis for much of American foreign policy until the collapse of the Soviet Union. In chronicling these achievements, Ferrell is scholarly and balanced, frequently noting the limitations of the policies even as he praises their significance and effectiveness. At the same time, he does not seriously engage fundamental themes of Truman's scholarly critics. He discusses Truman's policies in terms familiar to scholars of the 1950s—that is, as American responses to Soviet provocation—without addressing a body of literature focused on the ways in which American foreign policy was, in its own way, aggressive and self interested. In particular, Ferrell ignores the entire realm of foreign economic policy, and discusses not at all the links between the Marshall Plan and American positions on international trade.

On balance, Ferrell's book is a useful contribution to our understanding of recent American history. A scholarly reader can appreciate the solidity of Ferrell's achievement while wishing for a more penetrating analysis of a president about whom we are still making up our minds.

RICHARD M. FREELAND
City University of New York

W. EDWARD ORSER. *Blockbusting in Baltimore: The Edmondson Village Story*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 1994. Pp. xiii, 241. \$39.95.

During the decade 1955–65, Edmondson Village, a row-house neighborhood in northwest Baltimore, shifted from almost exclusively white to predominately black. W. Edward Orser's book not only explores the blockbusting tactics that precipitated this demographic upheaval but also, more importantly, analyzes the underlying social forces triggering it.

Orser identifies Edmondson Village as a suburb and sees his study illuminating the link between race and suburbanization. Developed by the Keelty (real estate)

Company in the early twentieth-century, and advertised as having "all the conveniences of the city with the advantages of the country," the white-porch, streetcar-served, row-house neighborhood flourished prior to World War II and, according to Orser, experienced its golden age in the suburban era, 1945–55.

Orser embeds the real-estate phenomenon called blockbusting into the historical-sociological context of post-World War II suburbanization and ghettoization. Making extensive use of oral history as well as census block data, Orser unravels the demographic and socioeconomic fabric of this white row-house suburban world probing for flaws in an ostensibly stable texture. He identifies several key factors. Although racially homogenous and embracing the suburban ethos, the community lacked cohesion. Legally part of Baltimore, geographically the place was isolated and lacked an identifiable historical and institutional infrastructure. Edmondson Village sat near a large black neighborhood, yet its people feared and rarely encountered African Americans. Significantly, the modest Edmondson row housing represented the bulk of savings for the white lower- middle-class clerks, small proprietors, and service workers who lived there.

Although Orser discusses the black "pioneer" newcomers to Edmondson Village and detects a demographic and socioeconomic similarity to their white predecessors, here the book explores Baltimore's changing housing market and the technique of blockbusting, not the postwar African-American experience. Other than sketching the "dual housing market" and profiling the "activist"-led black protest movement against blockbusters, Orser's study focuses on a once white, not a new black community.

Orser's book has deftly revealed the social fragility of an apparently "stable" white community. In doing so he has produced a delightful and informative biography of a twentieth-century row-house suburb replete with a superb architectural record. A few weaknesses, however,—attributable largely to the dangers of oral history—mar an otherwise excellent book. Despite warning us to beware of his interviewees' romanticization, Orser conveys an overwhelmingly idyllic view of white Edmondson Village. Accordingly, he rests his jarring account of the 1950s debacle too heavily on social-psychological causation. What about alternative explanations? He cites Kenneth Jackson, but says little about the impact of federally sanctioned redlining. Neither does he mention Eugene Erickson's and William Yancey's study linking white flight to the disintegration of the work and residence nexus in Philadelphia's streetcar suburbs (*Journal of Urban History* 5 [February 1979]). Finally, what about racism itself, "American Apartheid" in Douglas Massey's and Nancy Denton's words? Some accounting of these alternative explanations for "blockbusting in Baltimore" might have made a very good book even better.

JOHN F. BAUMAN

California University of Pennsylvania

PAUL LYONS. *Class of '66: Living in Suburban Middle America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 271. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

This is a modest book about modest people; but Paul Lyons's willingness to listen carefully to the voices of "suburban middle America" makes this a more valuable study than many more ambitious and pretentious efforts.

The book chronicles the lives of the members of the class of 1966 from a suburban high school near Atlantic City, New Jersey, that Lyons calls "Coastal High." White, conservative, overwhelmingly Protestant, and middle class, the majority of the members of the class of '66 either found steady jobs in the area directly after high school or returned home to the area soon after graduating from college.

Lyons originally contacted this group to test his hypothesis that most of the "1960s generation" participated neither in the antiwar protests nor the "hippie" movements that are thought to characterize those years. But, given his sample population, Lyons's test-case is somewhat like tasting mayonnaise to see if it is bland. Not surprisingly, the men Lyons interviews almost universally supported the Vietnam War (while finding the means to stay as far away from Southeast Asia as possible); the women tended to deny any connection to "hippies" or "bra-burners."

Luckily, Lyons goes well beyond the banal negativity of his thesis to attempt a group portrait of "middle middle" Americans whose very ubiquitousness makes them almost invisible. The men sought and generally found steady work in middle management, family businesses, teaching, or government; their wives work outside the home but the couples still rely on the man's earnings for their middle-class status. They remain distant both from affluent "yuppies"—defined by one informant as people who have Corvettes, Mercedes, play tennis, and ski, and who "know everything"—and from the much-despised urban underclass.

Lyons's emphasis on the concept of "suburban" in "suburban middle class" is perhaps misleading for this group. Although they live in the very heart of the eastern megalopolis only sixty miles from center-city Philadelphia and 125 miles from Manhattan, they are almost as untouched by the diversity of metropolitan life as if they were living on the Great Plains. It might be more accurate to say this group represents the new form of small-town America, the late-twentieth-century equivalent of Sinclair Lewis's *Main Street*. This is not the rural-based world of Gopher Prairie but the decentralized environment of the megalopolis: the scattering of branch plants, truck farms, leisure centers, highways, and strip malls that have replaced the actual Main Streets.

The residents of "the Coastal Communities"—Lyons does not name the actual New Jersey towns—are at once truly local in their orientation yet totally immersed in a national culture so generic that they could be transplanted to the other side of the continent

without doing much more than retuning the cable box for a different numbering of television channels.

Lyons's principal finding is the almost glacial stability of this "middle middle" of our society. Neither war nor social revolution nor stagflation nor oil crises nor Reaganomics have deterred them from the steadfast pursuit of a middle-class job, a stable marriage, and a single-family house in a quiet community that qualifies as a "good place to raise kids."

Indeed, Lyons's portrayal seems too stable to be true, and this reflects in part the limitations of his interviewing methods. As an interviewer, he is too polite to press people to divulge their more private concerns, those quiet desperations centering on money, sex, and kids who go wrong that so often lie behind the split-level façade. Moreover, the bulk of Lyons's interviews were conducted around 1988, before New Jersey and the nation entered the period of "downsizing" that has brought turmoil to precisely the "middle middle" class.

One set of voices that is almost absent from the book is that of the children, the ostensible centers of these child-centered lives. The members of the class of '66 largely accepted their parents' values, but what do their children (now often in "Coastal High" themselves) think of the world their parents have bequeathed to them? Three decades after their graduation, the middle-aged members of the class of '66 have mostly fulfilled their modest hopes. Thirty years from now, will the class of '96 be able to say the same?

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JAMES L. KAUFFMAN. *Selling Outer Space: Kennedy, the Media, and Funding for Project Apollo, 1961-1963*. (Studies in Rhetoric and Communications.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994. Pp. x, 190.

Debate coaches, literary critics, and public relations directors are typically the ones who pay serious attention to rhetoric, the art of persuasion. Scholars of public policy also may find value in rhetorical analysis. Rhetoric in public discourse encompasses language, themes, images, symbols, and myths used deliberately to create a multidimensional appeal to public opinion.

James L. Kauffman embarks on a rhetorical analysis of the effort to define and win support for the Apollo manned lunar landing program in the early 1960s. It is not a coincidence that the space policy of President John F. Kennedy's "New Frontier" was consonant with the nation's sense of its frontier past. Kauffman shows how "the crucial period in the creation of American space policy is steeped in myth" (p. 1) by focusing on the language and themes used by the Kennedy administration, NASA, the media, and Congress to persuade themselves and the public of the case for a manned lunar landing. The present and future space program was defined and defended, quite literally, in terms of a

pioneering frontier adventure, a modern version of an idealized American past.

The analysis unfolds with greatest effect in chapters surveying the rhetoric of news media coverage, *Life* magazine articles, and Congressional committee hearings and floor debates. Kauffman shows how the frontier story appealed to certain journalistic values and stimulated a media response that was more favorable than critical in covering the space program. Similarly, his analysis of the rhetoric of committee hearings and floor debates shows the extent to which members of Congress were vocal advocates, rather than overseers, of the administration's proposed space program, and serious challenges to Apollo were ignored or overwhelmed by the rhetorical appeal of the frontier.

Less satisfying are the first two chapters, in which the author engages in rhetorical biases of his own, betraying an unsupported cynicism. He implies through shaded terms such as "touted," "peddled," "pitch," and "sell" that it is deceptive for a public agency to engage in public relations to win support. He insinuates that the political, scientific, military, and economic arguments to justify the Apollo program were spurious, yet he offers no supporting evidence. In these opening chapters, Kauffman uncritically builds his analysis on other people's theses through a string of quotations accepted at face value. Accusing the space program's public relations effort, he fails to consider relevant context, such as NASA's charter mandating dissemination of knowledge and the rhetorical practices of other agencies seeking support in a competitive funding arena.

Overall, this book offers a more valuable analysis when the author is working from primary sources than when he is making his case based on someone else's framework. The book contains an extensive bibliography and footnotes to lead the interested reader quickly to an independent examination of pertinent documents and studies. Although uneven in its argument and insight, Kauffman's book sheds light on the origins, uses, strengths, and weaknesses of the prevailing frontier metaphor for manned space exploration.

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PETER IRONS. *Brennan vs. Rehnquist: The Battle for the Constitution*. (A Borzoi Book.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1994. Pp. xiv, 380. \$27.50.

Students of the Supreme Court have identified the values and attitudes of justices as critical determinants of decision making. Others have argued that in interpreting the Constitution and statutory provisions and constructing public policy, justices can be considered modern political theorists. Certainly, in determining the balance between individual rights and governmental police power and the lines between the authority of the central and subnational governments, the justices

adopt and refine democratic theory and constitutional philosophies. Each of these perspectives tends to obscure the fact that not all justices are equal even if each has but one vote. Indeed, this is one of the most important themes in Peter Irons's book.

On the Court, at any given time, there are philosophical leaders and the foot soldiers who provide them with the votes necessary to articulate their views of the Constitution and the good society. Irons portrays Justices William Brennan and William Rehnquist as intellectual leaders with coherently structured philosophies (if not clear constitutional principles) who battled for control of the Supreme Court and the doctrine that emerges from it. The stakes involved the Constitution and the nature and shape of the rights and liberties of Americans.

What separates this study from most traditional judicial biographies is the fact that it involves two justices. (Although there are two other recent examples of biographies with a comparative focus: Howard Ball and Phillip Cooper, *Of Power and Right: Hugo Black, William O. Douglas and America's Constitutional Revolution* [1992] and James Simon, *The Antagonists: Hugo Black, Felix Frankfurter, and Civil Liberties in Modern America* [1989].) The comparative dimension offers an interesting perspective. Irons starts with the broader notions that structure the judicial role orientations of Rehnquist and Brennan. Examining their votes and opinions in key cases, he contrasts their views of the Constitution, the appropriate role for unelected justices, and the appropriate bases for judicial decisions. Irons then examines the differences between the justices on an issue-by-issue basis with particular attention to free speech, freedom of religion, obscenity, criminal procedure, and equal protection. In each of these areas, Irons starts with the fundamental principles that underlie the justices' values and their application to the individual cases in that area.

Irons uses 100 cases to illustrate the differences between the justices. In all but two of those cases, Rehnquist and Brennan were on opposite sides. As in much of his other work, Irons pays close attention to the facts of the cases and the individuals involved in these constitutional struggles. Irons does not hide the fact that he is sympathetic to the views of Justice Brennan. His analysis focuses on their votes in these cases and their written opinions. He contrasts the language of the opinions and the values and principles those opinions reflect.

The book is more systematic than most biographies in examining many of the "behavioral" determinants of decision making. Irons shows the influence of Brennan's and Rehnquist's backgrounds on their philosophies and judicial behavior. He also demonstrates the impact of their values and attitudes, the most important determinant of judicial decision making. Irons is careful, however, to ground those values and attitudes within the judicial philosophies that structure their decisions. The author also examines the dynamics of

small-group decision making by concentrating on the personalities of these two justices. Irons acknowledges the role of personality in the abilities of the justices, particularly Brennan, to build winning coalitions in the various cases. The public law subfield is often divided between analysts who confine their studies to doctrine and opinion language and the behaviorists who concentrate almost exclusively on the votes of the justices. Irons makes some effort to weave both strands together. Not surprisingly, the approaches are complementary.

Justices Brennan and Rehnquist anchored opposite ends of the Supreme Court continuum for two decades. The significance of their conflicting positions was magnified when Rehnquist was elevated to the Chief Justice's chair. At that time, Brennan was the senior justice, allowing him to assign opinions when Rehnquist was not in the majority. In the concluding chapter, Irons canvasses law reviews and other writings for an assessment of the influence these two men had on constitutional law. Not surprisingly, those evaluations reflected their eminence and predicted that the influence of Brennan and Rehnquist would long outlast their time on the Supreme Court.

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RUTH KARK. *American Consuls in the Holy Land, 1832-1914*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press or Magnes Press, Hebrew University, Jerusalem. 1994. Pp. 388. \$49.95.

America's contemporary interest in, and involvement with, the political and economic currents of Middle Eastern life began quite tentatively in the 1830s with the dispatch of its first consular corps to Palestine. More commonly referred to in the West as the Holy Land, this region was to continue to be under the administrative rule of the Ottoman empire until the end of World War I. Relying on an impressive range of primary sources, in particular consular reports filed by the Americans assigned to the post in Jerusalem, Ruth Kark has written a fine history of the land, an era, and the U.S. consuls there from 1832 to 1914.

Two themes interact with one another throughout this volume. One is the economic and social transformation occurring in Palestine as it changed from being a place of secondary importance in the Ottoman empire to the focus of attention by Europeans. The second theme is the role played by U.S. consuls in shaping the events of the period and in establishing an American presence. Significant growth of trade led the United States to expand its consular services throughout the world in the nineteenth century. After an office of a consulate-general was established in Constantinople, the creation of fourteen subordinate consular posts followed, including one in Jerusalem.

Because trade and commercial interests were negligible in this realm of the Ottoman empire, U.S. consuls

assigned to Jerusalem became more involved in humanitarian and philanthropic endeavors. And although Kark surprisingly fails to make the point, her evidence shows that the consuls came to reflect pervasive ideals that have been associated with the conduct of foreign affairs from the beginning of the Republic. For instance, that recurring thread of idealism and moralism determining direction of policy could be seen as a motivating force in the conduct of several consuls in Jerusalem.

Jewish settlements in Palestine were increasing and Ottoman resistance was growing to more Jewish migration from Europe. U.S. consuls frequently assisted the otherwise friendless immigrants in securing property and ensuring their safety. Some U.S. consuls sought their appointment to Jerusalem because they believed Palestine to be of enormous religious and historical importance. Some assisted Jews because they were convinced of the messianic implication of Jews returning to Zion. One consequence of the U.S. consulate extending its protective services to Jews was a strain in diplomatic relations with Ottoman administrators.

Kark's account of the influence consuls had in the nineteenth century is insightful. They not only governed their own nationals living abroad but also nationals of other countries (called protégés) often sought out the protective services of a foreign government whose consulate had proven its capabilities to protect those under its jurisdiction. The U.S. consuls generally won a favorable reputation, particularly among Jews, and essentially ran a "state within a state" as they saw fit. U.S. consuls could act with autonomy because communication was slow, America was far away, and Washington invariably failed to issue clear directives.

This volume goes a long way toward establishing the idea that American support in behalf of a Jewish return to the Holy Land is deeply rooted in the nineteenth century through the conduct of its official representatives in Jerusalem. World War I led to the next step of American commitment on the issue through President Woodrow Wilson's endorsement of the Balfour Declaration. It would be a twisting path, however, that would lead the United States to support the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, and to continue its support thereafter.

The one significant disappointment in this book is the reluctance of the author in some instances to move from all the information she has presented to interpret and analyze the material effectively. For example, there is a wealth of information on the U.S. consuls and their work; but there is little effort to evaluate these people collectively, to summarize their significance and their historical importance, and to come to a conclusion about their contribution to the region where they served and to their country.

Kark specifically states that she did not wish to idealize these men, and she should not. She is being far too impassive about their role, however, when she

notes that "the overall picture that emerges is one of reasonable adequacy" (p. 306). The record of their work as presented indicates that they were better than reasonably adequate. Generally they worked long and hard, they had had no prior training, no experience in consular work, and were not professional diplomats.

JOHN SNETSINGER

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PERRY D. JAMIESON. *Crossing the Deadly Ground: United States Army Tactics, 1865-1899*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 230. \$29.95.

Best known for his study of a Celtic compulsion for suicidal attacks in the Confederate Army, Perry Jamieson is a scholar whose work on nineteenth-century military developments deserves careful reading. This book is a serious, measured attempt to examine the alterations of doctrine in the U.S. Army after the Civil War. If offensive combat had any future, the army had to find a way to cross "the deadly ground," the distance of a mile or so over which any attacking force had to pass before it could close with the enemy. Rifled artillery and rifles—soon supplemented with machine guns—made such assaults into "the killing zone" (in later usage) the graveyard of the infantry and generalship.

Jamieson argues that the U.S. Army did not come to grips with crossing "the deadly ground" and fought Spain as if it again faced Confederate Enfields, not German-Spanish Mauser rifles firing steel-jacketed bullets with smokeless powder. Jamieson argues that the army sought spiritual solutions for its fundamental dilemma; the "natural" initiative and ardor of the American soldier would prevail. If the army changed its drill regulations, essentially synonymous with tactics, it could deploy infantry, cavalry, and artillery from marching into fighting formations quickly and advance toward the enemy. Emory Upton's *Tactics* (1874) provided this system, further refined by a new drill manual in 1891. In the meantime the army turned tactical revision over to the faculty and students of its growing school system, specifically the Infantry and Cavalry School at Ft. Leavenworth. Jamieson describes well the change in process, which may have only slowed reform. Field service against the western Native Americans provided no lasting lessons on how to fight the army of a modern industrial nation. Until the concentration of garrisons in the 1890s, the army could not conduct meaningful field exercises, essential to innovation.

Although Jamieson makes a start in considering tactical reform, he does not close with the problem, which was a continued ordnance revolution in the late nineteenth century that created weapons that fired five times faster and five times farther with greater accuracy than their black-powder, muzzle-loading predecessors. Because Jamieson tends to follow the arguments from the perspective of infantry and cavalry

officers, he misses much of the emerging argument, advanced by artillerymen and pioneer machine gunners such as John H. Parker, that only massed supporting fires from stationary units ("the base of fire") could suppress the fire of fixed defensive positions. Since he limits his analysis to the U.S. Army, he provides no sense of the lively (or deadly) tactical debates in European armies.

Jamieson reveals his uncertain grasp of tactical issues when he leaps ahead with dark predictions that Belleau Wood and Cantigny, battles fought by the American Expeditionary Forces in May–June 1918, showed how little the army had learned. The two engagements could not be more different. At Belleau Wood, with virtually no artillery support, four Marine battalions did indeed repeat "the first day on the Somme," but at Cantigny the U.S. 28th Infantry Regiment crossed "the deadly ground" with relatively few casualties and seized its objective. The battle for Cantigny demonstrated the essentials: massed artillery bombardment on pre-registered targets, overhead machine gun fire along the flanks of the infantry, and the employment of tanks. By not tying tactical reform to the emerging military technology, Jamieson omits much of the essentials of releasing ground armies from the thrall of the Napoleonic era.

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CHIARELLA ESPOSITO. *America's Feeble Weapon: Funding the Marshall Plan in France and Italy, 1948–1950*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 26.) New York: Greenwood. 1994. Pp. xxii, 226. \$55.00.

One of the peculiarities of post–World War II historiography is the paucity of solid studies of the Marshall Plan. With a few notable exceptions, we lack serious monographic work and bolder broad studies on one of the defining moments of U.S. and Western European history. Part of the problem has been the requirement for scholars who possess a broad grounding in both economics and history. More troubling has been the incomplete nature of Marshall Plan records. Added to this is the insularity, demonstrated in weakness in foreign languages and lack of research in foreign archives, that marks American production in the history of international relations.

Chiarella Esposito, an Italian-born scholar who possesses a sure command of languages, archives, and the relevant historiography, has produced a tightly constructed, well-written study of the operation of the European Recovery Program (ERP) in Italy and France that should serve as a model for future work on the Marshall Plan.

Esposito begins her study by reviewing the historiography on the ERP and on political developments in early postwar Italy and France, outlining the significant schools of interpretation and placing her own work in this context. In the succeeding three chapters,

she reviews French utilization of ERP funds and U.S. reaction. American officials were concerned by the expansionary policies followed by France but quickly realized that the major tool designed to give the United States control over the ERP, a veto power over the spending of counterpart funds, was unusable. Political considerations consistently overrode economic concerns. The United States had given its support to France's centrist government, and to withdraw it or even put it in doubt through a public airing of differences on ERP programming would have delivered a severe blow to France's political stability. American officials had to swallow their concerns and accept French policy for fear of delivering the country to a powerful Communist Party.

A similar fate met U.S. policy in Italy. In this case, the United States pressed the administration of Alcide DeGasperi for a policy of economic expansion through the use of counterpart funds. The Italians, who were besieged by a Communist Party that was larger and more powerful than that in France, insisted on a program of lire stabilization that restricted credit and kept unemployment high. Once again, the United States could not carry through an economic policy it favored because of political considerations.

This story is told with careful attention to detail and to the nuances of both political culture and economic policy. In the end, Esposito concludes, the Americans were well served by the political decision to let the Italian and French leaderships carry forward. Both Italian and French leaders proved capable of molding policies that achieved the common goals they shared with the United States: political and economic stabilization in the aftermath of war and the chaos of reconstruction.

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ROBERT H. JOHNSON. *Improbable Dangers: U.S. Conceptions of Threat in the Cold War and After*. New York: St. Martin's. 1994. Pp. x, 324. \$39.95.

This book perceptively analyzes an American tendency throughout the Cold War to exaggerate threats to the national security. Robert H. Johnson, who served on the National Security Council staff in the 1950s and 1960s, seeks to understand why the United States routinely distorted and exaggerated external threats, especially those associated with the Soviet Union.

Johnson is more interested in psychological and geopolitical forces than economic ones, thus distinguishing his critical analysis from that of certain "revisionists." He makes a compelling case for the reality of American threat exaggeration, offers some explanation for the phenomenon, and urges changes to remedy the problem in the post–Cold War era.

Throughout the postwar era, but especially in the critical periods of 1947–53, 1957–62, and 1975–81, exaggerated threats fueled the Cold War, prompting

the United States to "pay much higher costs in resources, human lives, opportunities foregone, and distortions of American society and politics than were warranted" (p. 7). Distorted perceptions caused Washington to embrace worst-case scenarios, devise military means to combat purely political problems, and led to obsessions with American credibility and falling dominoes. Worst of all, "Threat inflation often created self-fulfilling prophecies" (p. 212).

Much of this is familiar, although Johnson's arguments are thoroughly researched and cogently argued. Perhaps the most original contribution is the author's attempt to relate American foreign policy to psychological theories on an innate human need for order and control. As the United States, expansionist throughout its history, emerged as the world's preeminent power in the postwar era, the ironic result was increased insecurity stemming from the challenge of seeking to achieve order out of the chaos that flowed from a universalist conception of national interest.

Johnson argues that fear of disorder led Washington to exaggerate Europe's vulnerability to communism, whether through Soviet aggression or "Finlandization." As the United States lost its nuclear supremacy for parity with the Soviet Union in the 1970s and 1980s, exaggerated fears of a "window of vulnerability" emerged. Turning to the Third World, Johnson argues that putative threats posed by communism and neutralism were frequently "based upon very unlikely contingencies" (p. 177).

In his conclusion, Johnson argues convincingly that the realist paradigm, which provided the basis for American Cold War orthodoxy, was an anachronism in the postwar world. The existence and proliferation of nuclear weapons changed the nature of world politics, undermining the realists' emphasis on power and national interest. Realist diplomacy, inherently elitist, also proved incompatible with American democracy.

The end of the Cold War, like its beginning, calls for new thinking about world affairs. Johnson warns that Americans can no longer assume "preeminent responsibility for maintaining world order" (p. 237). As first steps, policy makers should eschew intervention and embrace lower defense spending in order to give priority to pressing domestic problems. Given the nature of his argument, Johnson's book might easily have lapsed into a polemic, but it does not. The reasoned tone, coupled with the force of argument, make this one of the better of the spate of post-Cold War analyses of American foreign policy.

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H. W. BRANDS. *The Wages of Globalism: Lyndon Johnson and the Limits of American Power*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 294. \$27.50.

Fast emerging as one of the historical profession's most prolific authors, H. W. Brands has written yet another book about twentieth-century American for-

eign relations, his eighth since 1988. It proves to be, as nearly all of his books have, a solid though less-than-definitive treatment of an important subject. Provocative, thoughtful, briskly paced, and engagingly written, this study exhibits many of the signal trademarks that appreciative readers have come to expect from Brands's work.

Based principally on the fragmentary documentary evidence currently available to scholars at the Lyndon B. Johnson Presidential Library in Austin, Texas, this study represents, by the author's own admission, only "a first step" in the direction of analyzing and evaluating the overall foreign policy of the Johnson administration. It is, nonetheless, a useful first step. Brands organizes his narrative around two overarching themes, both of which he develops effectively. First, Brands suggests that the relative decline of American power during the mid and late 1960s imposed severe limits on the Johnson administration's ability to achieve its main foreign policy objectives. "It was Lyndon Johnson's peculiar bad luck," he observes, "to preside over American foreign policy at the moment when the scales of world power were tipping away from the United States" (p. vii). Second, Brands argues that, his disastrous handling of the Vietnam War excepted, Johnson managed the chief diplomatic challenges he faced with a reasonable degree of success. Appropriately critical of Johnson's "unimaginative orthodoxy" and his reflective preference for maintaining the international status quo, Brands insists that Johnson nonetheless compiled a fair record as a statesman, a record far stronger than previous authorities have recognized (p. 29).

These conclusions derive from the seven case studies that constitute the heart of this monograph. In separate chapters that are essentially self-contained narratives, Brands examines the Johnson administration's response to Latin America, especially the invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965; to the problems posed by France and West Germany within the western alliance; to the Cyprus crisis; to the Indo-Pakistani War of 1965 and its aftermath; to the Indonesian coup that toppled President Sukarno that same year; to the Arab-Israeli War of 1967; and, of course, to the war in Vietnam. In each case, except once again that of Vietnam, Brands declares that Johnson deserves substantial credit either for limiting potential regional and global damage to American interests or for turning crises into opportunities for advancing American interests. He helped prevent war between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus, for example, kept the Arab-Israeli War "short and localized," capitalized on the political windfall that followed the overthrow of Sukarno, and "dealt prudently and gracefully with [Charles] de Gaulle" (p. vii).

This volume stands as a valuable addition to the literature on American foreign relations during the Cold War era. It could have been more valuable still had Brands paid more attention to the critical U.S. relationships with the Soviet Union and China, en-

gaged directly the relevant secondary literature, and expanded the book's rather narrow primary source base. Despite those shortcomings, Brands has more than achieved his purpose with this fresh and challenging reassessment of Johnson's foreign policy. Indeed, if issued in paper, this accessible monograph might make a useful supplementary text for undergraduate courses in American diplomatic history.

ROBERT J. McMAHON
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PETER W. RODMAN. *More Precious than Peace: The Cold War and the Struggle for the Third World*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1994. Pp. xiii, 654. \$35.00.

Peter W. Rodman, a protégé of Henry Kissinger, served on the staff of the National Security Council and in the Department of State during the Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush presidencies. He is now an editor of the conservative journal, *National Review*. Rodman holds that the United States won the Cold War and that the Republican administrations in which he worked deserve full credit for the victory. That triumph came in the 1980s in the Third World where the United States forced the Soviet Union to confront its imperial overstretch in such far-flung areas as Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia, and Nicaragua. Success came because President Reagan and his staff, including Rodman, designed a foreign policy that reconciled the nation's moral impulses with its strategic necessities. As the author puts it, "Reagan tapped the Wilsonian tradition as a motivation for the accomplishment of a Nixonian strategic purpose" (p. 543).

In Rodman's historical analysis, the debacle in Vietnam temporarily undermined U.S. foreign policy. Under the aegis of Kissinger and Nixon's policy of detente, the United States had been in the process of constructing a predictable strategic relationship with the Soviet Union. But in the aftermath of Vietnam, the nation lost its self-confidence and credibility and the Soviets quickly rushed to fill this vacuum of power. Burdened by bitter memories, the United States declined to resist Soviet adventurism in the Third World. In the case of Jimmy Carter, "moral consciousness produced paralysis" (p. 232). Fortunately for the West, President Reagan took up the challenge, trumpeting the values of the democracies and confidently predicting the systemic crisis that awaited the Soviet Union. And with his Reagan Doctrine, the president hit on the perfect strategy of funneling military assistance to "freedom fighters" throughout the Third World. By definition these freedom fighters were anticommunists of virtually any political stripe, including the authoritarian Angolan thug, Jonas Savimbi. Nonetheless, with the Reagan Doctrine, the United States could protect its strategic interests while simultaneously securing the high moral ground.

In recounting the Soviet-American confrontation in

the Third World, Rodman freely admits that he is scarcely interested in the details of the political, socioeconomic, and cultural history of individual countries. His is a global rather than regional perspective. He implies that it is fruitless to debate whether Third World radicals like Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro, Salvador Allende, and Daniel Ortega subordinated their ideological convictions to nationalist concerns. What mattered is that such radicals pursued domestic and international policies that coincided with those of the Soviets, inevitably imperiling the geopolitical interests of the United States. The "game" or "Great Game"—terms Rodman is fond of using—required the United States to counter these radical challenges. But this game of Cold War competition devastated Third World countries, ruining the lives of millions. Rodman laments the toll but comforts himself with the thought that the destruction of Third World radicalism was "more precious than peace." In any case, Third World countries apparently had limited prospects. Rodman dismisses Angola's suffering by airily noting that "for better or worse, this tragic country was now reduced to its own historical dimensions" (p. 399).

Rodman's work does not qualify as historical scholarship. He conducted no archival research, and his reading in secondary works is thin. Scholars will find, however, useful historical tidbits, such as Rodman's observations on the personal habits of Leonid Brezhnev, the unsavory Soviet leader. Historians will also consult this book because it opens a window to the ideological certainties of foreign policy makers during the Reagan era. Indeed, Rodman's study stands as a testament to American exceptionalism.

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CANADA

A. B. McKILLOP. *Matters of Mind: The University in Ontario, 1791–1951*. (Ontario Historical Studies Series.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press, for the Government of Ontario. 1994. Pp. xxv, 716. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$35.00.

This is an important book. Drawing on his own research as well as the published work of others, A. B. McKillop has written a splendid, pioneering synthesis of Ontario university history, from the founding of the colony of Upper Canada as the home of some thousands of Loyalist refugees from the United States, to the point at which the federal government began to make direct, untied grants to universities.

The first lieutenant-governor, Sir John Graves Simcoe, championed a publicly funded university, but colonial poverty and metropolitan lack of interest combined for many years to block such a scheme. Sectarian interest in higher education grew steadily, however. The 1840s were a key decade, because the union in 1841 of Upper Canada with Lower Canada

saved the former from insolvency and helped make money available for a university. A long struggle led to the secularization of King's College in 1849, to become the University of Toronto. Disappointed Anglicans then established Trinity College. Methodists and Presbyterians already had their own small impecunious institutions; Roman Catholics and Baptists followed later.

In the mid-nineteenth century the control and funding of higher education greatly agitated politics; agitation subsided gradually after the Dominion of Canada came into existence in 1867 and Ontario got control of education within its boundaries. Decades of financial neglect followed, with the University of Toronto drawing only short rations from the public purse and the denominational colleges dependent on private sources of income.

McKillop sees the increased interest shown by the government of Sir James Pliny Whitney after 1905, matched by greater financial support, as evidence that the state was taking universities more seriously, chiefly for the practical contributions they might make to the province. By this time several denominational institutions had federated with the University of Toronto, while Queen's and Western were secularizing themselves in order to obtain public funds.

The outbreak of war in 1914 began a period of crisis, as many professors and students left to fight and budgets were sapped by inflation. The 1920s brought partial recovery, the 1930s penury. "By 1939 the \$2.4 million spent on universities represented only 2.4 per cent of the provincial budget. It had been seven per cent in 1914" (p. 321). World War II brought no financial relief but did demonstrate as never before the importance of universities, as the sciences, engineering, and the health professions loomed large in the war effort. By contrast, the liberal arts came to seem almost a frill.

After the war came federal money to enable the universities to cope with the flood of veterans crowding in. When Ottawa began to make direct grants to all universities in 1951, free of any strings, a new world seemed to be at hand. McKillop discusses briefly in an epilogue the "golden age" of the 1960s and the increasingly anxiety-ridden atmosphere of the 1970s and since.

Although the changing relations between government and universities are central to this book, it deals with many other subjects. McKillop's chapters on intellectual history are particularly impressive, but he also discusses student life, curriculum, research, professional education, administrative changes, faculty salaries, academic freedom, and the education of women. Here he largely depends on work done by others, so that there are arbitrary gaps: medicine and engineering get due attention, for example, but not librarianship or forestry.

In almost 600 pages of elegant prose I spotted only one noteworthy error. Having discussed the depressing record of the University of Toronto with respect to

German professors in World War I, McKillop notes that none of the private institutions forced out German nationals. That is not quite true: Trinity College all but compelled W. A. von Lubtow to resign in December 1914. One other critical note: several of the figures used to illustrate the text are less informative than they should be. But such shortcomings hardly affect an accomplishment that cannot be praised too highly. This book richly deserves to win a scholarly prize or two.

MICHEL HORN
York University,
Toronto

LAURA PEERS. *The Ojibwa of Western Canada, 1780 to 1870*. (Manitoba Studies in Native History, number 8.) St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press. 1994. Pp. xviii, 288. Cloth \$32.95, paper \$15.95.

A new genre of native history has emerged in Canada in the last decade, paralleling developments in American native history. In an attempt to redress the Euro-American emphasis of a previous generation of work, these studies put the aboriginal people at the focal point by using a wider variety of sources and incorporating anthropological as well as historical methods and insights. The emphasis is usually on cultural continuity rather than change. There is an attempt to find a balance between individual and collective response. There is also a much clearer attempt to be sensitive to the political concerns of contemporary native people. Whereas Canadian historian Donald Creighton saw history as the interplay of character and circumstance, this new genre sees it as the interplay of culture and circumstance. Laura Peers's study fits neatly into this genre, although it does have a few interesting variations of its own to offer.

The Ojibwa (perhaps better known to Americans as the Chippewa) make an interesting case study because of their westward movement from the woodlands of central Canada to the parkland and plains of the Canadian west. Peers argues convincingly that although the Ojibwa adapted successfully to a new ecological zone, they retained a culture rooted in their old way of life. She describes the process as "layering": older cultural components are maintained while new ones are added. The process raises interesting questions about ethnographic methods of defining culture groups, but these more theoretical issues are not fully developed. Peers is more interested in the task of tracing historical patterns.

One of the important themes of the book is what Peers calls the tension between "human choice and the forceful currents of history" (p. 3). Although she does not use the term, this approach clearly makes the book part of another interest of contemporary history: human agency in the face of structural constraints. Thus, in spite of the anthropological emphasis on group culture, the author is sensitive to the role of the

individual in history and has done remarkably well at filling out the roles of a number of usually anonymous native players in the game. She is also consistent in an attempt to include gender analysis, arguing that Ojibwa men adapted more elements of plains culture than Ojibwa women because it had more to offer them (although it is not always clear why she believes men had more to gain).

Although the book clearly represents several major currents in contemporary historiography, it is also unique in a way that raises interesting questions about the nature of historical analysis. Peers is clear that she considers the study to be historical rather than anthropological, but the book is structured essentially as a series of chronologically arranged ethnographic descriptions as the Ojibwa adapt to changing circumstances. Traditionalists may consider it more anthropology than history. The debate will doubtless continue.

Peers has chosen an interesting range of sources, including standards such as the trade and mission and travel accounts, but she also uses less traditional sources such as artifacts in museum collections and visual artwork. Indeed, some of the best analysis is based on appropriately cautious reading of material evidence. Curiously, however, for such an anthropological approach, she employs little oral tradition, which might have added depth to the interpretation. Sometimes there seems to be rather thin evidence for the major conclusions, although that is a perennial problem in native history.

This is an interesting study that will undoubtedly remain the standard reference on the western Ojibwa for some time to come. The fact that a significant portion of the book began as a Master's thesis makes it a remarkable work indeed.

KERRY ABEL
Carleton University

M. J. Ross. *Polar Pioneers: John Ross and James Clark Ross*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. xvi, 435. \$34.95.

The publication of yet another book on the early nineteenth-century British search for the elusive Northwest Passage will probably be greeted with polite contempt. After all, a quick survey of the literature on polar exploration would seem to suggest that the subject has been studied to death. Some might even question whether there is anything new left to say. This book, however, does just that. Drawing on extensive private papers that have never been tapped before, M. J. Ross provides a penetrating, behind-the-scenes examination of the lives and careers of two British naval officers at the forefront of Arctic exploration, John Ross and his nephew James Ross.

John Ross is widely known today in polar exploration circles as the British captain who erroneously declared in 1818 that there was no exit from Baffin Bay, when in fact he had reached the entrance to

Lancaster Sound, a key passage in the Arctic island maze. When he returned to the region in 1829, his ship became locked in the ice and he spent a brutal four years in polar purgatory. The younger Ross, James, however, was involved in more than a dozen expeditions, including an unsuccessful search for John Franklin, and in doing so made a substantial contribution to contemporary geographical understanding of the region. Few others matched his term of service or his willingness to return to Arctic waters.

This book moves beyond the standard treatment of great men striding larger than life across the polar expanse. The author's examination of the private lives and activities of uncle and nephew adds a much needed human dimension to the story of Arctic exploration. The description of the wrangling and jealousies in naval and government circles in England is particularly enlightening. And although the author is a descendant of the men, he is not afraid to pass judgment on their careers: the reader gets to know them intimately, warts and all. Above all, this is a painstaking, exhaustive account of the Ross family and helps explain why successive generations of British mariners were obsessed with locating the Northwest Passage. Ironically, it took Norwegian Roald Amundsen to complete the journey in his tiny ship, the *Gjoa*, in the early twentieth century.

BILL WAISER
University of Saskatchewan

TINA LOO. *Making Law, Order, and Authority in British Columbia, 1821-1871*. (Social History of Canada, number 50.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1994. Pp. xii, 239. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$18.95.

Tina Loo uses the contest over the legal system in colonial British Columbia to gain an understanding of what became the dominant ideology in that colony and province. In a strikingly insightful and suggestive study, she rethinks the traditional Canadian emphasis on law and order to reveal the significant contest over the contents of the legal system and the social and economic culture that it upheld. Rather than seeing order as the primary end of the legal system, she argues that a vital contest over the underlying values lay behind that desire for order.

When British Columbia officially gained the status of a colony in 1849, it already had and retained a system of legal and political authority through the powerful Hudson's Bay Company. Through both customary and formal law, the company established a social, economic, and political structure based on hierarchy, paternalism, and reciprocity, and imposing order and discipline. When European settlers arrived to exploit the commercial and resource potential of British Columbia in the years following, there emerged a contest over the nature of the law and the legal system. The newcomers challenged the company's practices, seeking a legal system and a law that was less

discretionary, more predictable, and certainly more "liberal."

Through a series of minor though meaningful conflicts, Loo sets out the ways in which the legal system was pushed to change so as to facilitate commercial transactions. Using a liberal discourse central to their economic ambitions, the aspiring capitalists of the colony insisted that the law facilitate the kind of "progress" and growth that they had in mind. In tracing the changes in this direction she parallels the well-known findings of J. Willard Hurst for nineteenth-century Wisconsin, although in the case of British Columbia the changes occurred less through new precedents set by the courts and more through political and social contests outside the courts.

It is a greedy reader who begs for more, but I wish the author had extended her study to deal more with those left out of this contest. In concentrating not inappropriately on the continuing political authorities and the newer commercial and mining interests, she tends to ignore two significant groups. That women were essentially excluded from this dominant contest is recognized, but the implications of such exclusion are not really discussed. Probably more important in the book's analytic potential is the role of the aboriginal peoples, who were also largely ignored in this contest, apart from their usefulness as "the other."

The interaction between the aboriginal peoples of British Columbia and the settler society was characterized across the nineteenth century (and beyond) by an almost complete unwillingness to extinguish the aboriginal title to the land. The legal and political system fostered by Loo's liberal settlers articulated a discourse of equality, refusing to accept, much less incorporate, difference. Although she discusses this in theoretical terms, Loo declines to investigate its substantial impact on the aboriginal communities.

This is a fine book: thoughtful, well written, and provocative. It should serve to stimulate further investigations of the ramifications of her analysis and of her suggestive approach to legal history.

JAMES G. SNELL
University of Guelph

WAYNE M. O'LEARY. *The Tancook Schooners: An Island and Its Boats*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 290. Cloth \$44.95, paper \$17.95.

Wayne M. O'Leary loves the Tancook Islanders and the vessels—"the pre-eminent small craft produced in the Maritimes during the first half of the twentieth century" (p. 48)—that made these Nova Scotians famous up and down the Atlantic seaboard. Although the author spends many pages (in the finest Howard I. Chapelle tradition) exploring various "diffusionist hypotheses" purportedly showing the American origins of Canadian boat designs, he is ultimately driven to concede that, in the general context of an international Atlantic culture, the Tancook Island craft were "at

bottom, a genuine product of Tancook Island and not a scaled-down version of some larger type of craft" (p. 62). For such a committed diffusionist—O'Leary even argues that on one 559-acre island, one can discern clear-cut conservative and innovative coasts, based strictly on proximity to the presumably progressive mainland—this is a significant concession indeed.

In evoking the "unique genius of the Tancook Islanders" (p. 182), this copiously illustrated and documented book will appeal to anyone interested in the age of sail. Those social historians less committed to wind-and-water history will find this fine book falls somewhat short. There are insights into inheritance, folk medicine, tourism, and interfamilial rivalries, but there is no integrating interpretation. The male islanders emerge as apolitical, unspiritual, uncomplicated economic creatures. The women of Tancook are given a walk-on role that does little credit to their importance in both economy and society (and fails to draw on strong recent local historiography). For all the good descriptions of Tancook's role in the Maritime economic crisis, we are not really shown how this is, "to a large extent, the story of coastal Nova Scotia itself" (p. 5).

In the 1920s, Frank Parker Day, the president of Union College in Schenectady, New York, published *Rockbound*, a rip-off, sensationalistic novel about the isolated, promiscuous, hard-drinking Tancookers. O'Leary's representation of Tancook is a respectful reconstruction of the shipbuilding tradition, and hence totally different from Day's lurid novel. Yet in one generalization the two books do agree. They both suggest that Tancook Islanders were isolated in the modern world. Thus, even against his own evidence that shows Tancookers' ties to such outsiders as tourists in Chester, consumers of cabbages in Halifax, liquor smugglers in the United States, coal miners in Cape Breton, and so on, O'Leary concludes that the Tancookers' achievement in bringing "the small sailing work boat of North America to its pinnacle in both a practical and an artistic sense" (p. 182) is all the more remarkable because it was accomplished "by people of agrarian inheritance, limited formal training and education, and scant economic means living in an isolated corner of the continent" (p. 182). Was this tradition, so well described by the author, really just such a freak occurrence? Or was it one of the ordinary miracles of human adaptability, in the context of a North American modernity that both challenged and was reshaped by the Islanders in crafting their indigenous tradition?

IAN MCKAY
Queen's University
Kingston, Ontario

IAN MCKAY. *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia*. Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. xvii, 371. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

It is perhaps not necessary to remind readers of the *AHR* that Nova Scotia is "Canada's Ocean Playground," an area dotted with idyllic seaside villages inhabited by quaint fisherfolk. Ian McKay's goal in this book is to expose this image, infused with the notion of a Golden Age in the past when people were "Folk," as a complete fabrication. In developing this position he draws on Antonio Gramsci's notion of cultural hegemony, which he maintains provides a useful middle ground between Marxian political economy and Foucauldian genealogy. McKay's wide reading in all three theoretical perspectives brings an intellectual rigor rarely displayed by scholars of Canadian history. Although critics will no doubt take issue with McKay's theoretical position, ethical claims, and political agenda, they will not be able to ignore a study that so brilliantly calls into question what is often taken for granted.

Despite the high level of theoretical analysis, most readers will find what McKay has to say highly readable, stimulating, and even a cause for action. He manages this feat by using the careers of two women, folklorist Helen Creighton and "handcraft" promoter Mary Black, as vehicles for exploring the processes by which Nova Scotians were transformed into Folk by a new class of cultural producers in the middle decades of the twentieth century. In two long chapters, McKay exposes the racism, sexism, and conservative political bias of their efforts to reinvent the identity of Nova Scotians in a period of profound economic crisis. As McKay explains in his introductory chapter, the cult of the Folk originated and shaped ways of seeing in other parts of the North Atlantic world (the Appalachians, for example), but it had a particularly pernicious impact on a province whose industrial base had collapsed following World War I. Without the balance provided by competing identity systems generated by modern industrial development, the Folk concept, McKay argues, reigned supreme and became the basis for state-sponsored tourist promotion.

McKay devotes a chapter to exploring the widespread influence of the Folk ideal in twentieth-century Nova Scotia. Although his point is well taken in his discussions of Creighton and Black, it loses some of its power as writers and artists with complex motivations—Frederick William Wallace, Frank Parker Day, Hugh MacLennan, Ernest Buckler, and Wallace MacAskill, for example—are "re-viewed" through the Folk lens. If this concept can explain such a wide range of creative output, perhaps McKay's claim in the final chapter that "folk forms in postmodern society are planets circling a dead sun" (p. 307) needs to be reconsidered. As McKay himself has revealed, "myths" are curiously resilient and often gain a new lease on life during periods of great economic and cultural transformation. Furthermore, McKay's own highly selective scholarly process throws suspicion on the pervasiveness, cohesiveness, and overall impact of the Folk "mythomoteur." People from outside the region,

such as McKay himself, may have "bought" the Folk image, but it is doubtful that many Nova Scotians did. Finally, feminist scholars might wish for a more nuanced discussion of the role of gender in the cult of Folk Innocence. McKay acknowledges the masculine bias of the Folk ideal, yet he leaves much ground unexplored in his discussion of the role of women, other than that of the two "culprits" who bear the brunt of his analysis, in reproducing it.

This book began as a chapter of a much larger study of culture in twentieth-century Nova Scotia and it exhibits the excesses that inevitably occur when a topic takes on a life of its own. Nevertheless, it is an important study not only because of what it reveals about the way our unexamined assumptions shape our ways of seeing but also for reminding us that the deconstructing tools of the new cultural history, in the hands of a skilled practitioner, can have significant scholarly and political value.

MARGARET CONRAD
Acadia University

CARMELA PATRIAS. *Patriots and Proletarians: Politicizing Hungarian Immigrants in Interwar Canada*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in Ethnic History, number 19.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1994. Pp. x, 320. \$39.95.

The writing of Canadian ethnic history has progressed considerably since the early 1970s when the Canadian government began its sponsorship of multicultural studies, most notably its multivolume generation series. At that time the ethnic biography approach was quite appropriate since little was known about Canada's cultural diversity in general, and specific ethnic groups in particular, and what was available was often either patronizing or eulogistic. Fortunately, most of the studies that have appeared during the last twenty years have been both scholarly and sensitive to ethnic particularism. *Patriots and Proletarians* admirably meets this criteria.

One of the book's greatest assets is its ability to demonstrate the continuities and changes that Hungarian immigrants experienced as they moved between their homeland and Canadian society during the years 1919–39. Patrias does a good job in showing how these 34,000 immigrants adjusted to their new world of work, and their difficulties in obtaining steady employment and good jobs. "For many Hungarians, the transience dictated by the Canadian labour market, which they repeatedly described as 'forced vagabondage,' was the worst feature of immigrant life" (p. 63). In time, however, many of these newcomers were able to obtain factory jobs in Montreal, Toronto, Hamilton, and Welland; and they built diverse ethnic organizations in these communities including Catholic and Protestant churches, mutual-aid societies, and rival political movements, one conservative and patriotic, the other communist and internationalist.

According to Patrias, "the ideological polarity that characterized the Hungarian immigrant group in Canada during the 1920s and 1930s, and the intensely politicized life within it, arose out of circumstances peculiar to this period. Political turmoil in Hungary after the First War produced the chief agents that politicized community life in Canada" (p. 130). These included the bitter legacy of the harsh Treaty of Trianon, the defeat of the 1919 Commune, the anti-communist policies of the government of Nicholas Horthy, and, above all, the activities of émigrés from both the nationalist and communist camps who competed for the loyalties of their compatriots. These developments, Patrias claims, should remind immigration historians "that even immigrant communities, comprised largely of semi-literate peasants and rural labourers, should not necessarily be seen as enclaves, cut off from outside influences" (p. 232). She also points out that too many labor historians have implicitly assumed "that the proletarian conditions of most immigrants . . . was more important to the development of group consciousness than what they shared with other social strata within their own ethnic group" (p. 233).

So far, so good. But although we learn a great deal about the character and diversity of the interwar Canadian Hungarian community, it would have been interesting to know how the Hungarian experience compared to that of Finns, Ukrainians, and Poles who were likewise bitterly divided along ideological lines; and indeed the exodus of the "Red" Finns after 1919 has many similarities to the experiences of the Hungarian Left. Moreover, the problems of reconciling class and ethnic goals were not unique to Hungarian communists, as was evident when the Comintern and Communist Party of Canada tried to discipline and manipulate their constituent cultural organizations during the late 1920s. In addition, it would have been helpful to know how the arrival of 35,000 anticommunist refugees after 1956 affected the Hungarian Canadian community, especially its ideological dichotomy.

Still, within the parameters of her scholarly model, Patrias does a good job. The research is exhaustive, effectively utilizing a wealth of Canadian and Hungarian primary sources; and the book is well written. For those interested in Canada's Hungarian community, and in the convergence of immigration and labor history, this is an important study.

DONALD HOWARD AVERY
University of Western Ontario

JOAN MARSHALL. *A Solitary Pillar: Montreal's Anglican Church and the Quiet Revolution*. (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion, number 15.) Buffalo, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 1995. Pp. xiii, 220. \$34.95.

"La révolution tranquille," the process of modernization experienced by Québec in the 1960s and 1970s,

has inspired numerous historical analyses. Such treatments, if they mention religion at all, inevitably refer to the predominantly francophone Roman Catholic church at the hierarchical level as the cause of the Quiet Revolution and at the lower levels as its source. Little, however, has been written about the largest non-Romanist denomination, the Anglicans. With this latest effort in the highly acclaimed McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion series, Joan Marshall has rectified this unfortunate situation.

There are two caveats: one is the slightly misleading title. The term "Solitary Pillar" seems to suggest a unified response to the events under consideration. As Marshall points out in the text, nothing could be further from the truth. The second caveat is readily acknowledged by the author. Although submitted as a dissertation, Marshall, as an active member of Montréal's Anglican community, is hardly the typical objective academic researcher.

Caveats aside, this is a fascinating read that really encompasses two books in one. The first deals with the corporate response of Anglicanism. Given that most historians date the Quiet Revolution from 1964, (not 1961 as Marshall asserts) with the appointment of Paul Gerin-Lajoie as the province's first secular Minister of Education and René "the Red" Lévesque's nationalization of Québec Hydro, what is most surprising is how long it took the Anglican hierarchy to become politicized. The second, more satisfying section is an examination of events on a parish-by-parish basis. One of these, La Nativité, serves Haitians and is an anomaly. But there is among the four anglophone congregations little uniformity of response as affluence, geographic location, parish size, and sense of community all have influence. Two themes do emerge. The first is the introduction of the Book of Alternative Service (BAS) supplementing the traditional Book of Common Prayer and the Peace, the custom of embracing or shaking hands with fellow congregants. Both engendered widespread opposition. In one parish, the BAS was not used at all. One is inclined, however, to suggest that such opposition cannot be connected to the Quiet Revolution as much as to English-Canadians' innate distaste for both radical change and overly intimate contact with strangers as exhibited in the Roman Catholic church with opposition to the reforms of Vatican II.

This is a book that is, on the whole, well written. Even those with no first-hand knowledge of Montréal will find the maps useful. As is the custom with this series, a glossary of terms unfamiliar to the non-Anglican as well as several appendixes are provided. Regrettably, the line drawings did not reproduce as well as the maps. Hopefully, Marshall's important contribution to Canadian historiography will inspire similar denominational examinations of other groups.

GERALD J. STORTZ
University of St. Jerome's Colleg

LATIN AMERICA

MANUEL DE PAZ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* *El bandolerismo en Cuba (1800–1933): Presencia canaria y protesta rural.* Volume 1. Foreword by MARÍA POUMIER. (Taller de Historia, number 15.) La Laguna Tenerife, Canary Islands: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria. 1993. Pp. 409.

MANUEL DE PAZ SÁNCHEZ *et al.* *El bandolerismo en Cuba (1800–1933): Presencia canaria y protesta rural.* Volume 2. Foreword by MARÍA POUMIER. (Taller de Historia, number 16.) La Laguna Tenerife, Canary Islands: Centro de la Cultura Popular Canaria. 1994. Pp. 377.

This two-volume work, co-authored by a team of Cuban and Canary Island historians, is an exhaustive study of rural banditry in Cuba from the early nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century. The authors rely on Eric Hobsbawm's characterization of social banditry and document the regional and chronological development of the phenomenon. They argue that banditry in Cuba was a quintessential peasant response to encroaching modernization, in the form of the growth of the sugar industry, and that banditry's principal protagonists were Canarian immigrants who became *sitieros* or small farmers producing subsistence crops, and whose world was threatened by the new sugar plantations.

The volumes' strength lies in their almost encyclopedic detail and their heavy reliance on Cuban and Spanish archival sources—especially police reports in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba, the Archivo Histórico Provincial de Matanzas, and the Archivo General de Indias—to document the lives and actions of Cuba's bandits, as well as the authors' familiarity and engagement with relevant Cuban historiography. The authors provide ample political and social context (based primarily on secondary works) for the cases of banditry they describe. The growth of the sugar industry, the independence wars, and twentieth-century political struggles provide the backdrop to their discussion. The result is a rich tapestry that amply documents the breadth and strength of social banditry in recent Cuban history and is a significant contribution to the field, adding to recent studies by Rosalie Schwartz, Louis A. Pérez, Jr., and María Poumier, all of which examined more chronologically and geographically circumscribed examples of Cuban banditry.

At the analytical level, however, the volumes leave many questions unanswered and some unasked. The authors' wholehearted adherence to Hobsbawm's theory means that they ignore the rich historiography on non-European banditry that has fruitfully questioned or developed Hobsbawm's original contributions. It also means that they do not follow up on some of the tantalizing contradictions and problems suggested by their own evidence. Most obviously, there is a significant contradiction at the heart of their argument that Canarian immigration (an immigration that to a large

extent responded to the needs of the sugar industry) created a population that entered the subsistence sector and somehow became those most threatened by the "cruel and brutal disintegration of traditional rural structures" (vol. 2, p. 313; see also vol. 1, p. 377). Hobsbawm's model was based on European peasant society; students of Latin American banditry have emphasized that Latin American rural society presented a much more complex panorama. Manuel de Paz Sánchez, José Fernández Fernández, and Nelson López Novegil's argument about Canarian immigrants' integration into the Cuban countryside and their participation in different forms of social struggle merits more in-depth development than they provide.

Uncritical reliance on Hobsbawm also leads the authors to side-step questions suggested by their evidence regarding popular (and elite) support for bandits versus collaboration with authorities. In fact, they show that class position and attitudes toward bandits were far from perfectly correlated, yet they do not explore the implications of the different alliances and loyalties they document, which could be based on fear, solidarity, self-interest, regionalism, nationalism, or ethnic identity as well as political or ideological commitment (vol. 1, pp. 189–90, 299, 365, 377; vol. 2, pp. 20, 67).

The authors are also less than convincing when they attempt to revise the interpretations of banditry put forth by Schwartz and Pérez. Rather than actively engaging those authors' arguments, they simply assert their disagreement. Schwartz proposed that Cuba's independence-era banditry was a political, rather than a social, phenomenon; the authors here argue that the *bandolero-insurrectos* of the independence wars were an integral part of the phenomenon of social banditry, since they accept Hobsbawm's idea of a natural evolution from pre-political to political forms of protest. In fact their definition of the word "political" is probably quite different from Schwartz's, but they do not really enter into a discussion of this issue, even though seven of their ten chapters focus on this period (1868–1898). Pérez argued that Cuba's easternmost province of Oriente was the center of banditry in the early twentieth century, due to the sugar industry's displacement of peasants there. Regarding this argument, the authors are even more dismissive, simply denying altogether that banditry was prevalent in Oriente, but again without engaging in any real constructive discussion of Pérez's arguments.

Thus, overall, although the authors provide ample evidence on which to base a convincing argument, they do not really use it to do more than reiterate their adherence to Hobsbawm's model of social banditry. Despite this weakness at the level of theory or argument, the volumes' vivid depiction of banditry as a significant form of rural protest in Cuba and the wealth of information they provide make them a valuable contribution to the field.

AVI CHOMSKY
Bates College

WILLIAM K. MEYERS. *Forge of Progress, Crucible of Revolt: Origins of the Mexican Revolution in La Comarca Lagunera, 1880-1911*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1994. Pp. xi, 293. \$39.95.

The regional approach to the study of the Mexican Revolution has attracted historians for more than three decades. It remains a wellspring of excellent history as this book demonstrates. William K. Meyers, a veteran of this historiographical tradition, has crafted a model study of a particularly important region. In the mold of Mark Wasserman's *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution* (1984), Allen Wells's *Yucatan's Gilded Age* (1985) and Ramón Eduardo Ruiz's *The People of Sonora and Yankee Capitalists* (1988), Meyers excavates the social and political strains produced by Porfirian modernization, which in turn produced a revolution.

The first chapter details the early development of this truly unique region that had been a sparsely populated desert before the Porfiriato and thereafter rapidly developed into Mexico's most important commercial agricultural region thanks to irrigation and railroads. The second chapter dissects the basic intra-regional division of economic interests (upper, middle, and lower-river planters) that accompanied regional development. The Laguna also became one of Mexico's most important industrial regions, and the third chapter examines the rise of the textile industry, cottonseed processing, mining and smelting, and *guyule* (rubber) extraction. The fourth and fifth chapters describe the Laguna's fractious elite and the large floating working population.

The next and last four chapters chart the Laguna's road to rebellion. Interelite conflict over water rights, and the regime's failure to manage it to anyone's satisfaction, was, according to Meyer, the primary cause of the revolution in the region. One of the most interesting aspects of this book is the account of the Madero family's local interests and Francisco Madero's early involvement in public affairs. The region developed important Reyista and Maderista organizations, and with the spread of hard times after 1907 the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM) succeeded in politicizing and organizing the large and growing population of the unemployed. The coalition of landowners and workers that rebelled on November 20, 1910, and captured Torreón on May 17, 1911, played a key role in the fall of the *ancien régime*. Madero inherited the same regional landowner disputes and worker demands that confounded Porfirio Díaz and he, too, failed to resolve them. This explains, according to Meyers, elite satisfaction with and worker indifference to Madero's downfall in 1913.

THOMAS BENJAMIN
Central Michigan University

JOHN WILTON APPEL. *Francisco José de Caldas: A Scientist at Work in Nueva Granada*. (Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, number 84, part

5.) Philadelphia, Pa.: American Philosophical Society. 1994. Pp. 154. \$20.00.

"On the morning of 29 October 1816 Caldas was led from his prison, and kneeling, was shot in the back by a firing squad." Thus concludes John Wilton Appel's short biography of the early nineteenth-century Spanish-American scientist, Francisco José de Caldas. A tragedy caps the story of Caldas's already incredible career, and, having read the ending first, I found this sober monograph transformed into a captivating page-turner.

A colonial of Spanish descent and modest circumstances, Caldas (b. 1768) hailed from the provincial town of Popayán and never left the territory of Nueva Granada (modern Colombia and Ecuador). Trained as a lawyer, he abandoned his practice and traveled through the Andes as an itinerant merchant before, astonishingly, committing himself to the study of nature.

The figure of the poor colonial, cut off from, yet enthralled by, European science, is not unknown to historians. The stunning aspect of this story is that, self-taught and deprived of scientific resources, Caldas succeeded in finding a scientific community and establishing himself as a productive member of it, albeit at the periphery of contemporary European science. Two factors explain Caldas's success: his encounter with Alexander von Humboldt when the two crossed paths in South America, and the existence of the Royal Botanical Expedition at work in and around Bogotá from 1783. Humboldt and his associate, Aimé Bonpland, legitimated Caldas and filled in important gaps in his self-education. (Caldas was bitterly disappointed when prospects fell through to travel with Humboldt and study science in Europe.) The Botanical Expedition to Nueva Granada, a long-term research enterprise chartered by the Spanish government, ultimately provided Caldas with patronage and an institutional home. Its director, the Spanish botanist José Celestino Mutis, supported Caldas on a five-year botanical mission to Quito and environs and then secured his appointment as director of the Astronomical Observatory built especially for Caldas in Bogotá.

Caldas did original work in plant geography, and he independently discovered the hypsometric principle (the relation between atmospheric pressure and the boiling point of water), a discovery he usefully applied in determining altitudes. (Appel translates and adds Caldas's papers in these areas as appendixes.) Caldas was an able astronomer and professor of mathematics, an expert map maker, and perhaps the most knowledgeable contemporary authority on the cinchona tree. From 1808 to 1811 he also published a scientific periodical for Nueva Granada. Caldas transformed himself in stages from a backwater provincial to an enlightened amateur to a leader in the colony's nascent scientific community. A patriot reluctantly caught up in struggles for independence from Spain, he also

worked for a time as a military engineer. With so much behind him and ahead of him, Caldas's fate at the age of 49, as Appel points out, is all the more "chilling" and "unnerving."

In emphasizing the theme of a "scientist in search of community," Appel underplays the significance of his story. He could go further to make points about the state of Spanish and Creole science at the turn of the nineteenth century. Well illustrated, the book is based on published primary sources. One wonders whether archival holdings would amplify this extraordinary tale any further.

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EUGENE RIDINGS. *Business Interest Groups in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*. (Cambridge Latin American Studies, number 78.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994. Pp. xiv, 377. \$59.95.

In this comprehensive study based on extensive archival research, Eugene Ridings explores the activities and power of the various Brazilian business associations throughout the nineteenth century, demonstrating that they functioned as effective interest groups with much influence over a relatively weak state and, therefore, over the course of development in Brazil. The groups with the greatest leverage were the Commercial Associations, although factor organizations also exerted influence and Industrial Associations became important at the end of the century. At a time that neo-liberalism is the policy of choice in most Latin American countries, this book provides an illuminating analysis of concrete organizations through which nineteenth-century liberalism and the ideology of free trade played themselves out in Brazil, skewing the course of development by perpetuating regionalism and retarding industrialization.

Ridings finds that the Commercial Associations were oligarchic organizations, led by the wealthiest businessmen, mainly foreigners, through which ties with developed nations were maintained and foreign influence was transmitted to the Brazilian government. Built into the various Commercial Associations' rules was foreign predominance in the leadership, which was not resented by the membership, who viewed foreign merchants as purveyors of progress. This practice served to guarantee the continuation of policies favoring Brazil's traditional export-import economy.

Ridings demonstrates that although the Commercial Associations espoused an ideology of liberalism and free trade, they had no problem demanding government intervention in the economy if it would benefit their interests. He argues that they and the factor groups had much influence on the government, usually through personal relations with individuals in government. When there were conflicts between the Commercial Associations and the government, the associations got their way through coercion, either by interrupting trade or threatening to do so. Moreover,

the government needed their expertise, and the Commercial Associations came to perform many of the activities carried out by present-day national, provincial, and local governments, especially advising and aiding regulation, and providing statistics. They were also extremely influential in the creation of commercial law.

The Commercial Associations saw agriculture as the basis of their wealth, for exports determined imports, so they strove to develop agriculture, ensure the necessary labor, and expand exports by improving their quality, reducing export taxes, providing credit, and becoming the spokesmen of agriculture before the government. Ridings therefore argues that the traditional view of a merchant/planter dichotomy is erroneous.

Included are chapters on the relation of Commercial Associations with the development of banking, their support of slavery, their struggles regarding national and provincial taxes, their strong influence on the development of the railroad, the steamboat, the telegraph, and improved harbors. Yet their participation in the development of communications, especially the railroad, was ultimately distorted by entrepôt rivalry, and Brazil became a series of economic regions with greater ties to overseas markets and suppliers than with each other.

Ridings demonstrates that the control of overseas trade by foreign merchants was in fact an obstacle to Brazilian industrialization, thereby refuting Nathaniel Leff and D. C. M. Platt, who have separately argued that the opinions of foreign traders carried little weight. The merchants' greatest objection was to import tariffs that were so high that they acted as protection to native industry. Moreover, they publicly and successfully opposed government aid to manufacturing, such as the 2 percent additional duty placed in 1849 on export commodities not shipped in locally made bagging. By the late 1880s, however, the Industrial Associations grew stronger and the commercial groups were no longer able to slow government aid for industry.

This carefully crafted work fills an important gap in the literature by describing the actual process through which economic development in Brazil was influenced by the ideology of free trade and by the interests of local and overseas trading companies.

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JOSÉ DEL POZO. *Rebeldes, reformistas y revolucionarios: Una historia oral de la izquierda chilena en la época de la Unidad Popular*. Santiago, Chile: Ediciones Documentas. 1992. Pp. 375.

This book adds to a large and growing literature on the origins, experiences, and fate of the Chilean left. José del Pozo focuses on the Salvador Allende administration, which began under modestly auspicious circum-

stances in 1970 and ended tragically with the military coup of September 11, 1973. Although this is perhaps the most studied period in Chilean history, del Pozo's book is distinct in that it uses oral history as a research method. This is not an entirely new approach, having already been successfully used by Peter Winn in *Weavers of Revolution* (1986), a book with which the volume under review will inevitably be compared.

On the basis of 120 interviews with Chileans and seven with non-Chileans, plus readings in contemporary newspapers and a rather thin secondary bibliography, del Pozo argues that the Chilean Left that elected Allende was a diverse group encompassing moderate to radical elements. He notes that these varying degrees of political and ideological commitment were determined by such standard categories as social class, occupation, and age. Del Pozo contends that, despite diversity, the expectations and political behavior of the majority of the leftists were moderate, and he presents a picture of reform-minded individuals (with some exceptions) pursuing their goals of social and economic advancement in a context of growing political polarization. In addition to discussing their political upbringing, and their experiences during the Allende years, del Pozo examines their positions twenty years later. He finds that there is much continuity in the views of these leftists, despite the dramatic events occurring in the socialist world in the late 1980s and early 1990s. There is little regret or soul-searching among his interviewees.

The volume breaks little new ground in either methodological or historiographical terms. The use of oral history is limited to descriptions, whereby the subjects provide the experience—usually emotionally charged—and the author the scholarly interpretation. Del Pozo does not critically approach the testimony of his subjects, even when they point to different conclusions, and he uses them primarily as illustrations for his main points. In historiographical terms, his conclusions concerning the permanence and continuity of the views of the Left, in addition to his assessment of the policies and practices of the Left during the Allende years, contradict not only a large literature on the period but also the published testimony of numerous actors on the Left. Both scholarly and personal recon-

structions of the Allende administration point to the contradictions inherent in the economic program of the governing coalition, the gap between revolutionary rhetoric and the actual means for achieving socialism, and the sectarianism, posturing, and confusion that characterized the Left during those difficult years.

Del Pozo's other major conclusion concerning the continuity of the views of leftists is contradicted by the events of the 1980s and 1990s. Leftists did change their views, often dramatically so, as they joined their rivals in the center and democratic Right in order to replace the military government in 1989. Not only did the Left revise and criticize its own past but it also effected dramatic changes in outlook that made the very transition to civilian rule possible: it accepted the economic and institutional parameters imposed by the military and pursued a policy of consensus and political pragmatism intended to mitigate the ideological differences that had proved so damaging in the past.

One of the book's virtues is also one of its weaknesses. Indeed, this is not an oral history of the Chilean Left; this is primarily an oral history of a Chilean exile community in Montreal (100 persons out of 120), which is not exactly representative of either the Left or Chilean exile. To date, no one has looked as thoroughly into the Chilean experience of exile in Canada as del Pozo has in this volume, and this is in fact his greatest contribution. But the dynamics of exile, and its effect on individual political experiences and perceptions, are not necessarily the same as, or applicable to, the experiences of the Chilean Left as it evolved during the years of dictatorship. This latter experience might include exile, but it follows a different dynamics, especially after 1982, when domestic opposition activity started in earnest in Chile.

One should not minimize the importance of this study or the spirit that guides it: to present the experience of ordinary Chileans who chose the Left as a vehicle to understand and confront the major forces of history, and who paid a heavy price for their choice. In this respect, del Pozo ought to be commended for his effort and sensitivity.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the AHR office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

GENERAL

ARTHUR M. MELZER, JERRY WEINBERGER, and M. RICHARD ZINMAN, editors. *History and the Idea of Progress*. (Proceedings of the Symposium on Science, Reason, and Modern Democracy, 1991.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1995. Pp. viii, 271. Cloth \$37.50, paper \$14.95.

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The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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- ANDERSON, KEVIN. *Lenin, Hegel, and Western Marxism: A Critical Study*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. 1995. Pp. xvii, 311. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$15.95.
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- CAENEGEM, R. C. VAN. *An Historical Introduction to Western Constitutional Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1995. Pp. x, 338. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$22.95.
- CLARKE, I. F., editor. *The Tale of the Next Great War, 1871-1914: Fictions of Future Warfare and of Battles Still-to-Come*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 1995. Pp. xiv, 382. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$17.95.
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ARTICLES

TO THE EDITOR:

From an architectural historian's point of view, Robin Fleming's article, "Picturesque History and the Medieval in Nineteenth-Century America," makes an important contribution, by placing American Gothic Revival architecture in a comprehensive cultural context [*AHR*, 100 (October 1995): 1061–94]. From the perspective of architectural history, however, the article seems to convey some misleading impressions. The author observes that, of styles such as the "Egyptian, Greek, and Venetian, . . . the medievalizing forms . . . were by far the most popular" (p. 1062). Because the article cites no new rationale for regarding the Gothic Revival style as the "most popular" of nineteenth-century modes, a reader might suppose that the prevalence of the Gothic Revival style has been commonly accepted by historians.

From the title of the article, the author seems to restrict consideration to "nineteenth-century America." No national inventory has indicated that the Gothic Revival prevailed as the dominant style in the United States. One might argue that it predominated in Upper Canada, which had virtually no Greek Revival, but the Gothic style appears there most frequently in a much modified form. Perhaps in some locales the Gothic Revival was more popular, but in New York State, for example, it was relatively rare—surely far less common than the Greek Revival style and subsequently the Italianate style (which the author does not mention). In New York State, no inventory verifies relative prevalence of the styles, but observation suggests that the Greek Revival and Italianate styles were far more popular than the Gothic Revival.

Probably, this trend was common to New England and the Western Reserve as well.

The Gothic Revival was less a "popular" than an elite style, favored by High Church Episcopalians and those who wished to be identified with high culture, even if somewhat outside it, like Jay Gould. Probably, an inventory would demonstrate that there were even fewer nineteenth-century churches built in the Gothic style than in the Italianate style, at least in New York State. Clearly, the Italianate style became dominant here about mid-century, as the Greek Revival waned. Despite Grant Wood's "American Gothic" icon, a farmhouse of the style is a relative rarity in the Northeast.

For the architectural historian, identification of the great American architect, H. H. Richardson (who appeared on the cover of the October issue), with the Gothic Revival seems curious. The author's characterization was "medieval," however. Given this broader category, and given Richardson's references to Romanesque precedent, one might argue that "medievalizing forms" were common to "America's leading architects" (p. 1062). Architectural historians, however, are not inclined to identify Richardson with earlier architects such as Alexander Jackson Davis. Richardson's work was divergent in intention. Richardson was far closer to Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright than to Andrew Jackson Downing and Alexander Jackson Davis. Richardson represented a post-Civil War, industrializing, urbanizing America. Downing and Davis characterized a pre-Civil War, agrarian culture. Their buildings in the Gothic Revival style typically were delicate country villas; Richardson's most powerful "Romanesque" work was the monumental Montgomery Field warehouse in Chicago. Stylistic categorization, long a preoccupation of art historians, may belie more significant distinctions.

PAUL MALO
EMERITUS
Syracuse University

Robin Fleming does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

Having read Robin Fleming's article on medievalism and medieval history in nineteenth-century America (in the October 1995 *AHR*, 1061–94), I am puzzled by the argument. I do not quarrel with Fleming's description of popular medievalism. But, if the point is to show that the *scholars* publishing in the *AHR* in the 1890s displayed "an extraordinary shift in the historical sensibilities of Americans writing medieval history" (p. 1084), should not the standard of comparison be medievalist *scholarship* before 1890 rather than *popular* medievalism?

Fleming does discuss Henry Adams. But she omits to mention probably the best-known medievalist scholar in the United States before 1890, Charles Eliot Norton. Norton is perhaps best remembered for his translations of Dante; but his more strictly historical work (Burckhardtian in temper) was also widely read, especially *Historical Studies of Church-Building in the Middle Ages* (1880). If one omits Norton as chiefly a historian of literature and art—a dubious move—then Henry Charles Lea was certainly the most substantial scholar of medieval history in America before 1890. Yet Lea appears in Fleming's pages only as a representative of the "new" sensibilities of the 1890s. One would never guess that he began to publish in the field in the 1860s.

There is perhaps much to be learned by considering the relationship between popular medievalism and medievalist scholarship in the nineteenth century but only by looking carefully at both sides of the comparison. Nor can one logically argue that *scholars* after 1890 showed a changed sensibility without examining the work of the leading *scholars* before that date.

JAMES TURNER
University of Notre Dame

Robin Fleming does not wish to respond.

THE EDITORS

BOOK REVIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

On behalf of the Executive Council of the Society for Armenian Studies, of which I am president, I am writing to clarify several points raised by Justin McCarthy of the University of Louisville—in his review of Donald E. Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller, *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* (*AHR*, 99 [April 1994]: 605–06)—as well as his rejoinder to a letter from Levon Avdoyan of Washington, D.C. (*AHR*, 99 [December 1994]: 1826–27).

I draw your attention to several patently false statements made by McCarthy. The opening sentence of the review states that the "book is a history of Armenian-Turkish relations during World War I," although

the Millers do not make this claim. The worst problem with McCarthy's review, which the *AHR* should have noted, is that he talks about what the Millers did *not* do and objects to their not writing the book *he* would have written. In fact, the vast majority of the review speaks to the problem of memory in general, while it says nothing of what the interviewees are purported to have remembered. McCarthy should have reported in his review what was remembered before dealing with "methodological problems" that are, unfortunately, inherent to all oral history accounts and that any scholar should *a priori* be aware of. In the end, the Millers' book was written about the 1.5 million Armenians who were killed by the Turks, not about the Ottoman Turks and Kurds who were killed by Armenians while engaging in self-defense.

The Millers' book deals with Armenian eyewitness accounts. Admittedly, the problem with children as eyewitnesses is not that they remember only things that happened *to* their families and not done *by* their families, but that children can indeed be coaxed by an adult with another agenda in mind. Since virtually all the Armenian survivors lost their parents during the genocide, that situation does not obtain here. What starts as a scientific objection turns into absurdity when McCarthy concludes that the Armenian Genocide should be balanced: maybe it did not occur after all.

McCarthy raises an important point regarding the lack of sources in Turkish in the Millers' book. Perhaps the best way to handle this would be to investigate the Turkish war crime trials, which have been well reported by Vahakn Dadrian of the State University of New York in academic journals over the past several years. Dadrian's "Documentation of the Armenian Genocide in Turkish Sources," in *Genocide: A Critical Bibliographic Review*, Volume 2, edited by Israel Charney (1991), and his "The Documentation of the World War I Armenian Massacres in the Proceedings of the Turkish Military Tribunal," in the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23 (November 1991), provide ample documentation. The declarations of two Ottoman Empire ministers of the interior are also available. In the Turkish newspaper *Vakit* of December 13, 1918, Interior Minister Mustafa Arif is quoted as saying "our wartime leaders . . . decided to exterminate the Armenians, and they did exterminate them. This decision was taken by the Central Committee of the Young Turks and was implemented by the government." Interior Minister Cemal stated during the course of the Turkish courts-martial that "800,000 Armenians were actually killed," as detailed in *Takvimi Vekayi*, no. 3909 for July 21, 1920, as well as in two Turkish newspapers: *Vakit Ikdam* on March 15, 1919, and *Alemdar* on March 13, 1919.

Even Ataturk, the father of modern Turkey, "disapproved of the Armenian massacres," as quoted by Rauf Orbay in "Rauf Orbayin Hatiralari," *Yakin Tarihimiz*, 3: 32 (October 4, 1962): 179. According to Orbay, on September 22, 1919, Ataturk bemoaned the fact that while "America, France, and England" get away with

all sorts of crimes, "only Turkey is being held accountable for the massacre of 800,000 of its citizens." That is as good a Turkish source as there is, but that was not the only quote attributed to Atatürk. Emile Hilderbrand reported on June 22, 1926, that Atatürk was going to punish "[t]hese leftovers from the former Young Turk Party, who should have been made to account for the lives of millions of our Christian subjects who were ruthlessly driven en masse, from their homes and massacred." This interview was reprinted in the *Los Angeles Examiner* on August 1, 1926, under the headline "Kemal Promises More Hangings of Political Antagonists in Turkey."

Despite these authoritative statements concerning the fate of the Armenian people, the Millers have not written a history of the Armenian Genocide. That has been written elsewhere. Instead, *Survivors* is an oral history of some survivors. That was what the authors set out to do, and, as authors, they certainly have every right to write in a truthful manner about what interests them.

McCarthy insists that the Armenian Genocide should be called a war of mutual destruction between Armenians and Muslims. Yet, in his book *Muslims and Minorities: The Population of Ottoman Anatolia and the End of the Empire* (1983), he claims that there were 14.5 million Muslims and 1.5 million Armenians in Anatolia at the time of World War I. How can the genocide be called a war of mutual destruction if the odds were 10 to 1 and the government had control of the army, the police, the *chete* (secret police), the bureaucracy, and all the instruments of communications, arms, and state power, while the minority Armenian population was disarmed in 1915 and had no arms or community-wide organization?

In the end, it is imperative that the *American Historical Review* find neutral parties, not partisans, to review books. Moreover, when it is clear that a reviewer has written in the field and has previously taken a position clearly for or against the thesis of the book being reviewed or has a bias or conflict of interest of any kind, that fact should be noted in the by-line of the review if the book review editor insists on having a particular reviewer review such a book.

JOSEPH A. KECHICHIAN
Santa Monica, California

JUSTIN MCCARTHY REPLIES:

This is my second response to criticisms of my review of *Survivors: An Oral History of the Armenian Genocide* by Donald E. Miller and Lorna Touryan Miller. Neither of the complaints came from the authors. The present objection comes from an organization dedicated to Armenian studies. The writer, Joseph A. Kechichian, speaking for the Society for Armenian Studies, is concerned not so much with what I actually wrote in my review as with arguing the existence of an Armenian genocide. This is unfortunate, because it

elevates a modest book review into the heights of what the Society for Armenian Studies obviously feels to be an ideological debate. I have no wish to engage in such a debate, as I think the subject already suffers from an excess of ideology and a shortage of rational analysis. It also seems unfair to the uncomplaining authors of the book that my initial negative review should be extended into three negative reviews. Nevertheless, the assertions and misinformation in Kechichian's letter call for a response, if only because not to respond might indicate agreement.

On the general issue of the Millers' oral history: in my review, I in no way objected to interviewing survivors or to recording their testimony. The testimonies of Armenian, Turkish, and Kurdish victims do indeed have an important place in the history of the time. I did criticize what the Millers did with the interviews. They used the memories of Armenian survivors, and not of Muslim survivors, as a base for writing a general history, without considering the inherent flaws in such evidence. Whatever the Millers claimed was the purpose of their book, a general history was what they wrote, and a reviewer should evaluate a book on what appears between the pages.

Kechichian seems to feel that I should not have mentioned methodological problems "inherent to all oral history accounts and that any scholar should *a priori* be aware of." I can only comment that notifying readers of possible methodological problems seems to me to be essential to the writing of all history, oral history included. Neglecting such notification is the equivalent of a text-based historian deciding that a quotation may be spurious but that this fact should not be mentioned, because "everyone knows that there are problems with quotations."

Kechichian writes, "the problem with children as eyewitnesses is *not* [my emphasis] that they remember only things that happened *to* their families and not done *by* their families." On the contrary, that is exactly the problem. The Millers assert that the interviews of children give an accurate picture of what occurred between Turks and Armenians, when they are in fact sources on only part of what occurred. The Millers ignored the other part of the problem, crimes against Muslims, but wrote as if they were telling all.

On the lack of Turkish sources in the Miller book, Kechichian either has misunderstood my criticism or could not resist the temptation to drag in a few extraneous references. I did not state that there were no Turkish sources on Armenian massacres; I stated that *the Millers had used none*. Kechichian's acceptance of the existence of such sources would seem to support my point. My confidence in Kechichian's sense of historical accuracy might be improved had he also mentioned some of the Turkish sources that disagreed with his position or, indeed, the Armenian sources that did so.

Selective quotation is too old and discredited a game to deserve much rebuttal. However, no one should attempt to prove a case by quoting a proven fraud—

the *Los Angeles Examiner* article, which was a fabrication of an interview with Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) that never occurred. In the quote from "Rauf Orbay" in *Hatıraları*,¹ as it appears in the text, Mustafa Kemal was not speaking of Armenians but of all the deaths for which the Europeans were blaming the Turks. Up to that point in the report, Mustafa Kemal had not spoken of Armenians. Later in the report and in many other statements, he did say openly that he disapproved of past massacres and deportations of Armenians but balanced this by stating that others, including Armenians, should also admit their own deeds against Turks. Of course, what Mustafa Kemal said or did not say about Armenians has nothing to do with my review of the Millers' book, but if Mustafa Kemal is to be brought into the argument, his views should be accurately represented.

This is not the place to engage in extended debate on the other sources quoted by Kechichian, which he neglects to qualify as the statements of courts-martial brought by the enemies of the Young Turk government under the watchful eye of the British occupiers of Istanbul, statements that even the British admitted were not convincing. (They found the evidence inconclusive and ultimately released the accused.) I myself believe that there is adequate historical evidence to indicate that some Ottoman officials did murder Armenians and order the murder of Armenians. The evidence also indicates that some Armenian officials ordered the murder of Muslims. Should not both be considered?

Kechichian uses my book *Muslims and Minorities* as a source to demonstrate that 1.5 million Armenians could not have engaged in a war of mutual destruction with 14.5 million Muslims. While I am gratified that he considers me an authoritative source, his use of my figures can only be called a grave distortion. The intercommunal conflict between Armenians and Muslims was not fought between all 14.5 million Anatolian Muslims and the 1.5 million Armenians. It was fought between the Muslims and Armenians of Eastern Anatolia and Trans-Caucasian Russia, a region in which the Armenians and Muslims were much more closely matched. Muslim numbers in that region were still greater, but that was obviated by one monumental fact Kechichian has ignored—World War I was being fought at the time. What transpired was not only a civil war between Armenians and Muslims but a war between the Ottoman and Russian empires, one in which the Russians and their Armenian allies had the upper hand for much of the war. Armenians acted with the Russian army, just as Muslims acted with the Ottoman army. Muslim deaths were greatest when the Russians and Armenians were winning, Armenian deaths greatest when the Ottomans and local Muslims were winning.

Neglecting the existence of World War I tends to distort the historical record. Nor is accuracy served by falsely stating that the Armenian population had neither arms nor organization. The Ottoman Armenians

who revolted all over Eastern Anatolia, drawing whole Ottoman divisions from the Russian front, or those who captured the city of Van and held it militarily against attacks by the Ottoman army, had both arms and organization. For proof, there is no need to go to Turkish sources, although they are voluminous and readily available. Armenian organizations represented at the Versailles Peace Conference provided numerous accounts of their armed, organized battles with the Ottomans, as did the leaders of the Armenian forces, such as Armen Garo.

Kechichian's final point is especially interesting. He holds the editors of the *American Historical Review* at fault for not picking a "neutral" reviewer. Overlooking the implied criticism of the scholarly ethics of this reviewer (a tough hide is a prerequisite for the study of Middle Eastern history), what do Kechichian and the Society for Armenian Studies define as neutrality? Surely, they could not hold that the only proper review would be written by someone who agrees with the positions of the Society for Armenian Studies? Nor, obviously, could they sincerely hold that a scholar should not come to a definite position on the Turkish-Armenian troubles. Do they therefore mean that the only proper reviewer is one who has not studied the field and formed conclusions as to the events of history? Who else would be "neutral"? Sadly for them, scholarly journals have long accepted that those who have studied the field should do the reviews. When reviewer and reviewed disagree on historical matters, a debate ensues. That is how it should be.

As to my own "neutrality," I have indeed formed a position on the events of World War I in Eastern Anatolia, a position explained in the two books in which I consider the Armenian-Turkish conflict. I believe that Armenians, Turks, Kurds, and others all died of murder, disease, and starvation. All groups were guilty of atrocities; all groups were victims of atrocities. This may not be a neutral position as defined by the Society for Armenian Studies, but I believe it to be a defensible analysis of the historical record.

JUSTIN MCCARTHY
University of Louisville

TO THE EDITOR:

Richard Blanke's review of Sebastian Siebel-Achenbach's *Lower Silesia from Nazi Germany to Communist Poland, 1942-1949* (*AHR*, 100 [December 1995]: 1628-29) concludes with the mind-boggling statement: "the Big Three wrote the book on the subject of ethnic cleansing at Yalta and may well have established the model for Serbs and Croats and others yet to come."

Blanke may be too young to remember that many contemporaries accepted German expulsions from Eastern and southeastern Europe as acts of retribution for more dreadful sufferings inflicted on Czechs, Poles, Russians—and Serbs during the preceding decade. I

am thinking of the attempted extermination of the Polish intelligentsia, the systematic starvation of Russian prisoners of war, and the massacre of Serbs in Croatia.

Cleansing, furthermore—religious, social, and ethnic—has been practiced frequently by many human agencies since the beginning of history. To charge a group of powers in 1945 with its initiation demonstrates to this reader an appalling lack of historical knowledge and understanding, certainly unusual among reviewers for the *American Historical Review*.

HANS A. SCHMITT
EMERITUS
University of Virginia

RICHARD BLANKE REPLIES:

Hans Schmitt's problems with my concluding sentence are less a function of my (or his) age and deficient historical knowledge than of his misunderstanding of the term "to write the book." It does not mean to "initiate," as he suggests, but to epitomize, set the standard, or hold the record.

But let's replace this figure of speech with a more explicit statement (which I would then challenge Schmitt to refute): the 1945 decision by the "Big Three" to expel up to 15 million Germans from their homes in eastern Germany and Eastern Europe is the largest example of premeditated, internationally sanctioned ethnic cleansing on the historical record; any runner-up (for example, the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne) is a distant one. That many contemporaries "accepted" this measure, that Nazi Germany was not above doing the same thing (and worse), that other groups of people have been expelled ("frequently"?) at other times for other reasons does not alter the truth of this statement. And references to other crimes cannot obscure the fact that most of the individual victims of this operation bore no more personal guilt than the average *AHR* subscriber.

With all due respect to a distinguished historian, there is no reason to find a factually correct statement "mind-boggling," and only the morally obtuse should want to rationalize or justify the expulsions themselves, or think that they can defend this most ambitious act of ethnic cleansing without tempting scores of other regimes faced with inconvenient populations to try the same thing.

RICHARD BLANKE
University of Maine

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of Elizabeth Lunbeck's book *The Psychiatric Persuasion*, Edward Shorter writes, "One group of historians, following the inspiration of Michel Foucault, sees psychiatry as a pseudodiscipline, its claims to scientific status nonexistent, and its history a colossal power-grab on the part of male physicians with a hidden agenda of social control and repression" (*AHR*, 100 [December 1995]: 1709). The irony of this sentence is that Foucault wrote the *History of Sexuality Volume 1* specifically to dispute the concept of "repression."

One might further note that psychiatrists have rarely, if ever, kept their efforts at social control "hidden." By striking contrast, psychiatrists have long emphasized their own professional capacity for helping society to control the dangerous and "unfit."

Finally, Foucauldians would no doubt reject any notion of a hierarchy of objectivity in the academic disciplines, so they would be unlikely to argue that psychiatry's "claims to scientific status" are nonexistent. In fact, for Foucault and his followers, it is the very notion of "scientific status" that requires examination.

DAVID ALLYN
Harvard University

Edward Shorter does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

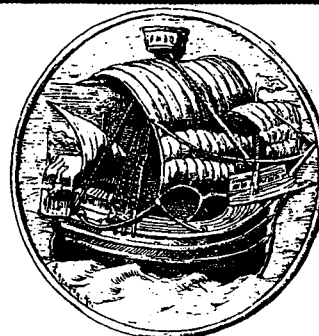
ERRATA

In the February 1996 issue of the *AHR*, page 164, the subtitle of Karl Leyser's first book under review should be *The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, not *Ottoman*. Our thanks to Jere L. Bacharach of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington, for bringing this to our attention.

THE EDITORS

In the February 1996 issue of the *AHR*, page 260, L. Berkeley Kines was incorrectly listed as L. Berkeley Rines. The editors regret this error. Our thanks to David H. Burton of Saint Joseph's University for pointing it out.

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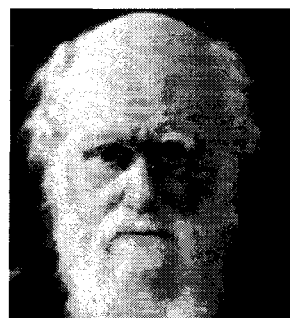
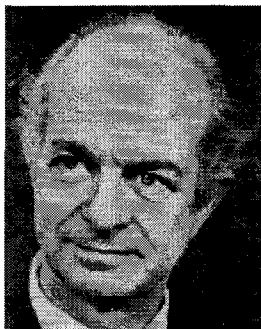
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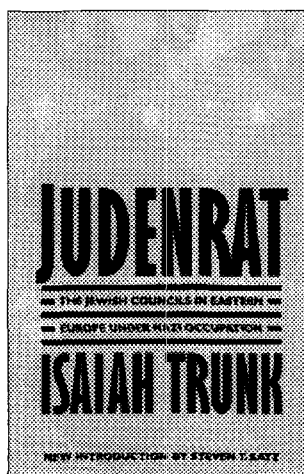
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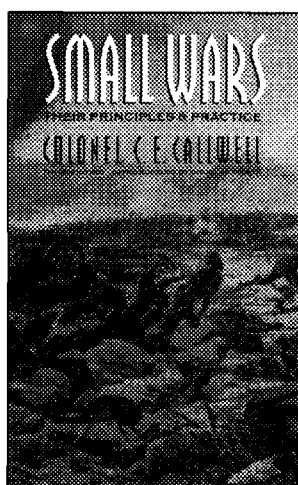
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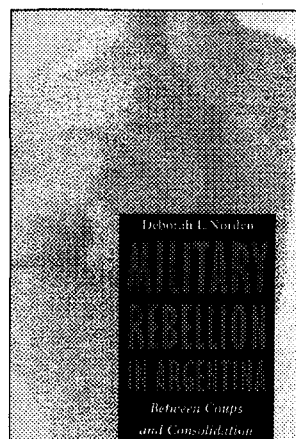
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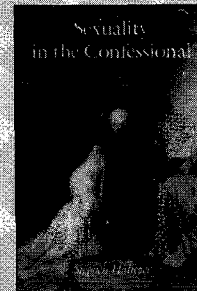
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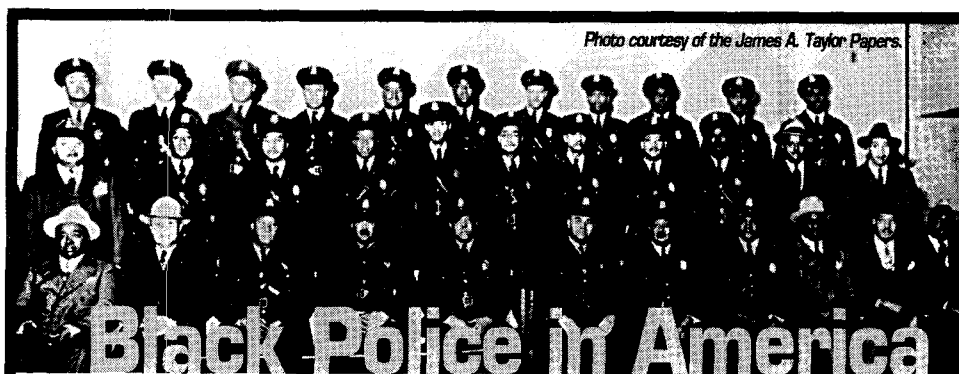
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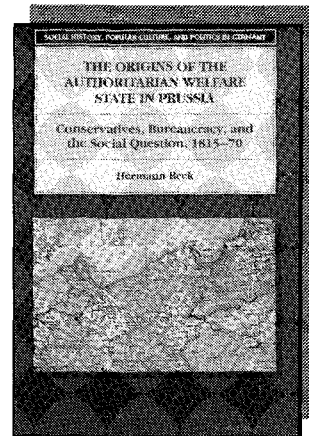
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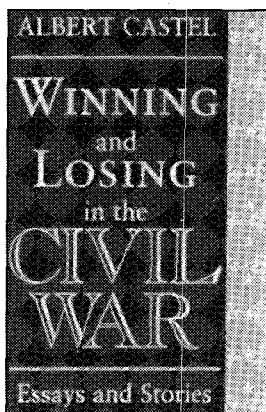
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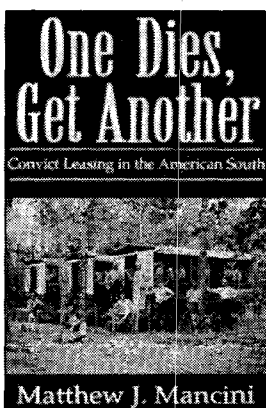
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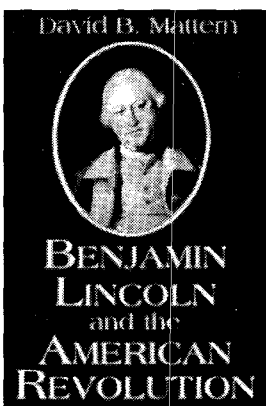
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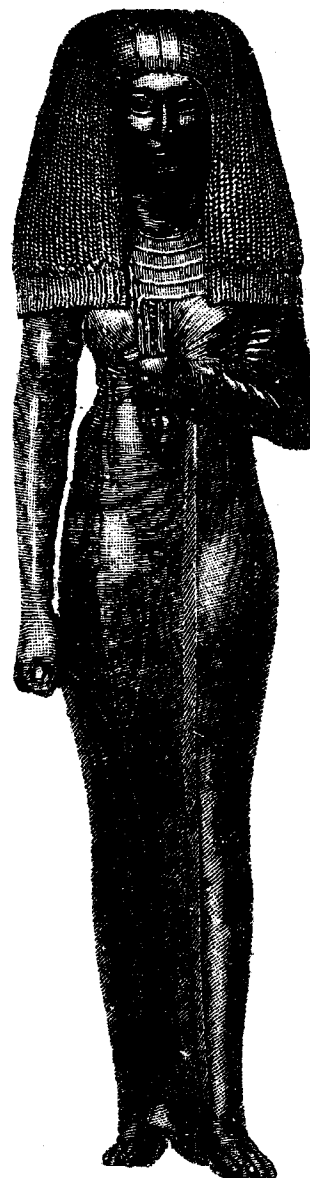
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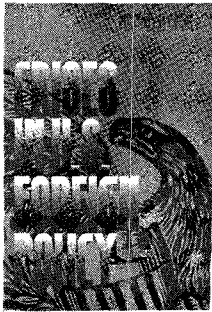
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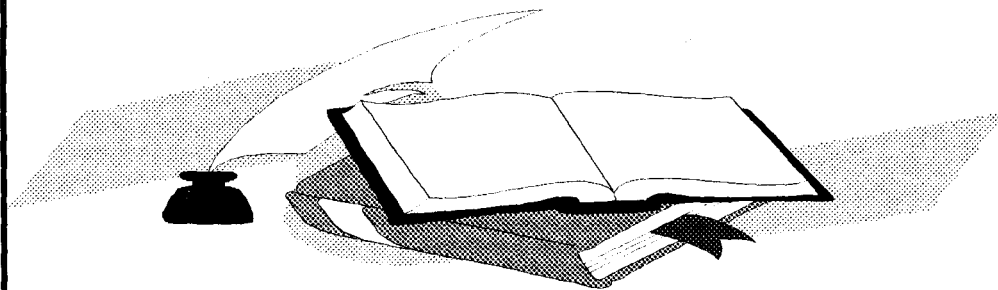
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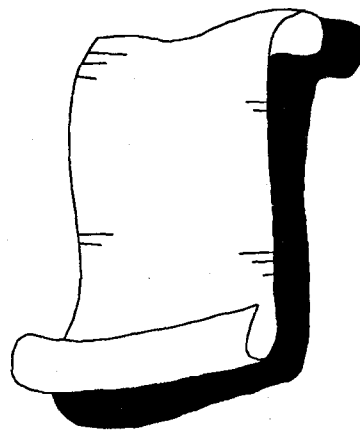
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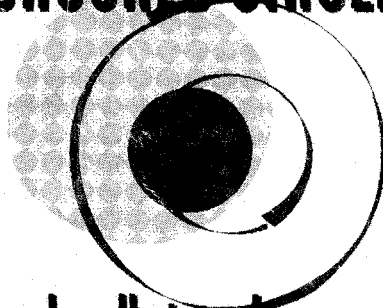
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